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PARTICIPATIVENESS AND THE AGENTS OF CONTROL:
FRONT-LINE DECISION BEHAVIOR IN AN URBAN POLICE BUREAUCRACY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
John M. Jermier, B.S., M.A., M.B.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1979

Reading Committee: Approved By
Dr. Orlando Behling Orlando
Dr. H. Randolph Bobbitt, Jr. Bobbitt
Dr. Randall S. Schuler
This work is dedicated with love to my wife, Betty, and my parents, Lynn and Pearl. They helped make college education a joy.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In retrospect, I find myself wondering how much the egalitarian relations in the Organizational Behavior doctoral program contributed to my selection of this research topic. Since the subtle, yet sometimes pervasive influence of learning environments is a key theme in this study, it seems fitting that a brief acknowledgment of this potential source of inspiration should appear at the outset.

Regardless of the influence of egalitarian relations on this project, in a more general sense, I believe the Organizational Behavior faculty have taught me something invaluable which could only have been transferred by example: the most effective way to teach the literature of human behavior is to live it. I am certain this is an insight which will be frequently evoked throughout my career, particularly during those introspective moments when self-assessment is at its most rigorous.

There are many people who have helped make my experiences in Columbus, Ohio over the past six years richly rewarding. I now acknowledge only those I am most deeply indebted to, with apologies
for the paltry recompense, and with apologies to those space does not permit mentioning.

I have found working with Chuck Behling on this project to be most enjoyable. He somehow combined exacting conceptual and methodological skills with a delightful sense of humor in guiding me through the development of not one, but two dissertation proposals. I have learned from Chuck the importance of tackling a problem that can be precisely conceptualized, and researched with a minimum of methodological compromise. I have greatly benefited from Chuck's willingness to show me how to thoroughly work through theoretical statements and from his extraordinarily pleasant personal characteristics which reduced the stress of one-on-one, dissertation-related interactions. In short, I would wish the experience I had with Chuck as my dissertation advisor on any doctoral candidate. The numerous other contributions (both direct and indirect) which Chuck made to my professional development over the past few years will go unmentioned, but not unappreciated.

Randy Bobbitt has been a major inspiration during my years at Ohio State. He has taught me the superiority of elegant theoretical analysis as a mode of inquiry, often springboarding from my mundane utterances into a conceptual realm at once illuminating and perplexing. But Randy has also shown me that intellective interests can (and maybe should) coexist with a wide spectrum of everyday activities.
He is a master at balancing role commitments and I have profited immeasurably through my association with him in his varied activities.

Randy Schuler was the third member of my dissertation reading committee. As with the other members, Randy cheerfully suffered through two proposals, providing encouragement and detailed commentary at each stage. I followed Randy's work for three years before he joined the faculty at Ohio State, admiring his skills and abilities from afar. Interacting with him here has confirmed my assessments of his considerable talents and high professionalism.

I owe a special debt to Steven Kerr and Mary Ann Von Glinow. They were instrumental in helping me find something I felt worth committing myself to. Steve was willing to sponsor my doctoral pursuit with only the slightest evidence of eventual success. He was primarily responsible for leading me into early success experiences which motivated me to work harder, and was a critical factor in my gaining access to the organization which served as my dissertation sample.

Some debts, such as the ones I owe Steve, can not be repaid directly to the benefactor. They can only be repaid by passing the wisdom and kindness transferred yesterday to tomorrow's beneficiaries. If I can transfer even bits of these things, my future doctoral students will be very fortunate.

Les Berkes and Jody Fry also contributed to my dissertation study through earlier work we did with this organization. Les has
been a good friend and an inspiring colleague the past three years and has helped me to grow in ways I doubt he recognizes. Jody and I shared some of the traumas graduate education entails, all the while reducing their importance by talking to each other. We have much to look back on.

Chet and Jan Schriesheim directly helped me in more ways than anyone else. Both professionally and personally, they unselfishly passed the fruits of their experience on to me, making my road much easier. Though many excellent role models were available, I think I drew most heavily from Chet and Jan. It is hard to imagine how I could have made it through these past few years without their encouragement and support. My life has been greatly enriched because of them.

To the Management Sciences staff, particularly Larry Ritzman while acting as Chairman, and Laurie Simonetti, I am very grateful. Larry somehow found the money to fund a research position so that I could work exclusively on my dissertation during Spring Quarter of 1979. Resources necessary for conducting research were always available. Laurie, in addition to flawlessly typing this paper, has been a close friend and important support. On more occasions than I care to remember, she made my situation bearable by miraculously expanding the number of minutes in a day.

Finally, I would like to thank the members of the police organization who participated in this study. They must, of course, remain
anonymous, but my contacts with organizational members dispelled some naive stereotypes I held about police work and police officers. If this study accomplished nothing else, I think it promoted some goodwill between two major social institutions which too recently were antagonists, not collaborators.
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The illusion of consensus. The international concern with participation in decision making and closely related topics such as organizational democracy, worker councils and cooperatives, autonomous work groups, power equalization, and democratic leadership has created a burgeoning multi-disciplinary literature with little semblance of order. Although empirical studies continue to accumulate, they are "more often than not isolated, scattered, narrow in scope and non-comparable (Greenberg, 1975: 209). Studies conducted without awareness of the field's need for conceptual clarification and definitional precision have not focused the research agenda, and, therefore have only infrequently advanced the state of the art.

On the surface, workplace democracy has received the popular support of major social groups which agree on little else, such as intellectuals and business leaders, management and labor, and both the political left and the political right (Greenberg, 1975). But widespread support for worker participation is largely illusory and dissolves once the term is clarified conceptually and the underlying
values to be served by participation are elucidated (Greenberg, 1975; Dachler & Wilpert, 1978). Perspectives on democratic influences at the workplace range from participative management where workers' views are entertained in decision making, to systems of worker control where management does not exist as a separate and superior function (Herrick & Maccoby, 1975).

Though too seldom recognized, these are radically different perspectives. They may serve complementary purposes, as Bass and Shackleton (1979) suggested, but need to be better classified according to purpose and characteristics before their theoretical and practical implications will be clear. An initial step toward uniting the strands of research on participation into a theoretical framework could come from recognizing conceptual and value differences among the various schools of thought. Until this is accomplished researchers may continue to believe they are studying highly similar social phenomena and unwittingly add to the confusion in the area by not providing enough information about the participative system, its setting, and their reasons for investigating it.

Much of the participation literature can be sorted into the cells of the typology displayed in Figure 1. At a very general level, divergencies among the various schools of thought can be observed with respect to characteristics of the participative system and values to be served by participation.

**Characteristics of participative systems.** The wide range of participative systems reviewed by Tannenbaum (1976) varies both in degree
CHARACTERISTICS OF
PARTICIPATIVE SYSTEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct, Informal</th>
<th>Indirect, Formal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Participative Management</td>
<td>Improve Performance</td>
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<td>U.S.A.</td>
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<td>Values Desired</td>
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<td>Organizational Democracy Social and Economic Equality</td>
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Figure 1.

Features of Participation

of formalization and directness of contact between hierarchical levels. Highly formalized approaches such as the Israeli kibbutz plant, Yugoslav workers' councils, or West German codetermination include mostly indirect (by representation) participation. The formalized, indirect system is legally sanctioned and usually entails representation on committees, councils, and boards to exercise joint decision making prerogatives.

Formal plans may encourage participative interpersonal relations throughout the organization, but in any case, informal, direct participation often emerges spontaneously on matters pertaining to daily work demands. Bell (1962: 390) stated that the real meaning of workers' control revolves around those "things which directly affect (the workers') work-a-day life: the rhythms, pace, and demands of work ..."¹ Direct, informal systems may coexist with those legally mandated but seem to be regarded lightly by some concerned with organizational democracy (Pateman, 1970; Dachler & Wilpert, 1978). The
face-to-face, "shop-floor" interactions characteristic of participative management are thought to occur too infrequently and too arbitrarily to provide other than "pseudo-participation".

These systems might be viewed as near endpoints on a single continuum ranging from limited to extensive participation (Dachler & Wilpert, 1978), or as qualitatively different types of participation since formal, indirect systems usually are concerned with at least some policy level decisions while informal, direct systems mostly affect "everyday" decisions. Perhaps one of the more useful ways to differentiate these systems is by identifying the formal, indirect with structural features characteristic of organized industrial democracy and the informal, direct with behavior characteristic of participative management (Bass & Shackleton, 1979).

Values served by participation. There are many testimonials as to the virtues and benefits of participation. But in what specific ways have social theorists linked participation to the improvement of human systems, and for what purposes?

First, we live in an era which has been recognized for its lack of political pluralism (Mills, 1956; Marcuse, 1964; Milliband, 1969; Schroyer, 1973; Poulantzas, 1975; Wilson, 1977). Differences based on ethnicity, religious preference, race, sex, age, and other demographic factors exist, but generally do not create social groups that challenge the existing social structure by providing inputs into political decision making. For example, there is widespread, tacit acceptance of the necessity for social and economic stratification and
capital accumulation. Political discourse on these issues is usually foreclosed by an ideology which "permits historical domination to appear as a natural process" (Schroyer, 1973: 24).

Yet when democratic societies are functioning well, they are characterized by meaningful alternatives and organized opposition (Eimicke, 1974). Critical observations such as these have led some social theorists to suggest the need for participatory visions and practices which involve more citizens in "steering" a wider range of contemporary institutions and activities. Political pluralism among a citizenry is thought to be most likely to emerge when individuals are accustomed to making free choices and responsible decisions in a wide range of life activities. Broad-based participation conceived of and enacted as a right and even an obligation, not a privilege, is what distinguishes the truly democratic society from the subtly authoritarian.

This definition of the political fabric of a society extends participation as an imperative into all significant institutions, including family, education, government, leisure, and especially the workplace. Democratic theorists such as G.D.H. Cole (1917, 1920) have argued that industry holds the key that will unlock the door to a truly democratic polity. Since an individual spends a large portion of his life at work, participating at this level has an educative (or "spillover") effect on other life roles. And, the workplace may be seen as a political sphere in its own right, offering opportunities for participation additional to the national level (Pateman, 1970).
Within this framework, participative democracy is construed as both a value in itself, and as instrumental in promoting social and economic equality.

Second, writers on participative management (with the goal in mind of improving system performance) have firmly linked direct participation in important workplace decisions with individual and organizational effectiveness (Argyris, 1964; Likert, 1967). It has been argued that specific decisions about work procedures and work assignments negotiated at the supervisor-subordinate interface, because of their immediate relevancy to workers, may have more impact than long-term struggle through indirect means. Indirect participation through representation may psychologically benefit only representatives, not the mass of workers (Thorsrud & Emery, 1970).

Organizational researchers have been criticized for avoiding questions about actual power distributions in favour of investigating the short-term psychological effects of participation (Clegg, 1977). Though the neglect of actual power distributions by organizational researchers is unwarranted, it should be noted that regardless of the degree of structural participation, so long as hierarchical control structures exist, direct participation will probably emerge and probably affect individual and organizational outcomes. Even systems with extensive participation involving worker ownership and control would benefit from an understanding of the benefits and limitations of direct participation.
Mitchell (1973) has suggested four ways in which direct participation can impact on subordinate outcomes: (1) greater path-goal clarity; (2) increased individual-organizational goal congruency; (3) increased control over what happens on the job; (4) increased ego-involvement in the job. Thus direct participation is potentially motivational.

Schuler (1979, forthcoming) presented a more detailed model of the participation-employee attitude and behavior process by specifying role and expectancy perceptions as intervening constructs. Participation effectiveness was hypothesized to relate to levels of role and expectancy perceptions. Casting the effect of participation on subordinate outcomes as indirect (occurring through role and expectancy perceptions) conforms to House and Dessler's (1974) conceptualization of participative leadership as a nondirective analogue of instrumental role-clarifying behavior. Evans (1979) expanded some of his earlier work on path-goal in a similar manner, discussing the motivational properties of various leader behaviors.

Maier (1965) argued that participation should improve decision quality and acceptability of decisions to implementers. Filley, House, and Kerr (1976), after reviewing thirty years of studies investigating the effects of direct participation on subordinate satisfaction and productivity, concluded that while not omnipotent, the effects of participative leadership are often positive. Strauss and Rosenstein (1970) pointed out the conflict-reducing properties of participation, while Tannenbaum (1968) has highlighted the important role of participation in systems of control.
Focus of the Study

The type of participative decision making investigated in this research is an informal, direct variant and will be referred to as leader participativeness. It will be designated as a style or strategy of management and measured as a behavior (Ford, 1975). Supervisors will be classified as more or less participative based on how frequently they involve subordinates in important work decisions. Endpoints of the familiar democratic-autocratic continuum are often used to describe more and less participative decision making behavior, respectively, and will occasionally be used here. Mohr's (1977: 22) definition as the "extent to which influence over the outcome of important supervisory decisions is shared by the supervisor and the subordinates" is appropriate.

This view is general enough to capture the psychological impact of participation, but limits the conception largely to one of a cooperative process between management and labor (Walker, 1977). This may not be a severe limitation, however, as many occupational groups have no formalized, indirect means to bring conflictual issues into arbitration. Members must rely on direct confrontations with front-line supervisors to negotiate work policies and procedures. These may be dyadic exchanges with the supervisor or involve other members of the work group(s), but customarily entail that the "subordinate participants speak for themselves with supervisors about work or matters related to work", and not through representatives to top management about general organizational policy (Lammers, 1967: 209).
Significance of the Study

Participation in decision making, in its many forms, is a central concept of organizing: all the major attributes of organization are related to "who makes what kind of decisions, and what procedures are used to make them" (Dachler & Wilpert, 1978: 2). When stated that boldly, the relevancy of participation for understanding the character of modern institutions and organizations is clear. What is less clear is the meaning of participative arrangements in specific contexts.

The significance of this study lies in its potential to clarify the contextual boundaries of participation potential relative to the social setting investigated. Dachler and Wilpert's (1978) conceptualization advocated movement beyond ideological and global statements, toward the identification of "boundary conditions". They (1978: 23) pointed out that participation may be a useful concept if a better understanding of the relation between participative systems and their environmental contexts results: "To ask about the boundaries of participation potential is to investigate the organizational system as it exists in and interacts with its environment".

Participatory arrangements result from the interaction of various properties of the organization under study, its members and its role in society. Thus, the potential of a participatory system is determined by a wide range of both macro and micro level factors, though Dachler and Wilpert cautioned against assuming a non-reciprocal, environmental deterministic position.

To contribute to the clarification of the concept, a study of participation should delineate the contextual boundaries and provide
a statement about the participation potential (present limits and future possibilities) within these contextual boundaries. This involves societal, interorganizational, focal organizational, group, and individual characteristics, even though the primary focus of this study will be limited to supervisory behavior and individual level outcomes.

According to Popperian views on scientific advance, this is frequently the manner in which well articulated theories develop. Conscientious researchers severely or crucially test theory and models by searching for extreme cases (Platt, 1964; Popper, 1968). This entails a search for circumstances which challenge the most fundamental predictions of the theory or model (Popper, 1963).

It is important that we also begin to assess what a participatory social system is capable of becoming (what potential it holds), as well as merely searching for the boundaries within which a theoretical relationship is expected to hold (Dachler & Wilpert, 1978). This means that a contribution to the participation literature should include some statement about both the narrow boundary conditions (contingencies) present in the organization and contextual boundaries related to the organization's role in society which may limit the participation potential of the social system.

Setting of the Study: An Extreme Case

Chapter II investigates some of these issues as they pertain to the patrol operation of an urban police department. The central theoretical concern with establishing the boundaries of
participativeness seems well complemented by the most fundamental question of whether police supervisors utilize nonauthoritarian decision behaviors. Based on interviews with experienced patrol officers and supervisors, at least the following decision situations provide important opportunities for direct participation: (1) assignment to cruiser district and vehicle; (2) regular performance evaluation; (3) intermittent performance review following an "incident"; (4) determination of required "activity"; (5) assignment of partners and distribution of manpower; (6) determination of regular days off, vacations, and early leave; (7) enforcement of departmental rules, procedures, and regulations; (8) implementation of new laws, patrol techniques and operations.

Jermier and Berkes (1979) and Kerr and Jermier (1978) have presented some preliminary findings for the police organization under study here which tend to challenge traditional beliefs about leadership in military-type organizations. These reports did not focus on participation for the full sample of non-supervisory patrol officers, and therefore rendered a precise interpretation of the direct effects of participation impossible. Also, due to sample size restrictions, they did not deal with a major class of questions involving potential moderating effects of the following variables on the participation and organizational commitment and job satisfaction relationships: environmental danger/hostility, task variability and role ambiguity, and subordinate career stage. These issues could profitably be treated in a more concerted fashion, detailing in particular the environmental,
organizational, and career stage factors which condition the perceptual field of police officers.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The primary purpose of this study is to extend some key issues in the participation literature to a setting which should permit statements about the boundary conditions of the phenomenon. We not only want to identify contingencies which serve as boundaries to the theoretical relationships of interest, but also describe the organization's role in society in a manner which reveals some of the contextual boundaries limiting the participation potential of the organization.

Traditional conceptions of police organization suggest a monolithic authoritarian command system, well-suited to the organization's social mandate and the personal predispositions of its members. But individual supervisors may choose a decision making style based on a diagnosis of the situation and personal preference, not organization ideology.

Thus, three fundamental questions are derived from the primary purpose of this research:

1. To what degree do front-line police sergeants utilize participative decision behaviors?

2. What effect does this have on patrol officers' work attitudes?

3. Does this effect vary according to situational factors?
CHAPTER II

POLICE WORK AND ORGANIZATION

Classical and Symbolic Bureaucracy

Drama in police work. American police officers tend to view themselves as "crime-fighters" whose distinctive competence rests in providing law enforcement services to the community (Feuille & Juris, 1976). They have purposefully manipulated their official mandate of peace-keeping and public service to emphasize this crime-fighting image, and have been successful in gaining and maintaining control over the symbolic meaning the public attaches to police work as a result (Manning, 1971). This has aided police organizations to gain support from critical task environment elements such as taxpayers, legislatures, courts, and other law enforcement agencies, and to retain primary control over work definition and discretion.

Police have a splendid resource in this crime-fighting image. They have cultivated an ideology and marketed an external appearance based on it which have helped legitimate organizational activities and procure resources (including occupational prestige).

But police work is far more accurately described as human service than as crime-fighting (Skolnick, 1966; Webster, 1970; Manning, 1971;
Reiss, 1971; Sandler & Mintz, 1974; Holdaway, 1978). The military ideology associated with dramatic images of crime-fighting has nevertheless manifested symbolically in an organizing mode closely resembling the classical bureaucratic form. Police organizations are stereotypically characterized by "strict subordination, by a rigid chain of command, by accountability of command, and more doubtfully, by a lack of formal provision for consultation between ranks" (Bordua & Reiss, 1966: 69). Within this conceptualization, there is little reason to select research questions involving participatory decision behavior: the role of the formal leader as commander presumably more accurately describes supervision.

Manning's (1977) discussion of police organization goes a long way toward dispelling this myth and toward linking crime-fighting with command bureaucracy rhetoric. It has been politically expedient for police to symbolize their function externally in paramilitary, bureaucratic terms, but "lack of internal control, of close supervision of lower participants, and their freedom of action make it more a symbol than a reality" (Manning, 1977: 109).

In actual practice, police work is incompatible with the rhetorical features of command bureaucracy (Clark & Sykes, 1974). Instead, the discrepancy between command bureaucracy images and common-sense police operations provides an unsurpassed example of "symbolic bureaucracy": ". . . it is possible for an organization to conform little or not at all to the conditions of bureaucracy, while maintaining an image of complete adherence to bureaucratic ideals" (Jacobs, 1969: 414).
When the human service functions of policing are recognized, the reasons behind the occupation's symbolic features become more apparent. Police symbolism will be examined further, but first a framework helpful in understanding some of the defining features of police work will be presented. Hasenfeld and English (1974) developed a typology of human service organizations and their client relations based on the degree of organizational interest in the client's personal biography and the compliance system the organization employs vis-à-vis its clients. As shown in Figure 2, police organizations typically have limited interest in their clients' biographies (encounters are usually of very short duration), and client compliance is ensured through relatively coercive means.

We now turn to the more general features of human service organizations to provide an overview of the problems involved and the survival strategies employed when staff-client relations are the core of organizational activities.

Human service organizations. Police departments are a subset of the class of formal organizations "whose primary function is to define or alter the person's behavior, attributes, and social status . . . ." (Hasenfeld & English, 1974: 1). Several characteristics distinguish human service organizations from other formal organizations, but all derive from the facts that their general mandate is one of service and that human beings are the organization's major inputs and outputs.

The complexity of the social problems human service organizations are created to solve makes it difficult for them to establish
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Client's Compliance System</th>
<th>Interest in Client's Biography</th>
<th>Limited</th>
<th>Extensive</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normative</td>
<td>Type I University</td>
<td>Type II Treatment oriented mental hospital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilitarian</td>
<td>Type III Medical clinic</td>
<td>Type IV Nursing home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coercive</td>
<td>Type V Police</td>
<td>Type VI Correctional institution</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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Figure 2. A Typology of Organization-Client Relations

unambiguous and non-conflicting goal statements. Goals which do emerge are compromises struck among conflicting ideologies represented among the staff, clients, and public-at-large (Hasenfeld & English, 1974). Working with human beings (and not inanimate objects) as raw materials introduces a degree of uncertainty into the system which frequently pervades the transformation processes and all aspects of work organization.

The combination of ambiguous goal statements with incomplete knowledge about cause-effect relations leaves human service organizations with a lack of reliable and valid measures for demonstrating effectiveness (Thompson, 1967). This occurs at a time when organizational claims for competence are increasingly meeting with public criticism and resistance.

As a means of survival, members in human service organizations engage in strategies for establishing competence and generating public support. Efforts to recruit professional staff to fill organizational roles is one strategy frequently employed. Members of occupational groups which have already gained public recognition through licensing processes (Hughes, 1958), or a variety of other professionalizing activities (Wilensky, 1964) offer attractive resources of power for negotiating with task environment elements. They also minimize internal control dilemmas which occur in "front-line" organizations (Smith, 1965) due to the low visibility (to supervisors) of staff-client interactions (Perrow, 1972).

Not all organizations, however, provide services easily recognized by the public as consistent with those activities performed
by established occupations. In such cases, organizational members have a more difficult time negotiating a domain. To achieve domain consensus they may develop self-validating ideologies (Hasenfeld, 1972) and engage in a process of "mystification" by managing external appearances (Johnson, 1972).

In addition to helping order the work performed by the staff, ideologies "provide . . . the rationalization and legitimation to take various courses of action which could not be justified technologically, . . ." (Hasenfeld & English, 1974: 281). Manipulation of external appearances to mystify the lay public is not a strategy which is unique to human service organizations and occupations; all occupations (whether their work is organizationally-based or not) seek to establish and maintain a mandate (Hughes, 1958). Frequently this involves the construction and definition of non-veridical images and symbols.

We shall cut through some of the drama and symbolism in police work to examine selected aspects of front-line "command" decisions in the organization. Decision making behaviors occur in a variety of situations. These are too frequently veiled by the military images and symbolism through which police organizations are commonly recognized. Treating police organizations as a subset of human service organization may unfold features which will advance participation research and police research.
Client Characteristics and Organizational Behavior

Though it is commonly recognized that internal management control structures and dynamics largely determine the style in which an organization serves its clients (Blau, 1955; Sandler & Mintz, 1974), few authors have explored the impact of client characteristics on organizational structure and behavior. Nearly two decades ago, Blau and Scott (1962: 77) highlighted the need to develop this dimension of organization theory when they pointed out that "there has been little attempt to relate client characteristics systematically to organizational structures". This statement holds today even though it is clear that goals, transformation processes, and task environment features (all relatively well developed and researched antecedents of organizational structure) reflect in some manner the public-in-direct-contact with the organization.

In Thompson's (1962) discussion of organizational output roles he called attention to the exclusion of the client from classic bureaucratic theory's formulation of behavioral relations ordered by internal authority structures. His typology of output roles and transaction structures explicitly included client characteristics, expectations, and behavior, providing one of the earliest statements of organization-environment symbiosis. By noting the crucial impact of transaction structures on organizational input acquisition, internal coordination of resources and activities, and political requisites, he laid a groundwork for further consideration of the theoretical linkages between clients and organization.
Lefton and Rosengren (1966) advanced a "client biography model" as an initial step toward theoretically relating the structure and functioning of organizations with their clients. They showed how organizations vary in their interests in clients along two major independent dimensions: biographical span of time (longitudinal) and biographical space (lateral). Four conceptually distinct orientations may be derived from combinations of lateral and longitudinal interests in the biographical careers of clients. Each ideal orientation toward clients entails a limited or extensive interest in the client over a short or long term. Internal structure, interpersonal processes, and interorganizational relationships differ significantly according to the lateral and longitudinal orientations toward clients.

Lefton (1970, 1973) attempted to refine the client biography model by reconceptualizing organizational interest in their clients as a dynamic and problematical outcome, rather than an assumed given. He also called attention to the sometimes peculiar process by which "salient" client characteristics are identified from among the endless array comprising a social being. Rosengren's (1967, 1970) work described relations between organizational control of clients and employees, and the relationship between age of the organization and orientations toward clients. These refinements broadened the meaning and appeal of organizational interest in clients as an organization theory concept. They recognized both the potential role of the client in influencing the organization's orientation and the organization's selection of client characteristics likely to align with preferred operational goals, modes of operation and structural arrangements.
At a more abstract level, Litwak (1961) was among the first to focus on uniformity of inputs as a structural determinant and to recognize that organizations (and perhaps subunits) must accomplish uniform and non-uniform tasks. It is likely that the most effective organizations match internal structure and interpersonal processes to the types of tasks to be performed; or in the terminology above, to the type of client to be served.

Broad theoretical models of technology which include non-production organizations and which could accommodate the client as raw material to be processed (Thompson & Bates, 1957; Perrow, 1965), may serve as another helpful precedent in linking clientele with properties of organization. It was suggested above that clients present numerous characteristics which might impact on organizational functioning, but that only a few are selected as salient by organizational members. Bockoven (1957) has identified the basic belief systems about the nature of the individual in society as the important influence on technology in a mental hospital, quite apart from the theoretical knowledge required for treatment. In generalizing this insight to other hospitals, Perrow (1965) noted that structural differences and differences in staff tasks and technologies are grounded in medical differences between patients. He strengthened this point by arguing that technological and structural changes in hospitals have paralleled changes in cultural definitions and belief systems concerning the nature of human material (the ill person). His closing definition (1965: 966) of organizations as products of "broad cultural forces
which define the nature of the material and set limits upon what can and should be done to it" further emphasizes the potential impact of staff perceptions and definitions of clients on organizational technology and structure.

Theoretical developments of the technology construct (Perrow, 1967, 1970; Thompson, 1967; Hage & Aiken, 1969; Galbraith, 1973; Lynch, 1974; Van de Ven & Delbecq, 1974; Overton et al., 1977; Dewar & Hage, 1978; Glisson, 1978), when alluding to clientele as raw material, focus largely on input variability and task uncertainty. While demonstrating some relation to structural properties of organizations (Scott, 1975; James & Jones, 1976; Jelinek, 1977; Galbraith, 1977) these descriptors of the nature of the raw materials are not complete enough to abandon the search for other characteristics. It does appear, however, that an understanding of features of organization can hardly be separated from an understanding of the salient characteristics of human material.

Workers' classifications of clients are important because each type of client (or event) evokes an organizational response (March & Simon, 1958). Once the client is classified, organizational members choose and execute an appropriate program to process the client. The resulting patterns of interaction are likely to be quite predictable from knowledge of the salient client characteristics. Understanding various client classification schemes may illuminate some of the mysteries surrounding organizational definitions of situations and work activities and the ensuing behavior directed toward clients and among organizational members.
Client Typologies

Given the manifold attributes of the human being as client and the embryonic research concerning person perception, it is not surprising that few attempts at constructing typologies of clients have been made. One noteworthy exception is Mennerick's (1974) paper on social typologies in the service worker-client relationship. He argued that service workers come into relatively direct, personal contact with their clients, who largely determine work activities. This can generate substantial conflict and stress. To help order their work situation and cope with conflict and stress, service workers construct social typologies of clients: "Given the potential for conflict, workers then utilize client typologies. They classify clients into types with varying degrees of specificity, depending upon the ways in which clients with specific characteristics can be expected to affect the workers' activities" (Mennerick, 1974: 399).

Becker (1952) has suggested that service workers classify clients according to the degree the client deviates from an idealized conception. "Ideal" or "good" clients pose no problems for the worker; instead they facilitate work outcomes. Depending upon the particular client characteristic being evaluated, workers may not use simple binary categorization schemes, though evidence from several occupations (Davis, 1959; Borgatta et al., 1960; Sudnow, 1965; Bittner, 1967; Lipsky, 1971; Roth, 1972; Romney & Bynner, 1972; Van Maanen, 1974, 1978a) indicates remarkably simplistic classifications in practice.
In the literature concerning helpers' (educators, social workers, counselors, psychiatrists, physicians, and other hospital workers) perceptions of clients reviewed by Wills (1978), three factors consistently appeared: manageability; treatability; and likability. Thus three questions may be highly salient in the minds of helpers when classifying clients: "To what extent will the client pose a management problem? To what extent will the client improve? To what extent will I like the client?" (Wills, 1978: 972). The review further suggests that organizational helping behavior is strongly related to these factors.

Additionally, there is a tendency for helpers to sample negative aspects of client behavior, make personalistic attributions about the locus of causality of client behavior, prefer clients with similar (middle and upper-class backgrounds), and prefer submissive or dependent clients. These tendencies frequently lead helpers to reduce information about clients to negative, stereotypical conceptions, "consistently less favorable than lay persons' perceptions, irrespective of whether the target person is normal or psychologically impaired (Wills, 1978: 981). Stone and Feldbaum (1976) also discussed the propensity among public employees to stereotype clients, hold unsympathetic attitudes toward lower status groups, and project program failures on clients by selectively perceiving behavior.

The client manageability factor labeled by Wills is especially applicable to the present study. It includes at least client resistance to influence (Borgatta et al., 1960; Elstein & Van Pelt, 1968;
Fontana, 1971) and dangerousness (Romney & Bynner, 1972; Prisgrove, 1974), both highly salient characteristics of client behavior in police work.

Mennerick (1974) identified five major typological dimensions common to service occupations—facilitation of work, control, gain, danger, and moral acceptability. He noted that worker typologies of clients alter the behavior of workers toward clients since once a client is typed, service workers are alerted to the problems endemic to that class of clientele. They then evoke appropriate programs to confront the potential problems at hand.

These five dimensions are present (more or less) in all service work settings. Insofar as they are socially created by "selecting out exaggerated modes of behavior that are relevant to group interests" and are founded on a "relatively high degree of group consensus" (Mennerick, 1974: 398), social typologies of clients may be excellent predictors of situational norms, work performance, and work attitudes.

Not all of the typological dimensions are applicable to a given occupation. The saliency of these dimensions (and others) must be assessed from the researcher's knowledge of the specific occupation under investigation. Several appear relevant to police work, however the element of danger holds a near self-evident significance. The work-related death and injury ratios among police officers usually fall below those for occupations in the lumber, mining, construction, agriculture, transportation, electrical, and other industries (Terris,
1967: 61; Wilson, 1968: 18-20; Rushing & Ortega, 1979: 1184), but the constant direct exposure to society's interpersonal violence undoubtedly magnifies perceptions of the physical danger inherent in police work. For these reasons, most of the rest of this chapter will discuss danger in police work and its effect on decision behavior and selected work perceptions and attitudes.

Before continuing in this vein, it should be pointed out that danger is not a feature of service work unique to the police occupation. Social workers (Mayer & Rosenblatt, 1975), teachers (Becker, 1952), hospital staff (Romney & Bynner, 1972), taxi drivers (Henslin, 1968, 1974), and numerous other occupational groups face danger daily.

Danger in Police Work

The growth of crime in the United States (Radzinowicz, 1977; Jeffery, 1978), particularly violent crimes (murder, manslaughter, robbery, rape, assaults, and the more ominous "random criminal violence") in major urban areas, has increased the danger each of us faces daily. For the American police officer assigned to patrol urban areas, danger has been compounded exponentially. Common sense and theory (Skolnick, 1966; Janis & Mann, 1977) suggest that human cognitive processes and behavior vary with the level of danger inherent to a situation, but little use has been made of this insight in organizational behavior research, apart from a few studies on fear and combat performance (Stouffer et al., 1949a, 1949b; Halpin, 1957; See Lang, 1965 for review).
Treatments of danger have been atheoretical and lacking definitional precision. Usually, situations or activities have simply been labeled as dangerous, as if enveloped by some mystical force which threatens participants. This is particularly true in occupational studies where "working conditions" (or some equally vague term) has been used to refer to danger. Everyday notions such as these are difficult to integrate into conceptual models of organizational behavior because they gloss over exactly what must be specified in a conceptual scheme: how gradations of the phenomenon can be observed and measured.

Widespread disagreement about what constitutes danger is at least partly due to confusion about whether it exists independently in the environment (objective hazard) or as an attribute of the individual (perception of danger). This is a difficult distinction to maintain, but in this study, danger will be primarily discussed as an objective property of time and space with its referent in the interpersonal interactions of inhabitants of that time and space. Behavior of the inhabitants, and not the spatio-temporal segment's physical attributes is advanced as the major defining dimension of the reality of danger.

The possibility that objective hazard faced may vary from individual to individual (Ross, 1974) is not denied. Nor is it denied that the same behavior pattern exhibited across a spectrum of spatio-temporal segments could vary in danger because of characteristics of the physical environment. These considerations were unavoidably neglected in this study to focus on what is believed to be the
overriding definitional issue in the study of danger as it relates to policing: the quality of human interaction. To understand danger apart from its human referent does not take full account of the fact that policing involves above all else "controlling people" (Rubinstein, 1973: 302-317).

The meaning of dangerous clients. The difficulty of the role of the American policeman due to exposure to criminal violence is well documented (Banton, 1964; Skolnick, 1966). While it has been noted that a large portion of police work is better described as "service work", the military analogies are somewhat more applicable to assignments in a city's high crime areas during active hours. In describing the situation of urban police who serve in economically depressed black communities, Groves and Rossi (1971: 188) wrote:

"Urban police find themselves to a large extent in the position of troops sent to occupy conquered enemy territory".

Just as crime patterns and client behaviors differ according to time of day (Rubinstein, 1973; Jermier & Berkes, 1979) and geographical location (Groves & Rossi, 1971; Perry & Sornoff, 1973), the type of work an officer performs will vary depending upon his work assignment. The composition of calls varies among sectors of a city (Perry & Sornoff, 1973) and by time of day (Jermier & Berkes, 1979).

Thus, danger in police work, defined as exposure or vulnerability to physical or psychological harm (see Tauber, 1967 for a similar conceptualization), is a direct function of the type of calls handled. Calls involving violent crimes against persons (prowler, robbery,
domestic disturbance, cutting or stabbing, shooting, fight, etc.) entail high danger and may be life-threatening; others (hospital report, dog complaint) are usually routine and entail little danger.

Level of danger in police work is perhaps best operationalized, then, with a concrete referent: the degree to which the officer is exposed to physical and psychological harm while providing service in a social setting characterized by relative client hostility. It seems reasonable to infer that police organization and behavior are affected by client characteristics, such as client behavior, as in other organizations. At this stage, though, as little is known about the specific effects of dangerous clients as is known about the effects of other client characteristics on organization.

Danger cues. Mennerick (1974: 411-413) has described the process through which clients are categorized by service workers. He identified seven major categories of cues utilized to type clients, including situational (time of day, location, number of clients present, physical setting), medical/psychological, physical (race, sex, age, dress, hair style), social (occupation, ethnic status, social class), interactional, behavioral (demeanor), and organizational definitions of clients. Each of these categories warrants detailed investigation, but in this study the operational focus will be on situational characteristics, supplemented by general sketches of the other categories.

The variety of conceptualizations of social settings (Moos, 1974) indicates a profound lack of agreement about how to describe salient features of any environment, but the concept "behavior setting"
(Barker, 1960; 1968) seems most appropriate for this study. It includes both the "standing behavior pattern and the physical forms which combine to make a socially-defined place or event" (Smith-Lovin, 1979: 31). In terms of the environments to be described in this study, criminal behavior settings will be conceptualized as largely the product of Mennerick's (1974) situational, physical, social and behavioral cues. The relative degree of danger in behavior settings will be abstracted from historical accounts of client behavior and organizational definitions.

Many assignments in police work require that the officer cultivate a suspicious attitude and become highly skilled at identifying "symbolic assailants" (Skolnick, 1966). For example, Pilivian and Brian (1964) identified cues utilized by police officers in contact with juvenile offenders such as the youth's age, race, group affiliations, grooming, dress, and particularly, demeanor as related to client apprehension and the severity of disposition. Blacks and "tough boys" were reported to symbolize the threat of violence to police, suggesting danger when encountered.

Symbolic assailants and suspicious persons are often identified on sight by inferring moral character from appearance cues: "Police-men develop indicators of suspicion by a method of pragmatic induction. Past experience leads them to conclude that more crimes are committed in the poorer sections of town than in the wealthier areas, that Negroes are more likely to cause public disturbances than whites, and that adolescents in certain areas are a greater source of trouble
than other categories of the citizenry. On the basis of these conclusions, the police divide the population and physical territory under surveillance into a variety of categories . . ." (Werthman & Pilivian, 1967: 75).

This theme was developed further by Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969: 90), relating encounters with Blacks to greater problems of control, and stating that "... policemen associate patrol in disadvantaged areas with a high amount of discretionary intervention and the possibility of violence against persons. These are the kinds of situations where danger to the police officer may erupt without warning . . . By contrast, in well-to-do areas the nature of the crime is likely to be more clear and the policeman feels he is the hunter and not the hunted". Potentially violent or high risk assignments in the inner city (minority/poor communities) have been contrasted with assignments outside the inner city by Perry and Sornoff (1973: 20): "The evident 'high risk' nature of service demands in the inner city as compared to the OIC (outside inner city) demonstrates a need for a different type of police service".

Consensual images of danger. A behavior setting in police work may carry a reputation for danger which is acknowledged by organizational members, but which is not highly correlated with statistical indicators of danger. For example, the occurrence of a few memorable incidents may have a disproportionate effect on officers' beliefs about a setting, creating an image of danger exceeding that warranted. Or, cues may be ambiguous and cause a mistyping of clients (Mennerick,
such that a behavior setting is generally regarded to be less dangerous than warranted. Because mistyping occurs, phenomenological conceptualizations may be more useful than those emphasizing physical (or statistical) properties. Smith-Lovin's (1979: 31) comment on consensual meaning highlights the potential importance of this approach:

"Places and organized events have social meanings, and their meanings influence where people choose to interact, the behaviors in which they are most likely to engage, and the actions considered to be appropriate by others".

In support of this, Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969: 89) have noted that "policemen, with remarkable agreement, expect to be used in rather different ways in different parts of the city", and as Banton (1964) and Rubinstein (1973) described, at different times of the day. Groves and Rossi (1971: 177-178) have pinpointed the issues as they relate to police work:

"... prior definitions of the situation, generalized expectancies, and pressure from peers often will over-ride the content of specific experiences, so that generalized social assessments will not reflect simply the content of a myriad of specific encounters".

The social construction of danger and fear is a fascinating subject in its own right, and warrants further research. We elected not to treat it empirically because, at this point, the practical importance of studying objective hazards in the environment seemed to outweigh what could be gained by studying danger perceptions. Also, we were concerned about operationalizing too many variables through tapping the perceptual field of respondents. The difficulty of
specifying order in complex psychological process models and the common method variance issues which surround operationalization of these models limited what we could do with intervening constructs such as danger perceptions, given the focus of this study.

Summary. Danger has been defined as exposure or vulnerability to physical or psychological harm, and conceptualized as the result of providing service to hostile clients. It has been presented as a function of the composition of assignments (calls for service) encountered by officers, which varies according to geographical location and time of day (behavior setting).

A discussion of cues utilized to type clients followed, emphasizing some situational, physical, social and behavioral cues officers rely on to classify potentially dangerous clients. Then it was noted that images of danger potential may be socially constructed, sometimes bearing little resemblance to actual events, but nevertheless exerting significant influences on behavior and attitudes.

The Effects of Danger

The composition of assignments an officer receives reflects the behavior setting (area of the city, time of the day) he patrols. And, danger degrees are determined by the composition of assignments received. Work perceptions and behavior are affected by the composition of assignments such that we expect danger degree to relate to officers' task, role and leader behavior perceptions, and affective responses. The following section presents rationales for hypothesized relationships between danger and these variables.
Given that danger is prominent in police work, it is not surprising that uncertainty, unpredictability and contingency are also often used as fundamental descriptors of police tasks, particularly patrol assignments (McNamara, 1967; Rubenstein, 1973; Manning, 1977). The concepts of task uncertainty—the relative amount of information that must be acquired during task performance (Galbraith, 1973) and task structure—the degree to which the task is simple, repetitive, and unambiguous (House & Dessler, 1974) have a brief but noteworthy history in organization theorizing, and may guide attempts to describe the nature of police tasks.

The theoretical overlap between the risk of danger in police work and, for example, task variability (one element of task uncertainty—Van de Ven & Delbecq, 1974) is revealed in police authors' portrayals of the unexpected nature of danger (Wilson, 1968: 20; Rubinstein, 1973: 64). It stands to reason that officers who frequently respond to calls involving violent crimes against persons and other dangerous assignments experience a level of task uncertainty and task variability exceeding that of officers whose composition of calls involves fewer dangerous ones with less possibility of harm. That is, it is likely that calls such as robbery in progress, officer in trouble, man with a gun, etc., will be viewed by the officer as relatively unique events and therefore as highly variable stimuli (Perrow, 1970).

Hypothesis 1a. Level of danger positively relates to perceptions of task variability.

Frequent exposure to dangerous tasks not only promotes perceptions that stimuli encountered are variable, but also the experience
of role ambiguity. This occurs when performing dangerous tasks because as Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman (1970: 156-157) defined role ambiguity: outcomes or responses to one's behavior are largely unpredictable, and there exist few "inputs from the environment, which would serve to guide behavior and provide knowledge that the behavior is appropriate".

Inappropriate behavioral responses are most likely to occur when the officer undertakes dangerous assignments and must deal with citizen challenges to his authority (Reiss, 1971). Police bonds of solidarity usually preclude formal questioning of judgements made by another officer (Westley, 1970; Van Maanen, 1974), but peer group and supervisory sanctions are most likely to occur when an officer endangers others by mishandling a dangerous assignment. These difficulties are partly the result of the absence of clear, reliable guidelines to accompany dangerous assignments.

Hypothesis 1b. Level of danger positively relates to experienced role ambiguity.

A central concern of this study involves the question: Is participative leader behavior useful in police work? Also of interest is the relationship between danger and supervisory behavior. Specifically, does the amount of influence sharing between supervisor and subordinate over the outcome of important decisions vary with the degree of danger encountered by the subordinate?

Numerous accounts of patrol operations (La Fave, 1965; Bittner, 1967; Wilson, 1968; Westley, 1970; Stark, 1972; Rubinstein, 1973; Tifft, 1975; Goldstein, 1977; Manning, 1977; Van Maanen, 1978b) have
documented the discretionary nature of police work. It remains to be determined whether intra-urban differences in danger levels affect the amount of discretion exercised by officers, and decision making interactions between supervisors and subordinates in general.

Some evidence suggests that the most discretion is exercised by officers in the most dangerous situations: poor and minority residential areas (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969: 73-74). Dangerous circumstances tend to diminish the importance of status differences and behavioral prescriptions, leaving an expectation that "anything goes" (Haynes, 1945; Grinker & Spiegel, 1963; Skolnick, 1966; Lucas, 1969; Brown & Brannon, 1970a, 1970b; Sterling, 1972).

Supervisors in such circumstances may respond to officer demands that "events run as they (officers) think they should" (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969: 94). They may avoid command-type behaviors which would threaten the autonomy and discretion of subordinates. There are at least two reasons why this may occur. First, a police supervisor called to action in a dangerous field will very rarely exercise rank privileges (Van Maanen, 1974). Usually the supervisor will assume an equal role, remain in the background, or not appear on the scene at all. Second, awareness that subordinates are typically engaging danger, exercising considerable discretion, and enjoying high autonomy in the field is likely to remind supervisors that their officers may not readily accept autocratic command behavior.

As Banton (1964: 114-119) argued, the heaviest demands for solidarity upon brother officers (perhaps irrespective of rank) occur
in situations of danger. Such demands cause the police to band together more, reducing the supervisor's power, even over matters having little to do with danger from criminals. Thus, the spill-over effects from relatively autonomous, discretionary decision making in the field may extend to front-line decision behavior in general. If this is true, the equalizing effects of dangerous circumstances would be reflected in a lower incidence of autocratic decision making.

All these factors, as well as evidence from studies of other occupations indicating that participation is most widely and effectively exercised with subordinates who are performing non-routine or physically dangerous tasks (House & Mitchell, 1974; Schuler, 1976; Haas, 1977; Norr & Norr, 1978) suggest that high danger will lead to equalitarian authority structures and an increased use of participatory decision making.

However, an equally plausible argument may be constructed which advances danger as a determinant of autocratic decision behavior. Writers have suggested that organizations facing hostile, threatening or stressful environments respond by means of a highly mechanistic, centralized structure (Argyris, 1953; Hermann, 1963; Crozier, 1964; Häger, 1965; Anderson, 1969; Brager, 1969; Khandwalla, 1972; Pfeffer & Leblebici, 1973; Warwick, 1974; Lawler, 1976; Corwin, 1977). Unless participation is viewed as a non-directive control strategy (Tannenbaum, 1968; Goldstein, 1977; Moran, 1978) it may seem inappropriate to supervisors who feel pressure from administrators and citizens to "tighten-up" patrol operations.
In high-crime settings, leader behaviors consistent with the authoritarian command model of policing (Sandler & Mintz, 1974; Jermier & Berkes, 1979) may seem more appropriate. While there are good reasons to expect danger level to affect internal organizational structures and decision behaviors, directionality of the relationship can not be specified by drawing on existing research.

**Hypothesis 1c.** Level of danger significantly relates to leader participativeness.

The level of danger in police work has been construed as a heretofore unexplored characteristic of task which affects work behavior (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969), relations with fellow officers (Banton, 1964), and cognitive tendencies (Skolnick, 1966). It is also apparent that danger influences those features of existence which Douglas (1977) labeled "brute being": fear, anxiety, love, hatred, frustration, excitement, anger, joy, etc. These most fundamental reactions to danger can be partially captured through concepts which describe one's affective response to the job and organization. Job satisfaction, the general affective state resulting from appraising one's job (Locke, 1976), and organizational commitment, a person's desire to remain a member of the particular organization, exert high levels of effort on its behalf, and believe in and identify with its goals and values (Dubin, Champoux, and Porter, 1975) were chosen as effectiveness criteria. These variables resemble morale indices which are of traditional concern to military-type organizations.

Relatively frequent assignment to highly dangerous tasks does not have an effect on job satisfaction and organizational commitment
which is easily specified. While officers may report a modicum of job satisfaction due to the fleeting exhilaration which accompanies "real police work" (Van Maanen, 1979), they still must combat the demoralizing wearisomeness resulting from constant exposure to physical and psychological threat.

But it is difficult to predict the extent to which dangerous assignments will be perceived as "interesting" on balance (Sterling, 1972). This is very likely to occur if exposure to danger is disavowed or denied (Mayer & Rosenblatt, 1975; Haas, 1977). Also, though most of the general public would probably find danger-filled episodes distasteful, self-selection, training and experience, and socialization of police officers conceivably transform such episodes into a primary source of occupational attachment (Van Maanen, 1974; Manning, 1977). In Van Maanen's (1974: 102) words:

"Without danger as an omnipresent quality of the work setting, patrolmen would have little of the visceral pleasures that contribute to their evaluation of performing difficult, important, and challenging (if unappreciated) tasks".

**Hypothesis 1d.** Level of danger positively relates to officers' job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

**Police Work as a Career**

To understand police attitudes and organizational behavior it is important to understand something of career stages in police work and the nature of police community. An occupational community exists when members' self-images are centered on their occupational roles, the occupation supplies their most important reference group,
members choose personal friends from among their colleagues, and nonwork values and activities are strongly influenced by the occupation (Salaman, 1974).

The emergence of a distinct police community, with a culture dialectically embedded in democratic society has been a recurrent (if often implicit) theme in writings on the police as an occupation. Perhaps the most frequently cited determinant of police community and an unsurpassed internal solidarity is the perceived hostility and unappreciativeness of the public (e.g., Skolnick, 1966; Niederhoffer, 1967; Westley, 1970; Groves & Rossi, 1971; Van Maanen, 1974). Police generally react to threats from a dangerous and hostile public by solidifying occupational bonds. They turn away from outsiders who reject their status aspirations and companionship overtures toward colleagues who share unpredictable shift-work assignments, unceasing duty, and familiar modes of expression. According to Reiner (1978: 210): intensive socialization into the "police mind" (continuous observation and suspiciousness) results in a "psychological intrusion into off-duty life".

Beginning with the training academy, the recruit experiences a gradual destruction of his old self-concept only to find it being rebuilt in institutional terms. As with socialization processes into any "total institution", the training program attempts to strip and mortify the recruit (Niederhoffer, 1967). Early introduction to military ceremony, discipline, and accouterments provides a poignant symbolic reminder that detachment from old affiliations will proceed as rapidly as new institutional requisites are assimilated.
More detailed occupational definitions of the police role are transmitted from older partners during the rookie’s apprenticeship period. Detachment from the public grows as the recruit is repeatedly instructed by more experienced colleagues that the danger of the work and public hostility necessitate cooperation, solidarity and brotherhood: "Everybody hates a cop" (Westley, 1970: 159).

Eventually the apprenticeship period leads the novice to contact with the public when he experiences the blatant rejection and hostility described by his embittered mentors. It is during this period that "he becomes emotionally involved with identifying himself with the group and upholding its values . . . He finds that the maintenance of his own integrity and self-esteem is linked with maintenance of respect for the police. He begins to defend and follow the group-defined rule of action with conviction. He has become a policeman" (Westley, 1970: 182).

It is apparent that the nature of police work and the intensive socialization into police community instill within the officer a career identity which binds him to the police occupation, and usually to one organization unless he is willing to start again at the bottom. As Van Maanen (1974: 112) reported one officer's remarks: "once police work gets into your blood, that's it! You can never really go back out there again as a civilian".

Occupational Rewards and Career Stage

Apart from membership in an unique occupational community, police careers seem to offer few satisfactions. Identifying one's
life chances with a socially marginal occupation such as policing (Reiner, 1978) means that vestiges of self-esteem derive from member embellishments of the occupation, not public recognition. Low-ceiling salary and advancement schedules leave few with significant mobility aspirations. Cynicism about promotions and special assignments accompanies a realistic appraisal of the opportunity structure (McNamara, 1967), since although many may have aspired to administrative or (particularly) detective details, only one in five ever advance beyond the patrolman level (Van Maanen, 1974). Even the intrinsic satisfactions from protecting clients' rights and serving the community may be few (McNamara, 1967). They appear to diminish with assignment to a lower-class precinct house (Niederhoffer, 1967), and perhaps weigh trivially in comparison with perceptions of public hostility.

Development of a career identity in an occupation so noticeably beleaguered has some predictable consequences. As in other occupations where life goals are blocked (Mills, 1951; Chinoy, 1955), adjustment mechanisms are engaged to buffer one's self-concept. Among patrol officers, advancement is gradually devalued as it becomes less probable (McNamara, 1967). Colleague assessment of the occupation's merit gradually increases in value as it becomes apparent that public recognition most frequently comes in antagonistic terms (Westley, 1970). Mechanisms such as these have the dual effect of protecting one's self-image while mitigating a general tendency in police work toward discontent as experience increases.
Police discontent has been identified with many labels including alienation (Denger, Callender, & Thompson, 1975), low morale (Wilson, 1968; Toch, 1978), and most frequently, cynicism (Banton, 1964; Niederhoffer, 1967; Westley, 1970; Wilt & Bannon, 1976; Lotz & Regoli, 1977; Regoli & Poole, 1978). Niederhoffer (1967: 99) defined police cynicism as "feelings of hate and envy, impotent hostility, and a sour-grapes pattern". He specified several career stages that police officers pass through based on years of service, and related levels of cynicism to occupational experiences summarized by each career stage. The pattern of discontent found by Niederhoffer and later by Wilt and Bannon (1976), Lotz and Regoli (1977), and Regoli and Poole (1978) showed a peak during the 6 or 7-to-10 year stage, with generally lower cynicism reported in groups temporally closer to the academy or to retirement. Apparently recruit idealism is gradually eroded as the officer experiences more and more of the traumas endemic to police work. He eventually withdraws from the occupation or settles into his remaining years with the force comfortable with the belief that his life chances would not be significantly improved by retraining for another occupation.

The Effects of Career Stage

Consistent with earlier research, it is expected that:

Hypothesis 2a. There is a pocket discontent (relatively low job satisfaction and organizational commitment) centered in the group with 5-10 years of experience. Those in career stages with less than 5 years or more than 10 years of experience report relatively higher job satisfaction and organizational commitment.
As mentioned above, the academy introduces the recruit to the tradition, norms, and collegial bonds of police community, and provides him with a "set of temporary behavioral definitions (Westley, 1970: 156). But it can impart few of the skills needed to perform street work. Van Maanen's (1973: 412) account of the reality shock officers experience following classroom training illustrates this point: "The newcomer quickly is bombarded with 'street-wise' patrolmen assuring him that the police academy was simply an experience all officers endure and has little, if anything, to do with real police work".

Entry level patrol work is highly variable and discretionary, preventing codification of a body of knowledge which might be learned cognitively. Patrol work has been likened to craftwork, and learning in a craft is only accomplished experientially (Wilson, 1968).

The apprenticeship period offers the new officer an opportunity to observe a master craftsman (field training officer). He learns from the veteran officer appropriate behavioral guidelines and perspectives, developing an experience-based repertoire of his own (Van Maanen, 1973). In common with members of other craft occupations, police officers eventually cultivate styles or strategies which they find successful in handling assignments and only reluctantly modify them in the interest of efficiency or even legality. Constraints upon such initiatives may be resented if officers truly believe they are employing craft skills since the craft worker expects total control over the work process (Mills, 1951; Skolnick, 1966; Fox, 1974).
Yet police supervisors are obligated to monitor and control discretionary behaviors of their subordinates. They must make judgements about actions and decisions of subordinates, at times limiting the autonomy of officers with directives and post hoc reviews of decisions. Neither operational nor general decision making can be done arbitrarily: police supervisors' power over subordinates has been convincingly documented by Rubinstein (1973) to be too precarious for this to occur. Contrary to the leader as commander image characteristic of the quasi-military model of police organization, supervisory decisions are influenced by subordinates, sometimes markedly.

The criteria police supervisors use to determine the degree and frequency of participativeness probably resemble those managers in other organizations select. Street experience in a craft occupation such as policing is usually related closely to ability, or more importantly is usually perceived as such by organizational personnel (McNamara, 1967; Westley, 1970; Van Maanen, 1974). Therefore, officers at advanced career stages usually are perceived to have greater expertise than younger officers, are more likely to gain the trust and confidence of their supervisors, and are offered more opportunities to participate in important supervisory decisions. Filley, House and Kerr (1976) generalized this argument citing experimental research by Lowin and Craig (1968) and Farris and Lim (1969) which indicated that effective subordinates were treated more supportively by supervisors.

**Hypothesis 2b.** Officers' career stage positively relates to leader participativeness.
The temporal and spatial perspectives an individual acquires in an organization refer to the expectations a person develops to "guide and organize behavior" and interpret where others are "coming from" (Van Maanen & Katz, 1979: 34-35). One of the functions of organizational socialization is to transfer such orienting perspectives to newcomers so that they become productive members. As officers accumulate street experience they develop repertoires of operational skills and problem solving models, but also become situated in the organization in the sense of understanding their niche. They become familiar with the subtle aspects of the organization's rituals, authority structures, promotion tracks, rules and procedures, disciplinary systems, communication systems, and political behavior, in addition to learning the "territory" (Rubinstein, 1973), client categories and public interaction codes (Van Maanen, 1974).

Two recent studies (Johnston, 1976; Katz, 1978) have renewed interest in the theoretical relationships between career stage and perceptions of the work environment. Previously, Becker (1964), Brim (1966), Hall and Nougaïm (1968) and Schein (1971) among others, advanced career stage as a central concern of organization, but few cohort or generational analyses have been conducted. Johnston's (1976) study offered an innovative conceptualization of organizational climate. He identified two distinct climates related to generational groups in the organization, and contrasted first with second generation perceptions. Katz (1978) examined the relationships between perceptions of task characteristics and job
satisfaction as affected by job longevity and found that career stage tended to moderate these relationships. In commenting on the effects of job longevity, he (1978: 207) noted: "even the most challenging jobs will . . . eventually become routinized and habitual as employees become increasingly proficient at their everyday assignments".

These theoretical issues bear directly on two additional relationships of concern in this study: career stage with perceptions of task variability and experienced role ambiguity.

Hypothesis 2c. Officers' career stage inversely relates to perceptions of task variability.

Hypothesis 2d. Officers' career stage inversely relates to experienced role ambiguity.

The Effects of Participativeness in Contexts

The complexities of police work and organization make multivariate frameworks and situational hypotheses desirable. This section draws together the four situational variables discussed in bivariate terms above (danger, career stage, task variability, and role ambiguity) by specifying the effect of each on the relationship between leader participativeness and job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Recall that earlier in this paper models of participatory systems with universal prescriptions were described. The quasi-military model of police organization, which suggests that participatory decision making is almost always inappropriate, was contrasted with participation imperative models which suggest that participatory decision making is almost always appropriate. The psychological
impact of participation in decision making on subordinates, however, is likely to vary depending on the contextual factors discussed above.

Danger. In attempting to answer the question "What effect does participative decision behavior have on patrol officers' job satisfaction and organizational commitment?", an obvious but unexplored dimension of task—level of danger—has been conceptualized. Based on existing theory and research it was not possible to specify the direction of the relationship between the level of danger and extent of leader participativeness. The effect of leader participativeness on subordinate outcomes under varying levels of danger is nearly as difficult to specify.

Decision behavior consistent with the authoritarian command model of policing, if ever acceptable, may seem most appropriate to subordinates operating under relatively high levels of danger. Much of the rationalization for command behaviors, obedience socialization, strict and unquestioned discipline, and other non-egalitarian features of military ideology can be traced to war on crime analogies. These are most fitting where danger is recognized. Leader as commander (not colleague) images may be more acceptable to subordinates performing dangerous assignments since rank differences may be easier to legitimate. Whether legitimation is based on the ceremonial aspects of police hierarchy or perceived expertise makes little difference: under such circumstances command images may condition the perceptual set of the subordinate and pervade even the most undramatic situations.
But, this conceptualization overlooks some evidence suggesting that participatory decision making is most effective under non-routine (House & Mitchell, 1974; Schuler, 1976) or physically dangerous (Haas, 1977; Norr & Norr, 1978) tasks. It also overlooks the symbolic importance of dangerous assignments which are a major factor promoting police solidarity (Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1974). There is no reason to believe that solidarity (and collegiality) can not transcend organizational ranks if the danger symbol is salient enough.

Police officers assigned to disadvantaged areas expect to encounter violence and to exercise a high amount of discretionary intervention (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969). They grow accustomed to non-uniform events, discretionary work patterns, and a high degree of autonomy. This state of mind inevitably spills over into even routine supervisor-subordinate interactions. Hierarchical status distinctions and authoritarian behaviors will probably be resented since in such situations, "the boss... should be no more than a senior colleague who provides help when asked, but who does not give orders" (Strauss, 1963: 25).

Hypothesis 3a. Level of danger positively moderates the relationship between leader participativeness and job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Career stage. The considerable knowledge and skill required to effectively work the streets can come from only one source: street experience (Van Maanen, 1974). Since officers and supervisors recognize this fact, it is expected that career stage will strongly affect the acceptability to subordinates of leader participativeness.
Subordinates who have experience-based expertise undoubtedly expect to be consulted about important decisions and make valuable contributions when this occurs (Tannenbaum & Schmidt, 1958; Maier, 1960; Vroom & Yetton, 1973; House & Mitchell, 1974; Heller & Wilpert, 1977).

The use of highly valued personal skills and knowledge, whether instrumental to goal-attainment or not, will promote job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

However, this may not occur for younger, less experienced officers. Even if provided with opportunities to participate they may recognize they lack the skill and knowledge needed to make a non-trivial contribution. Also, since younger officers are temporally closer to the academy and apprenticeship socialization, they probably respect authoritarian behavior in general more than veteran officers. Van Maanen's (1973, 1974) first-hand accounts of early socialization processes emphasized the deferential, obedient role newcomers are expected to play. Therefore,

**Hypothesis 3b.** Officers' career stage positively moderates the relationship between leader participativeness and officers' job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

**Task variability and role ambiguity.** Within the Path-Goal Theory of Leadership framework (House, 1971; House & Dessler, 1974; House & Mitchell, 1974) the search for situational factors which moderate the relationships between leader behaviors and subordinate attitudes is well underway. Research designed to evaluate the effectiveness of leader participativeness under various conditions though has been surprisingly limited.
Task ambiguity (a hybrid form of task variability and role ambiguity) has been argued to have an important effect upon the acceptability to subordinates of leader participativeness (House & Mitchell, 1974; Filley et al., 1976). When employees' tasks are non-routine and unclear, leader participativeness may be valued by subordinates for its ability to reduce ambiguity. The same argument applies with respect to employee perceptions of role ambiguity: participativeness may be more or less effective depending upon levels of role ambiguity (Schuler, 1979).

Individuals encountering non-uniform events (such as police) will generally experience unclear roles (Litwak, 1961). This is because work situations can not be prescribed in advance (Fox, 1974), or coordinated using schedules and plans (March & Simon, 1958; Perrow, 1967). When tasks become variable and work sequencing is difficult to predict, coordination by personal modes (feedback, mutual adjustment) is required. In such situations, leader participativeness will probably hold its highest value for subordinates.

**Hypothesis 3c.** Task variability positively moderates the relationship between leader participativeness and officers' job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

**Hypothesis 3d.** Role ambiguity positively moderates the relationship between leader participativeness and officers' job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Summary of Hypotheses

Twelve hypotheses derived from the existing theory and research pertaining to police organization were presented in this chapter. A variable network was developed to aid in gaining an understanding of
a central concept of organizing—participation in decision making—as it applies to police work. Hypothesis set one specified bivariate relationships between an unexplored feature of task—danger—and leader participativeness, task and role perceptions, and subordinate outcomes (job satisfaction and organizational commitment). Hypothesis set two specified bivariate relationships between career stage and these same variables. Hypothesis set three specified relationships between leader participativeness and subordinate outcomes moderated by danger, career stage, task variability and role ambiguity.

The results from these hypotheses should be helpful in attempts to understand the effectiveness of police decision behavior under various task conditions and with various types of subordinates. They should also shed some light on the construct validity of danger and career stage since these concepts were hypothesized to relate to a fairly well researched variable network.
CHAPTER III

METHOD

Sample and Procedure

This study is based on a subset of data obtained from over 800 police officers and support personnel in an urban, Midwestern police department. Of the original 589 respondents completing this portion of the instrument, those who held civilian status (125), who held the rank of sergeant or above (107), who were not assigned to patrol duty (134), or who missed items (29) were deleted from the analyses. The remaining 194 respondents included only patrol officers sworn to duty, of which 57 regularly worked the first watch (8 a.m. - 4 p.m.), 73 the second (4 p.m. - 12m), and 64 the third (12m - 8 a.m.).

3.4 percent of the respondents were less than 25 years old, 54.6 percent were between 25 and 30 years old, 36.6 percent were between 31 and 40 years old, and 5.4 percent were 41 years old, or older. 54.2 percent of the sample held high school diplomas; 23.7 percent had two years of college, a technical school degree, or more; 11.8 percent earned a college degree or more. 40.2 percent of the sample were with the division 5 years or less; 18.0 percent had more than 10 years tenure.
Respondents completed questionnaires during normal working hours in about 60 minutes, and were assured of anonymity.

Measures

**Subordinate outcomes.** To measure the general affective state resulting from appraising one's job (Locke, 1976), the short form of the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) was employed. The short form has been found to have reliabilities similar to the 100-item, original MSQ (Weiss et al., 1967). The MSQ is noted for its careful development and refinement and its extensive use by field investigators (Gillet & Schwab, 1975). The internal reliability for the MSQ short form, calculated using the Kuder-Richardson 8 formula (Kuder & Richardson, 1937) was .91.

Porter et al.'s (1974) organizational commitment scale was used to measure the general affective state resulting from appraising one's employing organization. The KR-8 coefficient for this measure was .91.

**Leader participativeness.** Participative leadership has been conceptualized so diversely that it has no commonly used operationalization. The five-item scale developed by Ford (1975) was used here to operationalize this variable. Participation is measured as a style or strategy of leadership and does not simply ask subjects whether or not they have authority to make decisions. Ford derived this scale from earlier work on centralization by Hage and Aiken (1967), and reported reliabilities in excess of .8 (Ford, 1975: 85). The KR-8 reliability coefficient for this sample was .72.
Danger. This police department has divided the urban area it services into 15 sectors (precincts) for assignment, monitoring, and evaluation. Each precinct has a squad of officers who are assigned to permanent duty on one of three eight-hour watches. Precincts and watches have an historically determined reputation for danger based on the usual composition of assignments and clientele served.

To create an index of danger potential for the 45 behavioral settings (spatio-geographical, temporal), police archives were re-searched. Daily records of demands for police service by type of run, time of day, and precinct are normally compiled from radio dispatchers' telephone logs. Twenty-one of the most hazardous types of calls were selected and sorted based on precinct and time of day for the 90 days of the quarter preceding the month of the attitude survey. Then, based on a frequency count of the number of dangerous runs performed, the behavioral settings were assigned a rank from 1 through 45.

To assess the stability of the ranking, calls for the 92 days of the third quarter preceding the month of the survey were also sorted. The behavioral settings were again assigned a rank following the same procedure. Though the number of hazardous calls decreased from 53,849 to 28,619, and the total number of calls decreased from 114,264 to 68,597, the percentage of total calls identified as hazardous remained fairly stable (47.1%; 41.7%). The danger ranking of the behavioral settings also remained stable, as the Spearman rank order correlation coefficient of .975 indicates. A Spearman
A rank order correlation coefficient of .757 was found between behavioral setting rankings based on physical assaults on officers for the year of the survey and the dangerous run index.²

Once the hazardous calls for each behavioral setting were totalled and assessed for stability, each sum was divided by the number of patrol officers assigned to the setting. This allowed for the construction of a hazardous run per officer index which was then used in all further computations.

This index made use of gradations in the data which the simple ordinal rankings suppressed. It also more closely approximated the psychological meaning of "number of dangerous runs". For these reasons, it correlated more strongly with all of the attitudinal and behavioral scales than did the ordinal operationalization of danger.

Task variability. Five items adapted from Hage and Aiken (1969), Hrebiniak (1974), and Van de Ven, Delbecq, and Koenig (1976) were employed to measure this. These items were:

-- There is variety in my work.

-- I do the same tasks all the time.

-- Nothing new happens to me on my job in that I do the same tasks every day.

-- Every day I have something different to do.

-- There are different kinds of work for me to do every day in my job.

The KR-8 reliability coefficient for this sample was .84.
Role Ambiguity. Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman's (1970) scale was chosen to measure this because of its demonstrated reliability and consistent relationships with job satisfaction, tension/anxiety, and performance (Schuler, Aldag, & Brief, 1977; Van Sell, Brief, & Schuler, 1977). The KR-8 reliability coefficient for this sample was .86.

Career Stage. To protect anonymity, five broad categories were offered subjects to respond to the question: "how long have you been employed in the Division of Police?" Of particular interest was the category "5 years, 1 month to 10 years" since it corresponds to earlier research on career turning points by Niederhoffer (1967) and others. The remaining categories were: less than 1 year; 1 year to 3 years; 3 years, 1 month to 5 years; over 10 years. This measure correlated (.59) (p < .001) with a categorical operationalization of age.

Analyses

In order to test the bivariate hypotheses, task variability, role ambiguity, leader participativeness, and organizational commitment and job satisfaction were regressed on danger, and then career stage. In the latter instance, a polynomial function was specified to estimate the non-monotonic relationships. A seven variable correlation matrix was also calculated to examine levels of bivariate multicollinearity among the network.

To test the moderated hypotheses involving leader participativeness, subgroup moderator analyses were conducted. Subgroups
were formed by trichotomizing the sample based on a frequency count separation on two of the potential moderators (task variability and role ambiguity), and trichotomizing the sample based on a rank categorization on the other potential moderators (danger and career stage). The resulting subsample means were significantly different (p < .001) for all moderator analyses. After regressing job satisfaction and organizational commitment on leader participativeness for each subgroup, it was possible to heuristically compare the validity coefficients across subsamples (Zedeck, 1971).

Then, to evaluate the explanatory power of the predictor set on job satisfaction and organizational commitment and to assess the relative independent contribution of each variable, the data were regression analyzed with the full sample intact. A forward stepwise procedure forced the variables into the equation in the following order: danger, career stage, task variability, role ambiguity, and leader participativeness. This provided a further means of assessing the independent contribution of leader participativeness, statistically controlling for the effects of covariates.

But, critiques of cross-sectional methodologies and correlational analyses have challenged this type of procedure. Since all the variables except danger were measured by questionnaire, and collected from respondents at the same point in time, common method variance is an alternative explanation for the findings. Several important theoretical and methodological issues, as well as some additional data bearing on the common method variance problem are presented and discussed on pages 76-78 of this report.
Chapter IV

Results

Scale Means and Standard Deviations

Correlations among the measures of leader participativeness, danger, career stage, task variability, role ambiguity, organizational commitment and job satisfaction are presented in Table 1. Scale means and standard deviations are also reported and warrant some prior review.

Participativeness. On average, very low levels of leader participativeness were reported. The mean score for the patrol officers sampled was 10.3, with a standard deviation of 2.9. For comparison purposes (since normative data do not exist for this measure), means and standard deviations were computed for other occupational groups within the department. As with the patrol officers, these samples excluded civilians and ranking officers: 34 technicians (radio communications, forensic sciences bureau, medical unit, crime scene search unit, photo lab, etc.,) -- M = 11.9, SD = 3.0; 35 detectives -- M = 12.9, SD = 2.5; 58 administrative and service workers -- M = 11.7, SD = 3.1; 41 special patrol and security officers (SWAT, helicopter patrol, jail bureau, traffic bureau) -- M = 11.7, SD = 2.7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Number of items</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Danger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>(--)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Task Variability</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>(.84)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Role Ambiguity</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>(.86)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Leader Participativeness</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>(.72)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Career Stage#</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>-.47</td>
<td>-.28</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>(.--)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Organizational Commitment</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.34</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>(.91)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Job Satisfaction</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>-.36</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>(.91)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $r_{xy} \geq .12; p < .05$ (one-tailed test)
* $r_{xy} \geq .17; p < .01$ (one-tailed test)

** Estimated KR-8 reliability coefficients in parentheses.

# Career stage transformed into polynomial function

\[
Y_i = \hat{\alpha} + \hat{\beta}_1 X_{1i} + \hat{\beta}_2 X_{1i}^2
\]

to estimate correlations with job satisfaction and organizational commitment.
The differences between the mean score for patrol officers and each of the other groups are significant (p < .01). Average item scores fell below the scale midpoint of 3.0 for every group except detectives.

**Job satisfaction.** Normative data do exist for subordinate outcome measures. The Manual for the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (Weiss, et al., 1967) includes an extensive validation section for both the long-form and the short-form of the MSQ. The mean score for patrol officers of 66.4 (SD = 11.8) is significantly lower (p < .05) than six of the seven groups reported in the Manual, including assemblers, machinists, office clerks, janitors and maintenance workers, salesmen, and engineers, but not significantly different from that reported for electrical assemblers. When the MSQ long-form was transformed to compare with these data, the patrol officers in this sample ranked next to lowest among 26 occupational groups and significantly lower (p < .05) than all but housekeeping aides. The mean score on general satisfaction for patrol officers in this sample ranked at close to the 10th percentile vis-a-vis a diverse sample of 380 "non-disabled" workers. Mean scores of other occupational groups within the department significantly exceeded (p < .05) that of the patrol officers.

**Organizational commitment.** Van Maanen (1975) summarized several studies of organizational commitment when presenting his findings from a study of a northwest police recruit class. The mean organizational commitment score for this sample (63.2, SD = 18.5)
is substantially lower (p < .001) than Van Maanen reported for both his recruit class across eight time periods and a "control group" of veteran patrolmen. Recent reports by Angle and Perry (1978) and Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1978) provide additional normative data. In only two of ten samples does the mean level of organizational commitment not significantly (p < .05) exceed that reported for patrol officers in this sample. Mean scores of other occupational groups within the department significantly exceeded (p < .05) that of the patrol officers.

Hypothesis Tests

_Danger._ Hypothesis 1 predicted significant effects of danger on the principle independent variable, leader participativeness, subordinate outcomes, and the potential moderating variables, role ambiguity and task variability. Bivariate hypothesis tests are important at this point to evaluate theoretically plausible relationships and to determine the degree to which danger, task variability, role ambiguity, and career stage approximate moderator variable characteristics. Technically, a moderator variable should be uncorrelated with both predictors and the criterion (Zedeck, 1971).

There was mixed support for the danger hypotheses. As shown in Table 1, danger related positively to task variability, organizational commitment and job satisfaction, as predicted, but did not significantly correlate with role ambiguity and leader participativeness. It also related inversely and significantly to career stage.
Career Stage. A similar pattern of relationships was obtained for this variable. Inverse relationships were predicted between career stage and task variability and role ambiguity, while a positive relationship was expected between career stage and leader participativeness. Convex hyperbolic relationships were hypothesized between career stage and subordinate job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and these were estimated by specifying both linear and polynomial functions.

There were significant, inverse relationships with task variability and organizational commitment, while job satisfaction, leader participativeness and role ambiguity were unrelated to career stage. The convex hyperbolic relationship between career stage and organizational commitment represented in Table 2 with mean scores was estimated significantly with the polynomial function specified. The polynomial function specified to estimate the convex hyperbolic relationship between career stage and job satisfaction did not reach statistical significance though the mean differences across categories presented in Table 2 were significant (p < .05).

Moderator contexts. None of the four variables hypothesized to moderate the relationship between leader participativeness and subordinate outcomes strictly conforms to the definition of a moderator variable. But all subsample mean differences appearing in Table 2 were significant (p < .001) so that subgroups may be assumed to represent different populations.
TABLE 2
Subgroup Comparisons: Organizational Commitment and Job Satisfaction Regressed on Leader Participativeness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subgrouping Variable</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Organizational Commitment</th>
<th>Job Satisfaction</th>
<th>Leader Participativeness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meana</td>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Danger</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Danger</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Danger</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>.38**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Career (&lt;= 5 years)</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Career (5-10 years)</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.40**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Career (&gt; 10 years)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Variability</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Variability</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>.43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Variability</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Role Ambiguity</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Role Ambiguity</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Role Ambiguity</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05  ** p < .01  a All subsample mean differences are significant (p < .001).
The effect of danger on the relationships between participation and organizational commitment and job satisfaction was in the predicted direction, but did not reach statistical significance. Career stage significantly (p < .01) affected the relationship between participation and organizational commitment, but not participation and job satisfaction. The significant curvilinear effect found (Table 2) was unexpected, and only partially supports the positive moderating effect hypothesized to occur in 3b.

Neither task variability nor role ambiguity affected the relationship between leader participativeness and subordinates' organizational commitment. The difference in the validity coefficient for the medium subgroups was not significant. Task variability did have a significant effect in the predicted direction (p < .05) on the relationship between participation and job satisfaction, but role ambiguity did not.

Generally there was little improvement in the validity coefficient based on these subgroup analyses. Participativeness was significantly related to job satisfaction in most situations; only subgrouping by task variability significantly improved the validity coefficient. Participativeness was less frequently related to organizational commitment. In three of the four moderator contexts, subgrouping contrasts produced a significant validity coefficient, but only once (career stage) was the overall pattern significant.

**Independent effects.** Regression analysis of these data (see Table 3) confirmed the relative significance of leader
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>JOB SATISFACTION Beta Weight</th>
<th>F Ratio</th>
<th>ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT Beta Weight</th>
<th>F Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Danger</td>
<td>.16** 4.86</td>
<td></td>
<td>.15** 4.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Stage #</td>
<td>.04 0.25</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.07 0.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task Variability</td>
<td>.11* 2.82</td>
<td></td>
<td>.15** 5.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Ambiguity</td>
<td>-.30** 21.62</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.30** 21.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participative Leader Behavior</td>
<td>.29** 20.39</td>
<td></td>
<td>.16** 5.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ R = .50^{**} \]
\[ R^2 = .24^{**} \]

\[ R = .47^{**} \]
\[ R^2 = .20^{**} \]

*p < .05  **p < .01

#Career stage transformed into polynomial function \( Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 X_{1i}^2 \) to estimate equation.
participativeness as a predictor of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. The predictors were forced into the regression equation in the order presented in the table; leader participativeness exerted a significant direct effect on the criteria even after statistically controlling for the effects of covariates. The absence of a "suppressor effect" (Wherry, 1946; Darlington, 1968) among the predictor set suggests that leader participativeness is stable across the contexts investigated.

This finding is not trivial in light of the significant, independent effects that danger, task variability and role ambiguity had on the dependent variables. The most powerful predictor of both outcome variables was role ambiguity. Danger remained a significant predictor in spite of its strong relationship with career stage and significant relationship with task variability.
Considering the voluminous literature on topics of participation in decision making, it is somewhat surprising that police organizations have escaped researchers' attention. Issues concerning the coercive control of community behavior in a democratic society continue to be debated by social theorists, but internal police authority and control systems remain largely uninvestigated.

The theoretical import of information about the authority and control systems of the primary agents of authority and social control in most contemporary states is perhaps only surpassed by the symbolic richness of this nested imagery. Clues helpful in understanding the emergence of authoritarian control behavior in modern society may result from a better understanding of the internal features of police organization and ideology (Clark & Sykes, 1974; Sandler & Mintz, 1974; Cordner, 1978; Jermier & Berkes, 1979). Few topics seem to offer the student of organizations and social control a more substantial interface.

The issue has probably remained closed due to stereotypical conceptions of police organization which emphasized "responsiveness to top command, identity with a chain of command culminating in the ranking officer, and adherence to notions of centralized
communications, control, and supervision" (Clark & Sykes, 1974: 473). These are features of organization which environmental determinists frequently argue must accompany turbulent, uncertain and hostile environments (some of the more potentially formidable barriers to work democratization identified by Smith, 1976).

Though few contest the veridicality of these environmental attributes as applied to police work, qualitative probes of police organization have often stressed the nonmilitary and nonbureaucratic nature of police organization. According to Clark and Sykes (1974: 473), "(it) is an open question as to whether the rank structure and its accompanying discriminations are any more meaningful within police departments than they are in a wide-range of other formal organizations". This line of reasoning opened the possibility that a monolithic, hierarchical authority structure founded upon military command ideology would not be the sole determinant of police supervisory behavior.

As a result, several issues concerning leader participativeness in police work contexts were investigated, as were some general questions about job discontent among police officers. The focus on the patrol operations of a large, urban police department lends a degree of social relevancy to this study often absent when major social institutions are not accessible as research sites.

Do Police Supervisors Use Participative Decision Making?

A fundamental question concerning the nature of police bureaucracy was implicit in this study. The finding that police
supervisors utilized participative decision making styles (albeit to a relatively limited degree) is taken to indicate that at least some of the image of uniform, rigid adherence to bureaucratic ideals was "symbolic" (Jacobs, 1969). But the mean level of leader participativeness was significantly lower than that found by Mohr (1977) and Schuler (1979), who used roughly similar 5-point frequency measures, and for other occupational groups within the department. Also, in an absolute sense, the mean level fell below the scale mid-point.

Consistent with this, some credence must be given to the notion that a majority of important work decisions were made by supervisors without cooperative input from patrol officers. This outcome is not surprising given the conditions under which patrol operations are conducted. Authoritarian leadership tends to arise in response to various forms of external threat or stress (Hamblin, 1958; Korten, 1962; Mulder, 1963; Rosenbaum & Rosenbaum, 1971; Fodor, 1976); high levels of these certainly exist in most patrol work.

Whether other varieties of leader behavior are preferred by patrol supervisors to participativeness cannot be answered from these data. The relatively low mean level of role ambiguity indicates that there are potent sources of clarification present, but they are unlikely to emanate from the formal, hierarchical supervisor (Kerr & Jermier, 1978; Jermier & Berkes, 1979).

Though not specifically measured by questionnaire, selective interviews with officers in the department revealed that they were
more likely to be involved in decisions about intermittent performance reviews following an "incident", determination of regular days off, vacations, and early leave, and implementation of new laws, patrol techniques, operations, and equipment. Most officers develop guidelines for discretionary intervention and arrest behavior without supervisory input. They were less likely to be involved in decisions about assignments to cruiser district and vehicles, manpower assignments, regular performance evaluation, and determination of "activity".

Are Urban Patrol Officers Discontented?

By nearly all standards, mean levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment are low for the patrol officers in this sample. Presumably there are many factors endemic to police work and this organization which are related to officer discontent, including lack of community support, modest income, promotion frustrations, lack of family support, unpleasant working conditions, as well as the variables included in this study. Increasing awareness of the difficulties inherent in studying work and organizational satisfaction in some occupations (Blauner, 1960; Strauss, 1974) makes it necessary to discuss these results in a wider context.

People are amazingly resilient and adaptive: they are capable of adjusting to work situations which outside observers would suggest involve great deprivation (Hackman 1978). Partly this is due to the fact that one's work and his self-concept are inseparable (Hughes, 1958; Blauner, 1960). Unquestionably, people embellish their work
to protect their self-esteem, often exaggerating its positive features and downplaying its negative features. Satisfaction viewed in this context may reveal more about the person's ability to engage adjustment mechanisms than the true quality of the work experience and level of organizational attachment.

As Reiner (1978: 171-172) noted, these difficulties have led researchers interested in studying satisfaction to three responses: comparative accounts involving different workers or occupations, but not assessments of absolute levels of satisfaction; indirect questioning related to behavioral intent under hypothetical circumstances (or sometimes measurement of actual behavior); and assessment including multiple dimensions of satisfaction, not simply formats involving one question with a dichotomous choice. The format utilized in this research does not control for the tendency among workers to "over-rate" their jobs and organizations. Even though the relative levels of satisfaction and commitment which were reported are low (perhaps extraordinarily so), there is reason to believe that the direct questioning on these measures met with some attempts among officers to protect their egos. If anything, these levels of satisfaction and commitment are probably exaggerated.

The data are not invalidated in a relative sense. The comparisons across occupations (both within the organization and externally) are meaningful to the extent that there is a common tendency to exaggerate satisfaction and commitment to protect one's self-esteem. Police officers have been reported to perceive a wide discrepancy
between their conception of the ideal police role and the real one (Clark, 1965), and that discrepancy can be no more obvious to anyone in the occupation than patrol officers. The relatively low levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment probably reflect a general discontent among idealistic, service-oriented officers faced with the daily rigors and degradations of urban patrol work and organization. Indeed, "objective" levels of deprivation associated with patrol work and status within the organization, the inevitable fragmentation and polarization of life roles and activities, and the work orientations of those who perhaps chose police work for many of the same reasons others join "helping" occupations may make this general discontent the non-alienated, emotionally healthy response.

These findings coincide with at least one study of police officers conducted by Lefkowitz (1974) who found police to be uniformly more dissatisfied with all job aspects measured than were industrial workers. Modifications to existing instruments, a somewhat inappropriate comparison group, and a sample of officers who were not all assigned to patrol make these results difficult to interpret. Reiner's (1978: 173) study which asked British officers if they would rejoin the force given their life to live over again, reported that "(policemen) seem to be similar in degree of 'satisfaction', . . . , to skilled craftsmen". He based his comparison on Blauner's (1960) occupational study. The occupational prestige of British police is known to be substantially higher than that of American police (Reiner, 1978), possibly accounting for the higher ratings of
satisfaction and occupational commitment reported by his respondents. More will be said about job satisfaction and organizational commitment as sample variation and correlates are discussed.

Are Urban Patrol Officers Receptive to Participativeness?

Few organizations have been more successful in marketing a monolithic image of structure and process than the American police. But the highly exposed military ideology (to some extent) symbolizes rather than shapes police organizations and guides rather than governs administrative behaviors. Command roles are sometimes more accurately described in cooperative terms. Still, organizational ideology and the organization of patrol work appear to provide limited opportunities for participativeness in these "front-line" contexts (Smith, 1965).

Dysfunctions due to these characteristics of police organization are unexpected based on reviews of police officers' "working personality" (Skolnick, 1966; Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder, 1971; Lefkowitz, 1975) and socialization and training literature which highlight the encouragement of strict obedience and conformance to authority (Van Maanen, 1972). Research further suggests that participativeness would generally not be well received by subordinates since officers have reported a preference for a highly directive, structure-providing leadership style (Trojanowicz, 1971), expressed a relatively low desire for job autonomy and egalitarian decision making (Matarazzo al., 1964; Rokeach et al., 1971), and indicated a preference for authority in interpersonal relationships as well as law enforcement (Cochran, 1975).
Leader participativeness was an important determinant of subordinate job satisfaction and organizational commitment in this sample, indicating that urban police work is not a setting within which the theoretical relationship falters. Though, on average, levels of participativeness were relatively low, those who experienced more opportunities to participate also tended to report higher levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment. This was true even when levels of danger, career stage, task variability, and role ambiguity were statistically controlled.

The significant, independent effect on job satisfaction and organizational commitment indirectly supports House's (1974) contention that task characteristics may have an overriding effect on subordinate outcomes. That is, the nature of patrol work probably favorably conditions subordinates to accept participativeness even if they are not particularly predisposed to respect nonauthoritarian behavior or do not have high needs for independence. "Working personality" is, of course, only inferred here on the basis of other research and departmental records (communicated through interviews) which show that most of the force had some military experience.

Whatever the reasons (and some of these will be discussed more fully later), overall it appears that the participation potential within these contextual boundaries is not as limited as traditional conceptions would suggest. Blanket justifications for obedience socialization and military command supervision somewhat distort the nature of police work and overlook the important costs to morale
which accompany these management philosophies. Participatory decision making behavior does occur in police bureaucracies, and as it occurs in non-trivial amounts, appears to be associated with reports of higher levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Methodological Note

However, intelligent critiques of cross-sectional methodologies and correlational analyses continue to surface (e.g., Cook & Campbell, 1976; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978). Since the variables of interest were measured at the same time and collected from the same source (individual respondents), causal inferences must be mitigated to recognize the possibility that common method variance is an alternative explanation for the findings. It is important to recognize that "common method variance" is a sophisticated, umbrella concept in its own right which has little meaning unless applied to a specific context. While it usually accounts for some of the variance in a correlation coefficient, the magnitude may be insignificant or practically meaningless. It is believed that the amount of common method variance in this instance is relatively small. It is the researcher's obligation to detail circumstances which are thought to reduce the viability of method bias as an alternative explanation.

First, the casual evocation of cognitive consistency theory as an alternative explanation for questionnaire results is common, though unenlightening. The enormous literature on consistency theories (Feldman, 1966; Abelson et al., 1968; Bem, 1970; Fishbein & Azjen, 1972; Kiesler & Munson, 1975; Eagly & Himmelfarb, 1978) is both
diverse and equivocal regarding: a) the perception of dissonance; b) the conditions under which psychological consistency is sought by subjects; c) individual differences in the tolerance for inconsistency and resolution of inconsistency; d) behavioral responses to psychological inconsistency; and e) a host of general issues concerning the assumptions that cognitive consistency is possible, necessary and desirable (see Abelson et al., 1968). Thus, although there is undoubtedly much to learn from social psychologists about cognitive organization, there are fewer conditions under which a variant of the theory may be confidently applied than is usually recognized.

It is unlikely that consistency artifacts accounted for much variance in the relationship discussed above. Even if the manifold situational factors which tend to induce cognition balancing existed, the balancing process in this sample would probably diminish the hypothesized relationship, not inflate it. This would occur because police officers are not known to have high respect for nonauthoritarian behavior. When searching for personal explanations for their satisfaction and commitment, it is not clear that they would automatically attribute the same to the "egalitarianism" of their supervisor. Instead, they may prefer to describe a favored leader in the familiar military command images. Given this (and contrary to the usual cognition balancing argument), it may be surprising that a negative relationship was not found between leader participativeness and subordinate outcomes. This, or no relationship, is what previous research on police authoritarianism would lead one to predict.
The summary point is that the cognitive organization of police officers probably does not mandate a distortion of autocratic leadership into participatory leadership when the subject makes reports of high job satisfaction and organizational commitment. They would conceivably be just as likely (or more likely) to balance cognitions by describing their leader's behavior as authoritarian.

Other factors which are often thought to promote cognition balancing were also avoided in this study. Since subjects were guaranteed complete anonymity and filled in the questionnaire in groups of 30-40, there was no reason for them to believe that others would view their individual responses. Salancik and Pfeffer (1977) noted that individuals may be more concerned about cognitive consistency if they expect others to view their responses.

Priming effects are believed to have been minimized since measures of job satisfaction and organizational commitment preceded measures of leader behavior, and were in the front and back sections of the instruments respectively. Salancik and Pfeffer (1977) stated that less priming will occur if attitudes are measured first. Since attitudes are presumably more easily biased than descriptions of behavior, this procedure holds some appeal. The longer the lag between responses to correlated measures, the less will be the priming effect. The period from the beginning of the questionnaire to the end could have been no longer than 50 minutes, but subjects were not observed to page back through the instrument to either help balance responses or reinforce the priming effect. And, it seems unlikely
that frequently researched concepts of job satisfaction, organizational commitment and leadership style would appear foreign to subjects' ordinary language descriptions of the workplace. Significant priming effects are more likely to occur when unexpected questions are asked, though no claim is made that these errors were eliminated.

Second, method variance can be reduced if scales of demonstrated validity are chosen and if scale length and response format differ. The MSQ and Porter et al's, (1974) commitment scale are known for their careful development and refinement, and their extensive validation and use by field investigators. Ford's (1975) participativeness scale has a history of usage in the literature and exceptional face validity. The scale length and response format for each concept are different. While there is certainly some overlap, job satisfaction and organizational commitment measures tap primarily the affective component of attitude; leader participativeness taps mostly the cognitive (or descriptive) component of attitude. All of these features of the measures mitigate against the occurrence of extensive method variance.

Third, though the measures are collected from the same source at the same time, the findings are not inconsistent with the generally supportive pattern for these relationships in a wide variety of research sites using a wide variety of operationalizations. The need to assure subjects total anonymity and to minimize strain in the sample made it impossible to obtain and match leader self-reports of behavior, or to engage in extensive observation of decision making behavior.
Finally, it has been suggested by Schuler (1979) and others that information about the extent of method variance and halo errors in an instrument can be estimated by examining correlations among variables measured, but not included in the focal study. Variables theoretically unrelated to those in the study but with similar formats should not correlate appreciably with the focal variables. If significant correlations of magnitude comparable to those among focal variables in the study result, non-trivial common method variance, or perhaps extensive measurement error, probably exist.

Some additional measures were included in the instrument though not all of the patrol officers in the focal sample completed each measure. The following pairwise correlations were estimated between descriptions of leader participativeness and subordinates' higher order need strength (−.10, p > .22, n = 61), intolerance of ambiguity (0.00, p > .50, n = 61), Protestant work ethic score (0.08, p > .25, n = 69), extent of search behavior (0.04, p > .25, n = 258), descriptions of leader specification of rules and procedures (−.07, p > .15, n = 190), and leader assignment of work (0.10, p > .07, n = 190). The range of theoretical irrelevancy (with respect to descriptions of leader participativeness) is reflected in the magnitude of the correlation coefficients, though none reached statistical significance. Each of these scales has a format similar (or identical) to the leader participativeness measure; the insignificant correlation coefficients further indicate that common method variance was not so strong as to nullify the conclusions regarding variables significantly related to leader participativeness.
Hypothesis 1. Danger

Theoretical analyses of organization environment have largely neglected the concept of danger. It was conceptualized here as a client characteristic, of particular importance in the study of service occupations and public bureaucracies. The promise of the concept was demonstrated in this study as even across the very narrow range the variable was operationalized, some significant relationships were found.

Danger level was related to task variability, as predicted, but clearly is a much more encompassing construct. It is one of the most basic and global indicators of the type of work performed by officers as it described the average composition of calls for hazardous service in a particular behavior setting (spatio-temporal frame). Several task dimensions would be necessary to even partially approximate the concept.

Still, some support was found for the intuitively appealing notion suggested in descriptions of police patrol tasks (Rubinstein, 1973) that danger implies a degree of task uncertainty, unpredictability, and contingency. Officers who encountered more hazardous calls on average, were more likely to report higher levels of task uncertainty, construed as variable stimuli (Perrow, 1970). As will be pointed out later, however, this relationship may be spurious since the least experienced officers are assigned to the (typically) most dangerous watch. They would probably find variety where the experienced officer would not.
The insignificant relationship between danger level and experienced role ambiguity was unexpected. It suggests that officers are not any more uncertain about expectations, authority, or responsibilities when functioning in relatively dangerous environments than they are in less dangerous environments. It appears that even in the most dangerous behavior settings, officers felt confident that their behavior was usually appropriate and that significant others in the department would not challenge their actions. On the average, officers reported that they only "occasionally" experienced role ambiguity.

The pressure on a police officer to "always be in control" and "know the limits of his authority and responsibilities" (both legal and otherwise) may account for this. An officer who is unsure of his duties and authority is probably incapable of the decisiveness the role demands and will quickly respond by cognitively ordering his environment, independently and inconsistently, if necessary (Bougon, Weick, & Binkhorst 1977; Van Maanen & Katz, 1979). Rubinstein's (1973: 68) remarks illustrate this dilemma: "The policeman's expectations of particular tours and times often fail to materialize, but the belief in the generalizations which are used to characterize them is not shaken. . . . The validity of the belief . . . is sustained by the policeman's need to have firm expectations about his work, although he knows that uncertainty and contingency are two of its fundamental characteristics".
Some support for the concept of leader participativeness as a preferred style or strategy of management dissimilar to structural characteristics of organization may follow from its trivial correlation with danger level. It was predicted that decision making behavior would be related to the texture of the subunit's environment, but little effect was observed.

Since it has been reported that police field behavior related to danger level (Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969; Reiss, 1971; Sterling, 1972; Clark & Sykes, 1974; Van Maanen, 1974, 1978c, 1979), a relationship was expected between danger level and supervisory decision behavior. Perhaps the spatial distance of supervisors from the field prevented level of environmental hostility from significantly entering into hierarchical status distinctions and decision making processes. Or more likely, police sergeants may perceive patrol behavior settings to be quite similar and exercise their preferred decision making style with little consideration for the nature of the task. Police sergeants are not professional managers trained in the skills of situational diagnosis and behavioral flexibility; they are promoted from the ranks and are usually steeped in tradition and organizational ideology.

Another possibility is that the level of generality of both of these concepts is too great to uncover subtle influences on specific decision behaviors. Refinements in the conceptualization of leader participativeness coupled with expanded contextual factors (see Heller, 1976; Mohr, 1977; Axelsson & Rosenberg, 1979) could prove useful in this regard.
However imperfect the indicator of danger level, it did relate to subordinates' affective responses in the manner predicted. The types of runs which comprise the danger index are those known to officers as "real police work" (Van Maanen, 1974). They carry with them both high risk of physical or psychological harm and an opportunity to deliver critical service to members of the community. Since the policeman's daily log is filled with such a large percentage of mundane, degrading tasks (Webster, 1970; Manning, 1971; Clark & Sykes, 1974), danger-filled episodes appear to be favorably regarded.

According to Ross (1974: 156): "Some people enjoy dangerous activities because of the risks. They enjoy the exhilarating feeling of arousal and the sense of superiority that comes from seeming riskier than other people. Those who approve of risky behavior may call it 'courage' and those who disapprove 'foolhardiness'". It would be naive to overlook the pleasurable aspects of danger-filled experiences since police officers select the occupation with these risks fully in mind. But the relationship may be more complicated than this.

While it is true that some people enjoy an activity because it is dangerous (mountain climbing, sky diving, automobile racing), others may believe that the activity is a means to a worthwhile end only when it is dangerous, but not derive any true enjoyment from the risk. The belief among the general public and officers that risk taking in the service of mankind is virtuous exaggerates the
"crime-fighting" vernier in policing. This not only contributes to the occupational prestige of policing (hence occupational pride), but also legitimates the use by officers of special, highly-valued law enforcement skills. Both of these factors are known to promote satisfaction (Blauner, 1960; Hackman & Oldham, 1976), and probably organizational commitment.

The department policy of assigning the least experienced officers to the second watch (typically the most hazardous—Jermier & Berkes, 1979) was reflected in the significant, inverse correlation between danger and career stage. The relationship discussed above held when the data were analyzed using multiple regression, strengthening that interpretation.

Hypothesis 2. Career Stage

Regardless of career stage, the occupational rewards offered to the policemen in this sample did not lead to high job satisfaction or organizational commitment. The mid-career depression reported by several other researchers was partially replicated in this context as those officers with 5-10 years of experience in patrol work were significantly less committed to the organization, and reported lower job satisfaction (but not significantly lower). The polynomial function specified to estimate the convex hyperbolic relationships was significant, but became insignificant when danger level was controlled.
Police supervisors were not more participative with senior officers than with younger officers. Again, they seemed to base decision making style on personal preference (or some factors unmeasured in this study), rather than environmental and task characteristics or subordinate expertise. Though admittedly an imperfect indicator of ability, career stage in a craft-type occupation such as policing should approximate quite well. Interviews with department personnel and previous research (Van Maanen, 1973) revealed a commonly-held belief that the only way to learn to police is through street experience.

Of course ability is only one determinant of performance, and performance is only one means of gaining the trust and confidence of a supervisor. And, spatial distance between the sergeant and his squad may prevent an adequate assessment of field behavior leaving only "reputation", activity reports, informal interactions, and other criteria conceivably far removed from "real" police work behavior to base participativeness upon. Perhaps supervisor-subordinate relations and more specific measures along these lines should be examined in tandem with ability and performance indicators in future research.

As found for danger, career stage correlated insignificantly with experienced role ambiguity. Regardless of street experience, officers generally reported relatively low role ambiguity. Knowledge that an officer's judgement will be questioned by colleagues only infrequently seems to be communicated early in the organizational
socialization process; in fact, the extraordinary emphasis during the training academy on brotherhood and occupational solidarity begins to reinforce this.

Experienced role ambiguity was also found to be independent of task variability which implies that definitions of goals, duties, authority, responsibility, etc., were entrenched enough to withstand even highly variable stimuli. Since the clarity of organizational definitions of roles is rarely independent of the nature of the task encountered, personal definitions must have been freely substituted in this instance.

Task variability was dependent upon the career stage of the subordinate. The relationship remained significant and inverse after partialing out danger level, so it appears that perceptions of task variability are much more dependent upon street experience than upon the actual number of hazardous runs encountered. Even though conceptions of authority and responsibility seem to be assimilated very early in one's career, learning the territory (Rubinstein, 1973), client categories and public interaction codes (Van Maanen, 1974) take time.

This statement could be challenged if there were demographical or training differences across tenure categories. According to a chagrined, change-oriented training academy staff, traditional modes of selection and training have been in effect for as long as records were kept, and will probably continue until an alternative to urban policing is implemented. No claims that selection and maturation
effects have been eliminated (or even minimized) can be made, parti-
cularly in light of the recent court mandates to recruit more minority
members. It is only pointed out that alternative explanations such
as these are more persuasive when applied to a more historically
fluid organization.

Hypothesis 3. Moderator Contexts

The lack of success in isolating contexts which significantly
improved the validity coefficients for leader participativeness and
subordinate outcomes may be more of a tribute to the homogeneity of
the sample than the venerability of the theoretical relationship.
With only one exception though, subgrouping produced positive vali-
dity coefficients. 83 per cent of the validity coefficients for job
satisfaction and leader participativeness were significant, but only
25 per cent were significant for organizational commitment and leader
participativeness.

The psychological impact of leader participativeness on sub-
ordinate outcomes was affected by level of danger in the predicted
direction, but it cannot be concluded that participativeness was
significantly more important under conditions of relatively high
danger than under medium or low danger. A post hoc appraisal sug-
gests that organizational commitment was significantly related to
leader participativeness only when danger level was relatively high,
but this is a different issue. Generally, subordinates were equally
likely to participate in the three danger contexts, and were equally
likely to be receptive to participativeness.
A simple extrapolation of the trend would suggest that the validity coefficients would increase as danger became more extreme. Seasonal variations in the number of hazardous runs were noted above. If a survey were conducted during one of the peak crime months (July, August, September), it would constructively replicate this study, adding a fourth cell to the danger subgroups. Alternatively, one of the low crime months (October, November, December) might be chosen to explore a lower-danger time period.

Career stage significantly affected the relationship between leader participativeness and organizational commitment in a manner which requires some discussion. The same U-shaped pattern was observed for the relationship with job satisfaction, but it was not significant.

For the early career subgroup the relationship was not significant. As expected, officers with little experience who were temporally closer to the academy and apprenticeship socialization found participative leader behavior acceptable (as evidenced by the relationship with satisfaction), but did not consider it a reason to express high motivation to remain and identify with the organization or perform beyond role requirements. In short, they did not expect to participate. They were offered significantly more opportunities to do so than were those in the mid-career group, but derived their relatively high levels of commitment to the organization from other sources.
Similarly, those in the later career subgroup did not report higher organizational commitment if their leader was more participative. Though their street experience undoubtedly qualified them to engage in cooperative decision making with the sergeant, they felt neither more satisfied nor more committed if allowed to participate. A reasonable explanation for this is that officers with more than 10 years experience in patrol work usually had been passed over for promotion several times and knew that active involvement in departmental affairs would not help their advancement chances. They may have psychologically withdrawn from the department, channeling their energies into other life activities. Participation in decision making, if not viewed as an outright nuisance, appeared incapable of improving either organizational commitment or job satisfaction.

They may also have something in common with those younger officers indoctrinated with "leader as commander" images. Leader participativeness would violate their conception of the commander's role if they truly had low respect for nonauthoritarian behavior. These are post hoc cohort analyses which unfortunately cannot be verified, but which do offer possible reasons for the group's seeming lack of interest in participation.

The mid-career subgroup, on average, perceived significantly less participativeness than the others. Yet officers in this group, previously labeled as "discontented", appeared the most receptive to participativeness. It is difficult to avoid the suggestion that higher reports of organizational commitment and job satisfaction
would accompany more opportunities to participate. One of the more consistent findings in research on police is the mid-career disaffection and subsequent turnover of officers (Niedherhoffer, 1967; Martin & Wilson, 1969). In this sample at least, it does not appear that the disaffection was total. Officers, when given the opportunity to participate relatively frequently, tended to express higher levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment; those in a decisional deprivation condition generally reported lower levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Consistent with previous literature (see House & Mitchell, 1974; Filley et al., 1976; Schriesheim & Von Glinow, 1977), task variability affected the receptivity of subordinates to participatory decision making. Under conditions of high task variability, the validity coefficient between leader participativeness and job satisfaction was significantly higher than under conditions of relatively low task variability.

Only when tasks were repetitive and highly routine did participative leadership fail to be effective. Filley et al. (1976: 226) offered an explanation for this: "subordinates on such tasks might see leader efforts at participation as a charade and a sham". In other words, there would be little to participate about. That was not the case for the relatively challenging and variable tasks these officers performed. The interaction between task variability and leader participativeness did not significantly improve the validity coefficient for organizational commitment.
Role ambiguity subgroups also added little toward improvement of the validity coefficients. Though it correlated significantly with both the predictor and the criteria, role ambiguity did not significantly affect their relationships. This finding departs from previous research on the effectiveness of leader participativeness which suggested that participation is most valued by subordinates when it contributes to role clarification (Filley et al., 1976; Schuler, 1979). It can only be suggested that in this context officers cognitively ordered their environment to such a degree that supervisory role clarification was superfluous; or that it held no special significance beyond its ability to enrich the task.
CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The American police have ambitiously sought to legitimate a domain (crime prevention and control) which is so complex and intractable that its very selection guarantees both abundant resources and organizational ineffectiveness. In seeking a narrow law enforcement solution to the enormous problems of crime and social justice, they have not realized that knowledge of the causes of criminality (which we do not have) must precede policy formulation and implementation. Thus, the crime focus is, in some respects, the greatest asset of the police, but also their most profound burden (Manning, 1977).

To cope with their inability to control crime, the American police have developed elaborate political strategies to manage public appearances and obtain valuable resources. One strategy, the infusion of military symbolism and ideology into police organization to coincide with "crime-fighting" domain conceptualizations, has been a central concern of this study. We examined some of the symbolic and common-sensical aspects of police bureaucracy and found a
complicated mixture. Formal, hierarchical authority may be profitably understood, as in most other organizations, by also considering the persuasive aspects of command control. Participative decision making was conceptualized within this framework.

Though police are not known for their high respect for non-authoritarian behavior, it was predicted that participative decision making would occur in the organization and be well-received. Both of these predictions were supported. This finding was stable across most of the police work contexts investigated, and held even after statistically controlling for the effects of covariates on the dependent variables.

Theoretical Implications

The implications of this study for organization theory and participation research appear twofold. First, there was some support for the notion that organization ideology determines decision behavior. In this case, the relatively low levels of leader participativeness found in all situations correspond with behavioral expectations resulting from quasi-military ideology.

Not all organizations have an ideology as visible as that of the American police, but construction of organizational ideology and the role of belief systems in determining organizational behavior seem to warrant more interest among researchers than currently exists. Theories of socially acquired motives and attitudes (Campbell, 1963; deCharms & Muir, 1976) appear most compatible with
this insight and could be integrated with the rich literature on political ideology and behavior to develop a framework for organizational analysis.

Second, this finding supports the notion of participation as a style, strategy or philosophy of management (Bobbitt & Ford, 1978). Situational determinants are often emphasized in discussion of managerial behavior, but to the extent that organizational ideology is an alternative explanation, managerial degrees of freedom appear greater than often assumed.

This is not to say that managerial behavior is only trivially constrained by organizational ideology; external conformance pressure as well as subtleties the individual may not even be aware of probably constrain behavior substantially. It does suggest though that such constraints are likely to be less confining than size, technological or environmental determinants. Indeed the variance in leader participativeness suggests differential levels of supervisory commitment to quasi-military ideology.

Social Policy Implications: Contextual Boundaries

The present. The current social role of police on patrol is known to devastate good officers, good marriages and families, and somewhat less frequently, good citizens. The constellation of life-shattering demands on urban patrol officers makes high levels of discontent and dissatisfaction near concomitants of joining the force. Recommendations for improving administrative practices, under these circumstances, seem almost cosmetic. But even
incremental improvements in critical organizations (Colignon & Cray, 1978) such as police departments can have a non-trivial impact on the social welfare. For this reason, some practical implications of this study will be briefly discussed.

In a direct sense, to the extent that internal management style determines the manner in which organizations serve their clients (Sandler & Mintz, 1974), contemporary police organization is anachronistic. Given the prevailing Zeitgeist, authoritarian interpersonal interactions are usually judged unacceptable. We are a society striving toward the ideals of democratic practice in more and more life activities. It is perfectly appropriate to ask how modern institutions are contributing to the realization of democratic values. If it is not obvious that they are, search for prohibiting factors should ensue.

The link between authoritarian tendencies in police organization and authoritarian police-citizen interactions is too obvious to overlook. The psychological literature on interpersonal modeling behavior supports the notion that what officers learn about problem solving and decision making processes from supervisors will be routinely evoked during encounters with citizens. This will probably not be harmful when officers encounter dangerous and hostile citizens, but as mentioned before, these situations comprise a very small percentage of police work.

Also, in a more indirect sense, affective states (estimated by constructs such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment)
may "spill-over" to behavioral predispositions. This is a more tenuous linkage given the confusion about attitude-behavior relationships and imperfect indicators of affect, but Douglas (1977) is not alone in arguing that affective states may be more potent predictors of behavior than cognitions are. If so, officers discontented with organizational practices may let this spill over to encounters with citizens. The impact of street level bureaucrats on the public is more substantial than usually recognized (Lipsky, 1971), so that minor differences in the affective states of police officers might create major incidents in the lives of citizens. If there is even a small bit of credence to these speculations, the positive association between participative practices in the organization and officers' affective states should not be overlooked.

The future. After reviewing the findings of this study, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that factors commonly believed to limit participation practices and potential in some social settings are unfounded. It will be recalled that theoretical relationships between participation and valued outcomes were thought to have been severely tested in this setting. Since participation seemed acceptable to (and even desired by) police officers, its potential in other social settings may be widely understated.

Traditional conceptions of contextual boundaries of participation potential in American society seem too restrictive. We examined only the slightest of stratification equalizing tendencies (leader participativeness) in a social setting often considered a bastion of
traditional, hierarchical authority. The positive psychological effects of these somewhat egalitarian practices raises the question of where the limits of participation effectiveness would be found. The relatively small amounts of participation experienced by these officers had such important psychological impacts that it seems more frequent participation in social groups more predisposed toward non-authoritarian behavior could have invaluable psychological and social benefits.

Returning to an earlier discussion on contextual boundaries of participation potential, this study indicates that the role of police organizations in American society does not preclude the use of participative decision processes. Traditional assumptions about decision behavior in military-type organizations needlessly constrain the police supervisor, who apparently can achieve positive outcomes through the use of participative decision making. Indeed the contextual boundaries of participativeness in police organization appear to be expansive enough to encourage more egalitarian visions of social control for the 1980's.
FOOTNOTES

1. This is not to suggest that economic and working condition improvements attained in some industries through formal, indirect means (such as collective bargaining) are trivial outcomes. Nor does it overlook the important sociological critiques of consciousness which identify the limitations inherent in the study of psychological impacts (Berger & Pullberg, 1966; Braverman, 1974). These remain important topics of inquiry and must be addressed with reference to the specific organization under study.

2. Three sources were used to select the most hazardous calls; a questionnaire administered to a police recruit class 6 days prior to their graduation from the training academy, interviews with several experienced patrol officers and staff researchers, and a departmental classification system used to determine vehicle and personnel allocation. There was agreement among the sources that the index should include runs identified as officer in trouble, breaking and entering in progress, cutting or stabbing, disturbance, domestic trouble, drunk, fight, man with a gun or knife, type of complaint unknown, prowler, robbery, robbery in progress, shooting, suspicious car, suspicious person, wanted person, and wanted felon.

3. Since data were easier to compile for precinct aggregates, additional checks on the stability and validity of the rank ordering were made by precinct alone. The dangerous run index was correlated with the following rankings of precincts for the year of the survey: use of force investigations (.871); criminal offenses identified as crimes against persons (.968); criminal arrests for crimes against persons (.958); total arrests made involving possession of weapons (.904); and total "Part I" offenses--murder/manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, all assaults, burglary, larceny-theft, vehicular theft (.882).
4. Correlation and regression analyses assume interval level data. In behavioral science research this assumption is rarely satisfied, as in this instance. Several studies have shown that these analytical procedures are quite robust, however, so that violation of this assumption has little effect on estimation of the parameters (See MacCallum, Cornelius, & Champney, 1979, forthcoming, for a discussion of this issue and a case where more shrinkage was observed using ordinal computational algorithms to cross-validate ordinal level data than was observed when the data were analyzed using the usual metric algorithms).

5. A wide variety of occupations were reported including assemblers, truck drivers, laborers, nursing assistants, food service workers, secretaries, office clerks, managers, engineers, teachers, social workers, accountants, and others.

6. The United States now has more people in custody than any other country reporting, has more people in custody than at any other time in history, and has a 60%-70% recidivism rate (Radzinowicz, 1977; Jeffery, 1978).

7. It should be noted that something of a boundary condition on this relation was observed for older officers in the department. Those on patrol ten years or more were not more committed to the organization if given more opportunities to participate. This could represent a cohort of very traditional officers who valued autocracy because it reminded them of the "good old days"; or it could represent a pocket of officers whose central life interests were not job related. In the latter case, participation may have been viewed as an added responsibility and a nuisance.
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