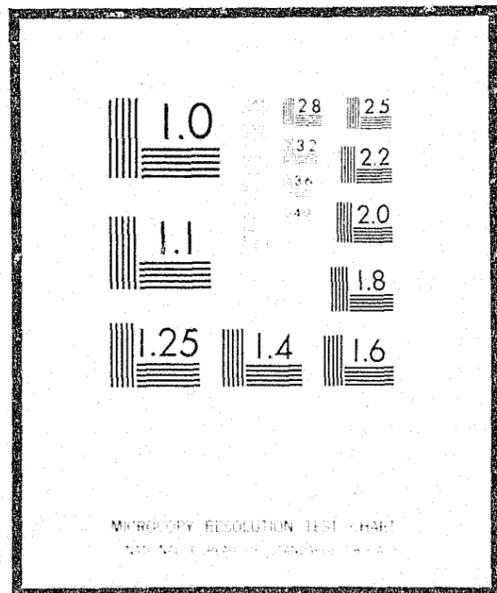


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NATURE AND EFFECTS OF LOWER-LEVEL
POLICE SUPERVISION, PHASE II

Final Report Grant No. 266-(5)215

Submitted by

David J. Bordua
 Principle Investigator
 University of Illinois

INTRODUCTION

This is not a final report in the sense that it constitutes the substantive report of findings and conclusions based on the project as a whole. Phase II ended on August 31, 1968 but this constitutes only a fiscal rather than a substantive stopping point from the point of view of total project.

In the Phase II Progress Report submitted May 29, 1968 it was explained that delay in funding of Phase II had thrown off the schedule originally anticipated in the Phase II Application. The main problem was the fact that two key Research Assistants, Robert Ford and Ivan Kitzmiller could not be formally employed until June 15, 1968. Both did considerable work in the Spring of 1968 in advance of actually going on the payroll but nevertheless considerable delay was experienced. We were able, however, to complete fairly satisfactorily the revised work schedule set for Phase II. In view of the really interim nature of this report from the point of view of the overall project and the time problems referred to above this report will concentrate on project accomplishments between the Progressive Report submitted on May 29, 1968 and the end of Phase II.

In general in reporting accomplishments we will follow the project sub-divisions established in earlier reports: Supervisory Styles Observation in Chicago; the Sergeant Role and Socialization Study in Chicago and the Decatur Observational Study. In addition to these previously described areas of study we were able in the Summer of 1968 to employ Mrs. Leslie Pfister to begin study of the organization, operations and supervision of policewomen in Chicago. This report will include accomplishments thus far for that sub-study. The other two major divisions of the overall project--the questionnaire study and application to the State Highway Police saw very little action in Phase II beyond the effects of carryover from work in the other divisions. The conclusion of this report will discuss plans for these divisions and further work in these areas will be reported in forthcoming Progress Reports for Phase III.

Supervisory Styles Observation: Chicago

In the period between the Phase II Progress Report of May 29, 1968 and June 15, 1968 the major effort in this division of the project came in perfecting observation instruments and procedures, designing the sample of work units to be observed, working out the observation schedule and permission procedures with Police Department officials, formulating and distributing notification to appropriate sub-unit commanders, hiring and training observers. The mechanics of hiring nine people who had to be at least roughly screened for acceptability as observers in a police department and be reliable enough to function as data gatherers were very time consuming. Moreover, since we anticipated twelve hour days (nights really for the most part) a sizeable number of early candidates declined jobs. It was also necessary to secure full summer commitments from the observers since resignations would have seriously jeopardized the very tight design.

The nine observers finally hired were: one Sociology undergraduate, two Sociology graduate students, four law students and two high school teachers. The two school teachers were Negroes from Chicago whom we wanted because we needed Negro observers and also because we needed black interviewers to do some of the citizen interviewing that was part of the summer operation.

Nine people were hired so as to make sure that there would be someone who could spell the Research Associate as supervisor and trouble shooter. This "ninth man" was Richard A. Milligan an advanced law student at the University of Illinois. In addition to functioning as what came to be called Field Supervisor, he helped with the observer training and filled in later in the Summer when one of the observers resigned.

The observers were trained over a two day period (June 13 and 14) by the Research Associate and the Project Director. In addition to this period of formal training the observers were required to bring in their observation reports daily for the first five days and they were gone over in detail with the observer by the Research Associate and Field Supervisor in order to clear up problems with use of the instruments. Thereafter the observers were required to bring in the materials every three days. Every instrument was monitored for completeness and clarity and any needed clarifications were secured the next time the observer came. Thus every observation form and interview schedule was quality controlled as much as possible as close as possible to the actual day the data were recorded.

It would have been desirable to have used the first week of observation purely for training purposes and treat the data as a "throwaway". This was not possible because of the severe time constraints. To complete the design we needed eight weeks. We did not want to go beyond the middle of August because we felt the impending

"riot season" as well as preparations for the Democratic National Convention would distort "normal" police procedure sufficiently to throw off our results. We could not start before June 15 because of the time needed to prepare but also because the University's regular summer appointment payroll begins on June 15. As it was we were able to conduct the training sessions before the observers were actually on the payroll.

The study design required that observers observe the work of men in predesignated units which had been selected in accordance with the supervisory style of the unit sergeant and with the intention of having formal observation take place in units of several divisions: Task Force, Patrol, Traffic, Detective, Vice Control. The units to be observed e.g., Task Force Team, Sergeant's beat in patrol, were scheduled in advance and each observer knew for each day the watch and unit in which he would observe. The observers were usually two to a unit - though only one to a car - and worked mainly at night during busy periods and their tour of duty covered an entire watch.

With this many observers in the field especially during the early part of the period and with the complexities of relating effectively to a wide variety of local command personnel it was necessary to maintain a trouble shooting system around the clock and seven days a week. Thus either the Research Associate or the Field Supervisor was constantly on call. There were relatively few difficulties encountered, however, which is a tribute to the cooperativeness of the Chicago department. The risk of difficulty existed, nevertheless,

and we felt it necessary to be prepared. Perhaps the major value of this procedure, however, lay in the reassuring effect it had on the observers none of whom were experienced working with police or in the kinds of dangerous and troublesome situations they often encountered. During the training sessions there were visible sighs of relief when the nature of this back-up system was described.

A night's work for a typical observer covered the following. He would report to his observation location and clear with the appropriate commander (who would have been previously informed). He would then select the predesignated specific unit for the night's observation. During the watch the observer kept a log of all Citizen-Officer encounters and all Supervisor-Officer encounters. Where at all possible the citizen's name and address were secured either directly or from the officers' log. After the eight hour tour the observer filled out the appropriate forms on each encounter and, in addition, taped a narrative account of the encounter. He also filled out the Officer Face Sheet which deals with general observations about the officers independent of any specific encounters. The taped narratives were required to complement the more closed-ended material of the observation forms and in fact ultimately turned out to be of great use. They did turn out in Phase III, however, to amounts of time and effort to transcribe. One Byproduct is, of course, a large file of descriptions of police behavior prepared in great detail and available for analyses beyond those contemplated in this project.

The logs of citizens encountered by the officers observed formed the list from which interviewees were selected to constitute a sample of encountered citizens. Part way through the summer some observers were shifted to interviewing. Some interviewing was also done by the Field Supervisor and by the Research Associate. In addition to all this observers were required to submit a Final Report on each section of their operations as they finished it. Thus a particular Task Force Team would be written up by the observers who worked with it. The focus of these Final Reports is on the general functioning of the unit and on the process and problems of observation.

No analysis of the observation data was undertaken in Phase II. Results of the observational design as a data gathering enterprise can be seen, however, in Attachments I and II. Attachment I indicates the distribution of observation in terms of observation days per unit. The description enables comparison of the Designed with the Actual data yield. Attachment II summarizes the observation data yield by supervisory style.

Sergeant Role Study: Chicago

The main emphasis in this sub-study during the Summer of 1968 was on data retrieval from the records of sergeants. It was decided to attempt a record data search for all sergeants rather than a sample so that these data could be combined with questionnaire data to be gotten in Phase III. This is a justifiable decision but expensive especially since only one research assistant - Robert Ford - did the actual work of record search and transcribing. This was so partly because of personnel limitations and partly because record searching seemed a much more sensitive matter than observing and we felt it important that only a single highly responsible person be involved.

The actual process can be best described in steps since the time ordering of this set of activities is more obvious. The period under discussion begins on June 16 and ends on August 31. The record search process was interrupted by Robert Ford's attendance at Sergeant's School for the period July 10 - 30.

Step one focused almost entirely on the task of acquainting the Research Assistant with the existence and availability of personnel data on each sergeant.

Interviews (eight in all) were arranged with the head of each record keeping unit. The interview produced information on what data was available, its quality, and difficulty that would be encountered in its retrieval.

Step two was a trial run at the records. In the interviews with unit heads it was revealed that information available on certain specific items was incomplete. In addition, certain information was gathered by the department in such a manner as to make it useless for project purposes. In order to estimate the degree of data loss and bias on certain items fifty files on sergeants (randomly chosen) were analyzed in terms of the quality of information on each item.

As a result of this trial run it was observed that certain items of information were either so biased or contained so much missing data as to make their retrieval useless. Such items were struck from the retrieval instrument.

Step two culminated in what is now termed Retrieval Instrument Number One, Sergeant's File Data.

In step three actual data retrieval commenced. The instrument was debugged in the actual research experience. Several items are found to be all but useless due to the extent of missing information. A revised instrument was developed, The Final Retrieval Instrument On Sergeants' Files.

The retrieval operation on the sergeants' files was interrupted on the 10th of July by the Research Assistant's attendance at the Chicago Police Sergeants' School. Earlier in the year the Principle Investigator had discussed with the Chicago Police Department the possibility of having a researcher attend Sergeants' School again this Summer. The opportunity to witness this stage in the process of becoming a sergeant occurred in the second week of July.

While the Research Assistant's attendance at Sergeants' School did interrupt the record data retrieval process, it provided an even greater opportunity in terms of the insights it provided into becoming a sergeant.

The research strategy employed in Sergeants' School centered mainly on participant observation. The researcher attempted as much as possible to blend into the on-going education process. One hundred and twenty hours of observation were thus recorded. Particular attention was paid to the reactions of these soon-to-be sergeants to this educational experience. A content analysis of the courses was, as well, completed.

It was decided, also, that attendance at Sergeants' School provided an excellent opportunity to interview the neophyte sergeants. In addition to the participant observation, twenty eight short (content diverse) interviews were conducted to gain insights into the attitudes of the new sergeants toward the training experience they were then undergoing. Certain of these short interviews, as well, centered on these new sergeants' expectations of their forthcoming role after training.

Following the end of Sergeants' School on the 30th of July work recommenced on the sergeant file retrievals.

In step four, process of pulling the data itself began and continued throughout the month of August. At the end of the month, about seventy percent of the retrieval process had been completed.

All All cardex files (thumbnail sketch) had been completed - 1350.

All time cards had been completed - 1351.

Approximately one-half of main personnel files had been completed. (with the exception of newly appointed sergeants).

Decatur Observational Study

The Progress Report of May 29, 1968 mentioned that there had been considerable disruption in the Decatur Police Department attendant upon the forced resignation of Chief May, and the delayed selection of Chief Lindsten as his successor. This disruption was exacerbated by the fact that Chief May had been heavily committed to a very ambitious program of change designed to drastically upgrade the Decatur department. This change program was in itself disruptive particularly since it seems that Chief May's programmatic ambitions were accompanied by a serious lack of skill at or even interest in smooth administrative rearrangement. May seems to have been extremely jealous of his power in the department and unable to effectively delegate authority or to involve upper echelon command personnel in the change process. As a consequence there seems to have been great insecurity at all levels but increasing as one went up the line to those just below the Chief.

When it is realized that May himself was appointed as a reform chief the Decatur Department has been in a state of greater or lesser crisis since at least the beginning of our project.

This seemed to us at first to be a nearly insurmountable obstacle to meaningful research on lower-level supervision. Most research designs utilized to study such topics presuppose - at least in theory - organizational stability, a condition obviously not met here.

We decided however, to proceed in Decatur at least through the Summer of 1968 with the hope of getting data to compare with our Chicago material and also with the idea that studying the change process itself, insofar as possible, would be valuable.

The decision was vindicated by later events. First, Chief Lindsten's succession led to considerable reorganization resulting in two major sub-commanders whose administrative styles were quite different and provided a vivid contrast easily visible-and often remarked upon-within a single small organization. Second, we began to realize that change, turmoil and instability seem to be stable features of many police departments and any attempt to avoid disruption would be likely to give us an even more "unrepresentative" picture.

Between the beginning of Phase I and the end of Phase II Superintendent Wilson retired from the Chicago Department to be succeeded by Superintendent Conlisk. The accompanying reshuffling of top level staff largely negated approximately two months of work involved in relating the project to these key people. This, in addition to the previously mentioned changes in Decatur, can be coupled with the recent actions and long announced intentions of Governor Oglvie in reorganizing the Department of Public Safety, the parent body responsible for the State Highway Police to indicate the degree to which a project such as ours which focusses on organizational matters as opposed, for example, to individual attitude study is really deeply involved in the real life vicissitudes of the host organizations.

This problem was made even more difficult for us by the anticipated crises of Summer 1968 in Chicago. As was mentioned earlier the supervisory style observation design was constructed to try and catch the

organization "at rest" so to speak. It was largely though not entirely successful in doing so. And, of course, the events of the Democratic Convention, the resulting political crisis centering on the Chicago Police Department, the Walker Commission Investigation, the furor surrounding the Walker Report and the subsequent Federal indictments all reinforce the significance of crisis and crisis induced change.

In Chicago there have been important changes since the Summer of 1968 in the organization's approach to supervision. This is especially true as it involves supervision of men in demonstration and civil disorder control.

All of this discussion of change and disruption is intended not only to indicate the contexts within which we have had to work but also to indicate that we have had to try and incorporate some analysis of change as such.

The Decatur study has focussed more on change than has the Chicago work and observation and interview material gathered in Phase II have been intended partly to compare with the other research sites and partly to use as a base line for change analysis.

The work in Decatur during Summer of 1968 consisted of three main parts; participant observation "on the street" with offices covering all watches, all days of the week and all the functional divisions of the department; participant observation with all administrative and supervisory personnel (excepting the Chief), interviews with administrative and supervisory personnel. This resulted in approximately 200 pages of transcript and in a provisional working paper formulating the approach to the Decatur research more fully.

Policewomen Study:

As mentioned earlier a Summer Research Assistant Mrs. Leslie Pfister worked on a study of policewomen in the Chicago Police Department. This enabled us to expand our inquiry into an area of police work quite different from anything we had observed previously and to look at supervision, control and definition of mission for a group whose work can be said to be on the borders between traditional police work and the more modern efforts at creating a more "socially" oriented police.

Again, the research consisted mainly of observation with systematic attention paid to selection of areas, watches and policewomen of different ages. Observation was carried out for two weeks in each of three Police Areas. In each area six observation days were spent split between the second and third watches. In addition, two days were spent on the first watch for a total of twenty days of actual field observation. Taped observation reports yielded 260 pages of transcript. In addition interviews with Youth Division administrative personnel were conducted to ascertain their definitions of appropriate mission for policewomen. Personnel files of policewomen were searched and information coded for some 33 variables in an effort to get some rough idea of their origins, education, etc.

From the point of view of supervision, or more broadly put, of control the policdwomen present a situation quite unlike anything else we have seen thus far in the project. There is a strong tendency to see policewomen as "unique" (presumably because they are women) but to neither place them in a separate operating unit nor to define clearly a special set of functions for them. Thus there is a strong tendency for their activity to be defined

organization "at rest" so to speak. It was largely though not entirely successful in doing so. And, of course, the events of the Democratic Convention, the resulting political crisis centering on the Chicago Police Department, the Walker Commission Investigation, the furor surrounding the Walker Report and the subsequent Federal indictments all reinforce the significance of crisis and crisis induced change.

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as doing "womanly" things - ranging from handling runaway girls to doing clerical work to being available for certain kinds of arrests and/or searches. Given this diffuseness of conception and activity there seems very little control over actual performance which as a consequence varies greatly depending on the zeal of individual women.

Thus the policewomen are "special" without being specialized. Different without being separately organized and in continual danger of being reduced to sworn clerk-typists. An important value of this inquiry to our larger project is that we have come to be much more aware of the key significance of definition of mission(s) as a requisite for effective control.

It is interesting to compare the sexual categorization of policewomen to the racial categorization of Negro police. Both of these "ascriptive" roles make for special functions but in the case of Negroes the functions are organized into units on a basis other than race e.g. patrol, vice control, etc. Thus social ascription categories and task categories intersect to produce a highly functional combination.

This solution seems more difficult in the case of the 75 policewomen. Perhaps this is because the Youth Division in Chicago is organized so heavily around "office practice" so to speak that it is difficult to organize task units in a way which makes meaningful "supervision" possible. In this situation control tends to emphasize the monitoring of paper work which in turn increases the demand for policewomen to function as clerks.

These are, of course, preliminary ideas but they have given us a great deal of insight into processes whereby the system of control tends to determine the definition of mission rather than the other way around

and whereby a definition of type of person i.e. women tends to determine activity in such a way that neither clarity of mission nor rational supervision seems possible.

Other Study Divisions:

Two major subdivisions of the project received only minimal attention during Phase II - the study of supervision in the State Highway Police and the questionnaire study of supervision in all three sites. In fact problems of completing the data gathering begun in Phase II and digesting the data after collection was complete occupied such a large part of the first two quarters of Phase III that development of the questionnaire instrument was delayed. Progress reports on Phase III will discuss this in more detail..

Documentary Product:

It has been the practice in the project to develop what for lack of a better title we call Working Papers as the project goes along. These vary in nature from general conceptual frameworks for some part of the study to write-ups of part of the data to provisional drafts of instruments for later use. Relatively little of this was done in Phase II but some documentary product of this sort did result. It is appropriate to list those papers which were wholly or substantially produced during Phase II.

Lower Level Police Supervision: A Perspective and Some Early Findings. (August, 1968, 10 pp.).

The Police Organization and Future Research. (October, 1968, 23 pp.).

Sergeants' School; 1967: Summary and Implications for Lower Level Supervision Project. (February, 1968, 10 pp.).

Structural-Functional Analysis of a Municipal Police Department
(May, 1968, 30 pp.).

The Socialization of the Leader: A New Approach to Leadership: The Case Study of the Police Sergeant (August, 1968, 15 pp.).

The Efficiency of the School as an Agent of Adult Socialization
(August-September, 1968, 10 pp.).

Patrolman Expectations of the Role of Sergeant. (August-September, 1968, 7 pp.).

Themes in Police Education: Their Influence on Leadership Style
September, 1968, 8 pp.).

A Census of Chicago Police Department's Available File Information
For Sergeants (June, 1968, 5 pp.).

Problems of Missing Data and Quality Control in Item Retrieval From
Police Files (June-July, 1968, 7 pp.).

In addition the Principal Investigator submitted a paper Comments on
Police-Community Relations (33 pp.) to the staff of the National Advisory
Commission on Civil Disorder in the Fall of 1967 during Phase II. This is
not strictly speaking a "Project Paper" although it reflects project
experience in part and has become a working document in the project.

ATTACHMENT I

POLICE SUPERVISION PROJECT:

Observation Schedule, Designed vs. Actual, Summer 1968

| DESIGNED | ACTUAL |
|---|---|
| I. June 17 - July 4 | |
| Two observers, 24 days in TF A | Fully completed |
| Two observers, 24 days in TF B | Fully completed |
| Two observers, 24 days in Patrol A | Fully completed |
| Two observers, 24 days in Patrol B | Fully completed |
| II. July 5 - July 22 | |
| Two observers, 24 days in Traffic A | Fully completed |
| Two observers, 24 days in Traffic B | Fully completed |
| Two observers, 24 days in Vice unit | Only 20 days ¹ |
| Two interviewers for TF and Patrol | Fully completed |
| III. July 23 - August 15 | |
| Two interviewers for TF and Patrol | Fully completed |
| Two interviewers for Traffic | Not attempted ² |
| One observer, 15 days in each of 4 detective units | Only 12 days in each ³ of 4 detective units |
| <u>Designed YIELD</u> | <u>Actual YIELD</u> |
| TF 48 days observation | TF 48 days observation |
| Patrol 48 days observation | Patrol 48 days observation |
| Traffic 48 days observation | Traffic 48 days observation |
| Detective 60 days observation | Detective 48 days observation |
| Vice 24 days observation | Vice 20 days observation |
| TOTAL 288 days observation | TOTAL 272 days observation |
| <u>*Final Reports: Designed</u> | <u>Actual</u> |
| 2 from operations TF A | 2 same |
| 2 from operations TF B | 2 same |
| 2 from operations Patrol A | 2 same |
| 2 from operations Patrol B | 2 same |
| 2 from operations Traffic A | 2 same |
| 2 from operations Traffic B | 2 same |
| 2 from Vice unit | 2 same |
| 4: 1 from each of 4 detective units | 4 same |
| 2 from TF followup interviews | 2 same |
| 2 from Patrol followup interviews | 2 same |
| 2 from Traffic interviews | 0 - not attempted ² |
| 24 | 22 |
| <u>*Interviews Yield: Designed</u> | <u>Actual</u> |
| Traffic 64 | Not attempted ² |
| Patrol 64 | 56 completed |
| TF 64 | 42 completed |

¹This vice unit only worked weekdays which fit the time schedule so that only 10 days observation was possible for each observer.

²The interviewers started interviewing Patrol and then TF respondents. The time and difficulty of interviewing this hidden population, along with the somewhat limited sample and the fact that one observer was lost from the project after the first block of days (June 17-July 4), we foresaw that it was going to be impossible to even attempt to interview Traffic respondents. There were, as well, complicating factors and good reasons for not interviewing Traffic respondents, many of whom would be involved in court cases (accidents), and consequent problem of visibility of the project would have been undesirable.

³The decision was made by the Research Associate to only require 12 working days within this last time period (July 23-August 15). Reasons for this were to encourage the observers to finish their schedules as soon as possible, thus ending this observation as far from the date of the Democratic Convention as possible. The closer they came to the date of the Convention, the more abnormal police operations became, and also the more important factor being that we were out of the department's hair earlier as Convention time neared. (Thus following our policy of "least organizational disruption".)

ATTACHMENT II

OBSERVATION DAYS BY SUPERVISORY STYLE

| <u>Style</u> | <u>No. Sgts.</u> | <u>Observation Days</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Inspectors | 17 | 75 |
| 1, 2 | 7 | 35 |
| 2 Helpers | 11 | 40 |
| 2, 3 | 11 | 64 |
| <u>3 Team Leaders</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>58</u> |
| Total | 57 | 272 |

END