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An Examination of Deviant/Adaptive Behaviors In the Organizational Careers of Professionals

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Abstract

A model of professional deviant/adaptive career behaviors is presented to clarify the negative behavioral effects experienced by some salaried professionals and proposed as being caused by conflicting expectations with their management. The nature of and precursors to these conflicting expectations are delineated. The cognitive state, attitudes, and specific behaviors, which are the resultants of the expectations, are discussed. Behavioral outcomes are presented in terms of four career elements: management, job, self, and the career. Research and managerial implications are cited.

Keywords

Managing professionals, deviance, professional deviance, adaptive behavior, career dissatisfaction, conflicting expectations, turnover

An Examination of Deviant/Adaptive Behavior
In the Organizational Careers of Professionals

Perhaps due to some excellent sociological research in the Fifties and Sixties, the subject of conflicting expectations experienced by professionals when they choose to work in large organizations has been recently ignored. In fact, since the cutbacks experienced by engineers and scientists in the recession-prone early Seventies, career research on professionals has seemingly declined.

There is, however, a large body of evidence supporting the view that some professionals, due to their cosmopolitan nature, face particular problems in their socialization within large organizations (Gouldner, 1957, 1958). Although this condition has long been recognized, its negative behavioral manifestations have perhaps been minimized due to the well-known research of Kornhauser (1962), La Porte (1965), and others who have pointed out the accommodative mechanisms which exist in organizations to reduce cosmopolitan-local dissonance.

A Model of Deviant/Adaptive Behavior

In this paper I shall present a model (see Figure 1) which seeks to explain the causes and ramifications of conflicting expectations experienced by professionals when working in large organizations. Conflicting expectations arise when the goals and values of management do not match the goals and values of professionals, who, though employees, perceive themselves first as professionals. The ramifications of conflicting expectations consist of their antecedents and outcomes. The antecedents or precursory variables in the model explain the conditions shaping their emergence. The outcomes are threefold; a cognitive state which allows for awareness and integration of the conflict in expectations, a set of behavioral responses which may be either adaptive or deviant, and career dissatisfaction and other attitudes which either sustain or result from the behaviors.

The precursory variables in their own right affect the mid-term outcomes--cognition, behaviors, and attitudes--which result in potential turnover. However, the model proposes that for professionals, the intervening construct of conflicting expectations is critical in mobilizing these mid-term outcomes. For example, it is practically tautological that for pure professionals, a job low in autonomy will produce dissatisfaction. However, the model suggests that dissatisfaction or adaptive behavior on the part of the professional is more likely to occur when the professional's demands for autonomy conflict with strict role requirements management presumes for all its employees whether professional or not. The precursory variables also interact with each other to affect both the conflicting expectations and the mid-term outcomes. The negative impact of a rigid hierarchical organizational structure, for example, might be offset by flexibility in job conditions allowed under an enlightened supervisor.

Career dissatisfaction and the cognitive state also have a symmetrical relationship with the behavioral outcomes. In other words, cognitive processes and attitudes are thought to both precipitate and result from the behavioral responses identified in the model. This article will primarily focus on the details of these behavioral responses referred to here as "deviant/adaptive behavior." The other mid-term outcomes have been studied more thoroughly by others. It is commonly recognized, however, that attitudes and behaviors reinforce one another and the same is proposed for cognition and behavior (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, and Snoek, 1964; Kiesler, Collins, and Miller, 1969). As an example, consider a professional who is not allowed sufficient opportunity to seek external recognition. As a result, he or she might choose to withdraw from having any except the most superficial contact with management. This behavior is of course reinforced by the professional's hostile feelings towards the manager who induced the conflicting expectations to begin with. It may also be reinforced by a conviction to retaliate further, perhaps by ultimately leaving the organization.

The model accordingly ends with turnover which becomes a possible resultant from the behavioral as well as attitudinal and cognitive mid-term outcomes. If the individual does not leave the organization, then the mid-term outcomes can extend into the long term. Turnover, however, places at least a temporary suspension on the model, although the entire process can be re-cycled in another setting.

Besides theoretically examining the components of the model of professional deviant/adaptive career behavior, this article will also consider the model's empirical needs. For example, the severity and scope of the problem of salaried professional deviancy have not been identified. Other research and managerial implications will be discussed, especially in terms of specific corrective actions that both professionals and their management can take to modify the environment which harbors these expectational incongruities.

The model differs from prior conceptualizations in this area in three distinct ways. First, it focuses on individual professionals as opposed to a collective body of professionals, perhaps represented by their associational structures, or to the organization with which these individual professionals are associated.

Secondly, it focuses on professionals who are already at work in large organizations. They are referred to oftentimes as salaried, as opposed to self-employed professionals, and today constitute the great majority of working professionals. (Recent figures compiled by the author, for example, indicate that salaried professional employment grew faster than overall professional employment until 1975 where it became stabilized at about 75%.)

Thirdly, it focuses on the negative side as opposed to the positive side of the adaptive behavior of professionals in organizations. In the ensuing section, each of the components of the model will be discussed. Given space limitations, the predominant emphasis will be on the deviant/adaptive behavior of professionals resulting from conflicting expectations with management.

 Insert Figure 1 about here

The Precursory Variables

Before treating the problem of expectations which exists between the professional and the organization, as the model indicates, four precursory variables need to be considered: individual, organizational, job -- characteristics and job information.

Individual Characteristics

First, it is quite apparent that not all professionals are alike. Therefore, individual characteristics need to be controlled in specifying the model.

The typical approach in classifying professionals is to do it by occupation, which is in turn usually based upon socioeconomic status or prestige. Included in occupational listings are typically accountants, artists, clergymen, engineers and scientists, doctors, nurses, psychologists, lawyers, pharmacists, teachers, etc. The occupational approach can be further refined by functional classification. In other words, one might ask whether certain occupations qualify for professional status on the basis of their performance of certain key functions which professionals are known to do. Kerr, Von Glinow, and Schriesheim (1977) in their review of the literature, identified six such functions: expertise, autonomy, commitment, identification, ethics, and standards. Yet, as Ritzer (1972) pointed out, the occupational approach may still be inadequate at an individual level of analysis. There may be some individuals who do not possess professional traits in a supposed professional occupation, and conversely, there may be some individuals who act like professionals but who are not members of a recognized professional occupation. Hence, in every occupation, there are some individuals who are more professional than others.

Another refinement in professional definition at the individual level of analysis which is expected to affect the model is the distinction one might make between professionals and quasi-professionals. This distinction is important in career research because quasi-professionals, such as engineers, accountants, or urban planners, are considered to be more dependent upon, but also more interested in, the organization than are the so-called "pure" professionals who remain strictly loyal to their profession (Barber, 1963; Kerr et al., 1977). Hence, job dissatisfaction among pure professionals might manifest itself as a lack of autonomy to pursue their work, whereas among quasi-professionals, it may result from lack of power and participation in organizational affairs. The latter source of dissatisfaction, however, is not uncommon among those aspiring to managerial careers. In fact, there is substantial evidence that engineers, the largest quasi-professional group, consider transition to management to be the culmination of their technical training (Gould, 1966; Raelin, forthcoming). As a

result, it is apparent that quasi-professionals are much less likely to have conflicting expectations with management than are pure professionals. In spite of this important distinction between pure professionals and quasi-professionals, the absolute individual level of analysis must still not be overlooked in determining the criterion of membership. In other words, some quasi-professionals will act like professionals; others may not.

Besides occupation, other individual characteristics which should be taken into consideration in the model include education and professional training, age, sex, tenure, income, family responsibilities, prior work experiences, aspirations, values, attitudes, personality, and personal work ethic (Mobley, Griffeth, Hand, and Meglino, 1979; Raelin, 1980; Mowday, Porter, and Steers, 1982). These factors are likely to interact with many of the other precursory variables (Jones, 1983) to determine the nature and extent of conflict with management and the resulting behavioral, cognitive, and attitudinal responses.

Organizational Characteristics

A second precursory variable in the model is organizational characteristics. Obviously, professionals work in a variety of organizations and in different industries, and some of these organizations are more receptive to professional practices than others. Professionals are more likely to obtain an acceptable level of autonomy and control over their own work in those organizations in which .. 1) there is a high degree of receptiveness to professional expertise, 2) their services are in high demand, or 3) administrators are knowledgeable about professional concerns (or even have come from professional backgrounds).

Specifically, greater professional identification can be found in such organizations as universities, hospitals, some government agencies, and certain professional service organizations, such as accounting firms, than in most industrial organizations. Another distinction proposed by Scott (1965) is the degree to which the organizational professional is subject to external jurisdiction. Autonomous professional organizations, such as medical clinics or law firms, are least subject to external control, followed by heteronomous professional organizations, such as public schools or social work agencies, and then finally at the other end of the continuum, professional departments within larger organizations where work is largely structured for the professional by management. Besides organizational type, other organizational characteristics which impact on professional expectations and mid-term work outcomes include mission, structure, technology, nature of environment, motivational system, leadership style, climate, including politics, and bureaucratic policies and procedures such as hierarchy of authority, division of labor, procedural specifications, etc. (Hall, 1968).

Job Characteristics

Whereas organizational characteristics describe the structural framework surrounding one's work environment, the job characteristics are concerned with the actual conditions governing the professional individual's job. Hackman and Oldham's five "core" dimensions of work (1975) are particularly important to professionals. These are: skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback. Such familiar problems in professional work as misutilization, underutilization, micro division of labor, and overspecialization are derived especially from an insufficiency of the first two dimensions (Kaufman, 1975). The contrasting characteristic of challenge on the job has been cited by a number of studies (see, i.e., Ferrucci and Gerstl, 1969; Seiler, 1970) as critical to most professionals. Inadequate provision of challenge will most likely convert to job dissatisfaction among professionals which in turn has been shown in one study to lead to deviant behavior in the workplace (Hollinger and Clark, 1983). Besides challenge, the

condition of autonomy, or the freedom to choose the examination of and means to solve problems, has been cited as being synonymous with the very concept of professionalism and, hence, considered critical to the professional role in the organization (Wilensky, 1964).

Other job characteristics which are of import include job level, opportunities for advancement, co-worker relations, attendance motivation, task interdependence, stress, and satisfaction (Mowday et al., 1982). As suggested at the outset, some of these factors will be moderated by some of the other precursory characteristics. For example, such professional traits as high-level skill and high growth need strength are expected to both intervene and interact with the effects of intrinsic job characteristics on the outcomes specified in the model (Hackman and Oldham, 1980).

Job Information

Finally, the last variable affecting expectations and mid-term outcomes in the model is job information, referring to information the individual has about job prospects both inside and outside his or her current source of employment. Internal job information has a bearing on two important expectational constructs often discussed in the turnover literature: met expectations and realistic expectations. In one of the most acclaimed reviews of the subject of turnover, Porter and Steers (1973) considered the decision to participate and remain with one's organization to be derived from a balance between potential rewards and desired expectations. The withdrawal tendency of some individuals results from their expectations not being sufficiently met in their present organization. The construct of "met expectations" was subsequently found to be conditional on the longevity of the job incumbent. Most expectations held by outsiders to an organization start off inflated (Wanous, 1977). Expectations then begin to fall off once one enters the organization and submits to the

processes of socialization and assimilation (Mobley et al., 1979). Those who then stay after the entry period typically lower their expectations, resulting in a higher degree of "met expectations" than those who leave, or even develop entirely new expectations (Louis, 1980). If a staff engineer, for example, discovers through his internal information network that the chances of becoming a principal have become minimal, he might need to lower his initial expectations, or change them to focus on other opportunities inside or outside the company. The turnover literature has also discussed the need for individuals and managers to establish realistic expectations regarding work conditions in the organization in order to insure that expectations get met, resulting hopefully in greater organizational commitment (see, i.e., Wanous, 1973).

In contrast to Hall's general finding that most people obtain only superficial information about occupations (1976, p. 39), professionals up to the point of entry actually study their chosen occupation quite carefully. In fact, one could say that they are trained to assume their occupational role almost to the point of excess, as in Sarason's "one life - one career imperative" (1977). However, especially for those who are to work in organizations, professional training typically does not provide sufficient information on organizational life, resulting for most professionals in a "reality shock" upon entry (Hughes, 1958).

Conflicting expectations are not only created by internal job perceptions but also by external information. Mowday and McDade (1979) clarified this variable as constituting both the availability as well as attractiveness of alternative offers. The prevailing hypothesis would be that as external offers increase in number and attractiveness, the greater the conflict in expectations.

However, this hypothesis hasn't been borne out in the literature (see, for example, Mobley, Horner and Hollingsworth, 1978) for at least two reasons. For one, individuals whose expectations have been met on their current job may still report a high incidence of alternatives. Secondly, since expectations tend to become more realistic once one has chosen to stay for awhile in the organization, the availability and attractiveness of alternatives tend to decrease in importance as the employee extends greater commitment to the organization (Salancik, 1977). Yet, if a professional employee finds an attractive alternative but, as Mobley et al. (1979) have added, also expects that that alternative will lead to the future attainment of positive outcomes, then he or she may pursue the alternative if the expected utility of the alternative is perceived to be greater than the expected utility of the present job. In this instance, one may consider external alternatives in spite of behavioral commitments to one's present employer.

Conflicting Expectations

The discussion of the deviant/adaptive model next proceeds to a critical examination of the basis for conflicting expectations among salaried professional employees. The concept of conflicting expectations can be traced through a number of streams in the literature. I shall briefly review four of these streams: role conflict, tolerance theory, learned helplessness, and dissonance theory, reserving a fifth -- the cosmopolitan vs. local orientation -- for more extensive treatment.

The perspective of role conflict or role "strain" (Evan, 1962; Kahn et al., 1964; Miles, 1975) suggests that conflict occurs when incompatible demands are placed on an employee or when there is undue pressure on the employee to comply

with organizational norms. Kahn et al. (1964) state that conflicting expectations are of research interest because they create psychological conflict for the person who is their target. This conflict arises because the "focal person" is already "in role." The pure professional presumably assumes a role in the organization initially if not pervasively as a professional. Pressures to change that role to become, for instance, a more conforming employee represent new and additional forces with which he or she must cope. On the other hand, a decision by the professional to conform more to the expectations of management is likely to reduce the role strain (Lieberman, 1977). Yet, pure professionals are unlikely to conform that readily producing a cycle of coping attitudinal and behavioral responses (Kahn et al., 1964).

La Porte (1965) and Miles (1975) found that degree of conflict was directly associated with the professional's degree of exposure to administrative procedures and activities. In particular, such activities as procurement and requisition, budgeting and finance, user contact, personnel supervision, and gate-keeping were found to be most troublesome for their samples of scientists and engineers. Evan (1962) postulated that professionals, especially basic researchers or pure professionals, were interested in working for their employer under a "patron-scientist" relationship, but that most employers expected reciprocity from professionals in the form of the "client-professional," if not the straightforward "employer-employee" relationship.

Tolerance theory, in a similar vein as role conflict, reasons that conflict arises when the "amount and form of living space required by an individual" is incongruent with that permitted by the organization (Biddle and Hutton, 1976, p. 835). Biddle and Hutton further argue that individuals, in order to cope with the incongruence, develop a protective living space which consists of a variety of adaptive attitudes and behaviors.

The concept of "learned helplessness" (Overmier and Seligman, 1967) goes further than the previous two theories by demonstrating that both environmental and organizational conditions not only cause employees to be conflicted and passive, but also to remain so even after environmental changes make success possible (Martinko and Gardner, 1982). Although the bulk of learned helplessness research appears to concentrate on behavior as the focal dimension, as opposed to expectations, Martinko and Gardner demonstrate an application to the latter by explaining that conflict develops when a person expecting initial failures within the work environment begins to expect future failures. Further, the dependent variables in LH research tend to be maladaptive behaviors, such as performance deficits or staff burnout (Cherniss, 1980).

Dissonance theory is also very pertinent to the problem of conflicting expectations of professionals. To explain, cognitive dissonance as initially articulated by Festinger (1957) results when two cognitions psychologically stand in the way of the other. Dissonance creates tension within the individual, forcing him or her to reduce it usually by changing attitudes or perceptions or even the environmental conditions causing the dissonance (Wicklund and Brehm, 1976). In the case of the salaried professional, if faced with a dissonant work environment, he or she may simply justify staying or putting up with it by attributing behavior to factors outside his or her control (Jones, 1976; Staw, 1980). The professional employee may also re-interpret the job -- value aspects previously considered unattractive -- in such a way that makes it appear more satisfying (Porter, Lawler, and Hackman, 1975). However, some professionals under a low need to justify their decision to stay with an unsatisfactory work environment, may engage in either adaptive or maladaptive behavior to reduce the dissonance.

The distinction in orientation between cosmopolitanism and localism is perhaps the optimal conceptual device to explain the nature of the conflicting expectations between the professional and the organization. Essentially,

the cosmopolitan-local construct depicts the professional as the cosmopolitan and the manager, as the personification of the organization, as the local. Gouldner, in his classic study (1957, 1958), and Blau and Scott, in their review of cosmopolitanism (1962, pp. 64-71), have found cosmopolitans to have relatively little integration in either the formal or informal structure of the organization, and to have little loyalty to the organization as a result of their bearings towards outside professional referent groups. Locals are just the reverse. They are loyal to their organization, fully integrated, and use an organizational reference bearing. Individual professionals can of course be strong in both orientations but especially those classified as "pure" tend to be cosmopolitan, whereas managers tend to be clearly local.

Now before demonstrating the relationship between professionalism and conflicting expectations, a word of caution is in order. As was pointed out earlier, not all professionals are the same, so it would be inaccurate to label all professionals as cosmopolitan. In fact, challenges to the cosmopolitan-local construct have suggested that professionalism is not a continuum but rather a multi-dimensional property. For instance, professionals can have hybrid orientations combining both cosmopolitan and local properties (Kornhauser, 1962, pp. 117-156). In empirical research studies, Flango and Brumbaugh (1974) identified an indifferent orientation and Friedlander (1971) found that his research orientation explained considerably more total variance than either the professional or local orientation. Bartol (1979) in fact found little relationship between professionalism and role conflict; however, her sample was made up solely of quasi-professionals (computer specialists) and her role conflict scale did not specifically measure professional role concerns.

The model presented here accepts these definitional constraints regarding professionals except that it assumes that cosmopolitan preferences are not only identifiable but also consequential. In other words, the cosmopolitan professional is the type who is expected to be most conflicted in the organization. Six specific

sources of conflict for the cosmopolitan professional are depicted below based upon Kerr et al.'s functional classification, cited earlier (1977). Perhaps the most apparent source of conflict stems from the specialized expertise which the professional brings to the organization. Management is often found to have little patience with the elegant procedures practiced by the professional and not infrequently applies pressure on the professional for faster results or more immediate applications. The professional in turn resists these pressures on the basis of his or her special competence which, in many cases, is not sufficient to resist market uncertainties which tend to govern the behavior of management.

Based largely upon academic training and socialization, the salaried professional, certainly during the early years in the organization, seems to be unrelenting in his or her demands for autonomy (Abrahamson, 1964). As in the case of expertise, the professional wishes to maintain self-control over the development of the applications of knowledge in his or her field. Yet the organization, and in particular its management, in order to coordinate the diverse activities it undertakes to accomplish its goals, needs to maintain control over all the individuals in the organization, professional or not, who contribute to organizational task performance. This condition results in professionals being supervised by non-professionals who happen to occupy supervisory positions. Although this may seem normal, it runs counter to the value system of many professionals who expect to establish their own agenda and be controlled certainly by no less than their own peers. The determination of which problems to examine and the means to be used is minimized where professional personnel can virtually be hired, promoted, and fired at the will of the manager.

Besides seeking autonomy over one's work, the professional also displays a commitment to his or her chosen specialty and maintains an identification with the profession such that personal research and discoveries draw the attention and recognition of one's peers. This commitment and identification to the profession may be inconsistent, however, with the requirements for success

and advancement in the organization. Management desires its employees to be loyal to the organization and not to consider it a mere place of work. Loyalty is, in turn, induced through organizational incentives which beyond salary and benefits normally contain the opportunity for the assumption of managerial responsibilities. The most committed of professionals, however, will look to external referents such as their professional associations for recognition, support, and stimulation.

Finally, professionals are presumed to follow codes of ethics, usually established through these formal associations, which establish standards of conduct. These standards are set apart from the requirements placed on professionals by the organization. Professionals are obliged to serve their client, who may also be their employer, according to standards set by the profession; hence, they are not altogether subject to the direction of management. Nevertheless, compared to professionals in solo practice, salaried professionals are in a weaker position to influence the way their services are used, given the administrative imperative of managers to set standards for their organization.

Cognitive State

Faced with conflicting expectations, the cosmopolitan professional may take some action to reduce the dissonance with the organization. This will normally be displayed through behavioral manifestations although it must be recognized that a process of cognition may evolve before, after, or concurrently with the behavior.

The cognitive state notion is supported in the career field by Sarason's work (1977) which suggests that professionals, when faced with self-doubt, uncertainty, or negative evaluations, are prone to resist candor regarding any underlying conflicting expectations. Writers in the field of cognitive psychology

have explained this phenomenon as follows. Most individuals will not tend to consciously deploy their cognition in everyday life (Taylor and Fiske, 1978). What provokes them to use conscious thought is something which the individual senses as "out of the ordinary" (Langer, 1978). Whatever the basis, whether it be due to their professional training, idealized notions of organizational life, more favorable former job experiences, etc., professionals are likely to experience a disruption in their cognition when management acts differently than what was expected. Hence, an outcome which was expected may not occur which accounts for dissonance (Festinger, 1957) or what Lewin (1951) referred to as disequilibrium in one's psychological field. This cognitive experience is simply denoted here as "confusion."

Once entering the stage of confusion, there is a natural need to restore equilibrium, in what has been referred to as "sense making" (Weick, 1977; Louis, 1980). In sense making, the individual resolves the confusion by resorting to retrospective explanation. The explanation is retrospective since the individual in Weick's terms is not an active "data collector" (1977, p. 275). Rather, confusion sets in due to the occurrence of heretofore unexplained occurrences, producing tension, and requiring the individual to account for the event(s). This next stage of the cognitive state is called "identification." Once resolving the confusion, the triggering event no longer is discrepant; rather, it becomes (particularly if re-experienced) part of one's storehouse of attributed meanings which are available to explain future experiences. Hence, with identification, one eliminates the surprise or disruption in one's set of expectations caused by the contrary act--in the case of our cosmopolitan professional, it being typically an unsympathetic behavior or reaction on the part of management. Van Maanen (1977) calls this a process of "normalizing the setting," such that one can now account for the discrepant behavior in terms of both the perpetrator (i.e., the organization or the manager) as well as oneself (one's heretofore confusion, reactions, new feelings about the organization, etc.).

The last stage of the cognitive state is "intention." It is not always

sufficient to identify the source of dissonance in one's work environment to restore equilibrium in one's cognitive state. One may also need a "theme" (McHugh, 1968; Van Maanen, 1977) which generates an evaluation not only of the precipitating behavior or activity, but also the activity's relationship to the past and future. Particularly with respect to the future, the new information acquired through the identification stage may now need to be channeled into one's revised cognitive set, or it could precipitate a behavioral response. Fishbein (1967) and Locke (1968) theorized that intention was a good predictor of behavior. Mobley et al. (1978), however, cautioned that the relationship between intention and behavior was moderated by such factors as age, tenure, and satisfaction. One behavioral response at times quite available to professionals which has been studied as a consistent outcome of intention (to quit) is turnover (Mobley, 1982).

Career Dissatisfaction

Perhaps the most immediate outcome from conflicting expectations with management is career dissatisfaction. This attitudinal construct is also shaped by the precursory variables in the model displayed in Figure 1. Career dissatisfaction is a comprehensive label for a wide range of attitudinal consequences which describe the professional's affective state as influenced by conflict with management and more generally with one's organization. It is distinguished temporally from job dissatisfaction as it is proposed to be a more enduring and longer-term phenomenon. Like job dissatisfaction, however, it is constituted of a variety of facets such as dissatisfaction or mistrust of one's boss, greater concern with context factors such as security and pay, disenchantment with one's advancement opportunities, loss of commitment to the organization, ill feelings towards one's peers, etc. (Pearlin, 1962; Kahn et al., 1964; Gerstenfeld and Rosica, 1970;

Locke, 1976). Career dissatisfaction in any of these areas reinforces deviant/adaptive behavior which in turn sustains dissatisfaction. The relationship between dissatisfaction and deviancy has been shown to be quite complex. Kemper (1966), for instance, believes that dissatisfaction is merely a component of the social context of a work environment that produces deviance. As an example, deviance may be resorted to in reaction to management's failure to recognize merit or as a protest against excessive productivity requirements.

Dissatisfaction is also a known predictor of turnover, although its effects are moderated by other factors, such as job information and other individual characteristics (Mobley, 1982). As the model outlined in this paper focuses on the deviant/adaptive behavior of professionals, the more complex links between attitudes, behavior, and turnover are not demonstrated. Mowday et al. (1982) and Mobley (1982) can be consulted on this account.

Deviant/Adaptive Behavior

As indicated above, the professional ultimately needs to take some action to reduce the dissonance experienced in the organization. Of course, the option of leaving is available but depending upon a number of circumstances, such as the degree of seriousness of the conflicting expectations, the availability and attractiveness of outside offers, or the psychological makeup of the individual, the professional may prefer to stay--at least for the time being. In staying, the individual has committed himself or herself to facing the dissonance in some way. He or she may simply decide to accommodate the situation perhaps by changing his or her expectations to match those of the organization (McKelvey, 1969). Other accommodative measures might be to enrich one's job, try to obtain a favorable transfer, attempt to move into management, etc. Management itself may participate

in these accommodative mechanisms. Accommodation, however, is not the subject of this paper, for it has been already well addressed by Kornhauser (1962), La Porte (1965), and others, as was pointed out earlier. Further, accommodators would be expected to have entered the organization with a local orientation or to have become "locally" socialized. Moreover, they would likely face a low degree of conflict in expectations which suggests a relatively low probability of dissonance.

What this paper addresses are those behaviors which, during the time in which the professional stays with the organization, are considered to be either detrimental to the individual or to the organization. Support for the notion of detrimental behaviors comes from role theory again, especially Kahn et al. (1964), who found that the strain experienced by those in conflict situations would lead to "coping responses." Although some of these responses were manifested by attitudes, the role theorists also elaborated on a number of behavioral consequences such as reduced communication, less volunteering of effort in finding solutions to problems, or withdrawal of support. Some of these behavioral responses might be considered to be only marginally detrimental or may constitute only short-run maladjustments, referred to here as adaptive. Others may constitute outright deviances which can only cause harm. According to Merton (1957, p. 150), deviance occurs when people use illegitimate means, or methods not sanctioned by the organization, to accomplish their goals. Goals can be either in conformity with or antagonistic to the surrounding culture. A fuller definition of deviance arises from sociologists who take a "relativistic" perspective, as opposed to a "normative" perspective of deviance (Orcutt, 1983). The former believe that deviance cannot be defined according to variations from widely shared, stable norms of society but rather according to how social audiences define it. Hence, deviance may be seen as occurring as a pattern of response behaviors among certain professionals in relation to managerial expectations. According to Becker (1963), what transforms a person from being merely adaptive to becoming deviant is the acquisition of a label followed by a state of being cut off ". . . from participation in more conventional groups" (p. 34).

In Hollinger and Clark's recent report on employee deviance in the workplace (1983), deviance was depicted as emanating from two nearly counteractive practices of management: 1) lack of sufficient social control devices and 2) lack of commitment-enhancing policies. Hollinger and Clark operationalized deviance into two categories: property and production deviance. Property deviance or theft was found to be practiced by some professionals, especially technical personnel who not only are likely to have unrestricted access to materials but also the sophisticated skills needed to use them. Production deviance, defined as general counterproductive behavior, such as slow or sloppy workmanship, sick-leave abuse, alcohol and drug use at work, or coming to work late, was found to be more pervasive. Of interest in the model presented here, production deviance was moderated under conditions of greater professionalism. In other words, professionals maintaining a profound service ethic were less prone to engage in production deviance than other occupational groups.

The response behaviors outlined in this paper are of the production, as opposed to property type, and are proposed to fall on a continuum from adaptive to deviant. Unlike prior discontinuous models of deviancy (Parsons, 1951; Merton, 1957; McKelvey, 1969), the present model suggests that the behaviors can be cumulatively scaled according to degree of seriousness or harm vis-a-vis four career elements: management, job, self, and the career itself. Although a multitude of behaviors could be listed, most of those chosen for display in Table 1 have at least been theoretically, if not empirically, studied. They are by no means exhaustive. The table lists the four career elements and the deviant/adaptive continuum, with the behaviors arrayed in approximate position along the continuum. Their relative position has not been tested but is thought to constitute a reasonable approximation based upon this author's careful review of the literature. Subsequent research will hopefully specify whether these behaviors are in fact cumulative and, if so,

their approximate positions on the respective scales. For now, a discussion of these behaviors by career element is provided with theoretical justification for their relative placement on their continua.

Insert Table 1 about here

Vis-a-Vis Management

Most of the deviant/adaptive behaviors vis-a-vis management have been discussed by Kornhauser (1962) and LaPorte (1965) as behaviors which have the potential to move to deviancy if an appropriate accommodation can't be reached with the organization. The impediment placed on professional conduct by the bureaucracy and the professional's resultant quest for freedom from structural constraints have been well documented in the cosmopolitan-local literature. This behavior is not serious provided the professional shows willingness to accept some natural organizational imperatives, such as goals, rules, and communication structure. Similarly, some demands for greater autonomy and/or authority can be furnished to the professional although there is the danger that it may seem like not enough to the professional, but seem like too much to the manager. The demand for additional professional privileges might come in the form of an opportunity to participate in professional association meetings, to publish research and patent new discoveries, to work exclusively on projects making use of one's professional methodology, to continue one's training and education, or to collaborate with one's peers in a common work group. Again, these may be accommodated but they have a tendency to reduce the loyalty of the professional to the organization. The retreat to technology, first broached

by Selznick (1957) and then treated in-depth by Argyris and Schon (1974) as the inability to interpenetrate technical and interpersonal theories, depicts the professional as unwilling to make himself or herself available to management except for the technical purposes for which he or she is trained. Even more serious would be, first, the professional's refusal to be concerned with the results or implementation--as in the production and marketing function--of his technical work (Kornhauser, 1962, pp. 167-177). Secondly, under more severe dissonance, the professional in reaction to management's bureaucratic constraints, may engage in excessive rule tropism (Gouldner, 1957) suggesting the behavior of doing things "only by the book," known also as "work-to-rule."

Deviancy in the management area is clearly achieved when the professional seeking an outlet for frustrations attempts to recruit others in spreading the word regarding managerial lack of faith. Since this behavioral vehicle is typically made illicit rather than open, it is a form of sabotage against the organization. Another approach which the professional can turn to, presumably in the interest of the professional value of knowledge dissemination, is the failure to uphold corporate trade secrets (Kornhauser, 1962, pp. 76-80). Beyond this act, there are numerous other unethical practices which the professional may perpetrate on the organization perhaps as a way to serve one's exclusive self-interest, as in a bribe or extortion, or to retaliate against management for some past real or imagined indiscretion (Velasquez, 1982). The recent Tylenol murders are thought to have been initiated by the latter motive.

Vis-a-Vis Job

In terms of job adaptations, an initial personal strategy may be to demand more privacy in one's work (Biddle and Hutton, 1976). This doesn't perforce lead to lack of job performance unless the professional eschews interaction necessary for task accomplishment. The professional may also become very busy. "Busyness" in and of itself is not a problem. In fact, the employee may be

working long and hard hours on essential work. However, when he or she is no longer available for requisite tasks, overall job performance may suffer (Kornhauser, 1962, p. 72). A related but less formally sanctioned activity is that of bootlegging. As defined by La Porte and Wood (1970), bootlegging means engaging in projects not specified within one's scope of work or one's contractual obligations. Although bootlegging may ultimately benefit the organization, La Porte and Wood find that it tends to benefit the personal career of the professional more than contribute to the accomplishment of organizational goals. Yet, when successful, bootlegging may allow the professional a "way out" of conflicting expectations.

Beyond these three behaviors lies disinterest. This behavior approaches deviancy as it implies that conditions within the organization have become sufficiently severe that one no longer can find fulfillment at least within the job (Biddle and Hutton, 1976). Whereas disinterest represents a passive dimension of deviancy, the next three behaviors take on an active dimension (Parsons, 1951). An unauthorized work break extension can be viewed as a dishonest act since it goes against company policy (Jones, 1981). Although extended breaks constitutes an extreme form of behavior, it may at least allow the worker to come back revived to the job, although this may not always be the case. On the other hand, the professional may choose to withdraw completely, manifested by excessive absenteeism or tardiness (Porter and Steers, 1973). Finally, a decision to stay in the organization (perhaps due to the unavailability of other opportunities) combined with extreme dissonance might lead to reduced or even poor performance on the job itself (Korman, 1977).

Vis-a-Vis Self

In terms of self, conflicting expectations might be negotiated intrapersonally through the adoption of some kind of psychological defense mechanism,

such as rationalization (McKelvey, 1969). Unless carried to excess, this kind of psychological process can help the individual adapt to his or her current working conditions. Another adaptive mechanism is to focus on outside interests, such as one's family, leisure activities, or community affairs. Bailyn's research in this area (1977) has revealed that professionals who react in this way can adjust to their work reasonably well; in other words, they become less concerned "...about advancement, high earnings, or other signs of organizational power." However, such professionals are also seen as being more passive in their professional role. Less adaptive would be becoming apathetic and indifferent, for these traits could lead to markedly reduced functioning in one's work and could even carry over into one's home life (Biddle and Hutton, 1976; Near, Rice, and Hunt, 1978). More serious than apathy and indifference is the strain of burnout, which Cherniss (1980) has found to be particularly associated with professional work. According to Cherniss, burnout has both personal and work effects. It is associated, for example, with emotional detachment and an excessive concern with self-interest. Further, it tends to involve a lowering of personal standards as well as of personal responsibility for outcomes. In alienation, the individual actually experiences a sense of powerlessness and lack of control over life and work processes (Blauner, 1964). Finally, when the strain and frustration experienced in the work setting become intolerable, mental and physical illness may result (Kornhauser, 1965).

Vis-a-Vis Career

In this last element, behavioral effects from the professional's conflicting expectations and confusion surrounding his or her role are traced in terms of the career itself. In order to emphasize one's professional identification which

is challenged by the organization, an initial response may be to strengthen one's professional allegiance (Lebell, 1980). This may take the form of increasing activity in one's professional association, forming closer ties with external professional colleagues, etc. Similarly, the professional may decide that one's career may be better served by emphasizing work that is professionally, as opposed to organizationally, evaluated. Although this practice could work to the detriment of the organization, Bowen (1982) shows that it can at times actually benefit the organization if the externally-rated activity concurrently serves organizational goals. A clear example of this behavior is a professor's emphasis on research publications which might ultimately increase the reputation of the university.

Less adaptive certainly for the individual and to some extent for the organization is the professional's assumption of premature search activity, which will be defined as persisting in external search independent of the probability of finding an acceptable alternative. According to Mobley et al. (1978), this behavior is incited by a cognitive state, ending with an intention to quit. It can result in frustration for the individual, and if carried to excess, can limit the contribution the professional might make to the organization. However, it can also result in positive turnover (Mowday et al., 1982). The converse, inadequate internal search, can be equally damaging to the individual, and also has long-term negative consequences for the organization. Although management may be at fault for not introducing the individual to career planning and development, the individual also has responsibility for shaping his or her own internal growth (Mobley, 1982). A reaction to conflicting expectations, however, among the professional may be to limit the search for internal opportunities. This may result from what Argyris and Schon (1974) refer to as a "self-sealing theory-in-use." Accordingly, professionals, already in doubt about their worth or value to the organization, withhold the search of informa-

tion which might disconfirm their assumptions about themselves or their organization. While obvious that this kind of behavior restricts the individual, it also reduces the supply of competent human resources to fill new and challenging organizational positions. Beyond inadequate internal search, a more severe reaction by professionals would be to limit their participation in what might be called "extra-work" activities, i.e., functions which might be non-mandatory but helpful to the organization. For example, the professional, in order to resist local organizational pressures, might simply decide not to volunteer for any committees, might show little interest in entrepreneurial activity (La Porte and Wood, 1970), or might refuse to work overtime regardless of the need. Although such behavior can indeed be harmful to the organization, it also limits the present and potential role of the individual in any significant organizational activity, a phenomenon explained by Katz and Kahn in reference to the construct of "partial inclusion" (1978). Finally, as was pointed out earlier in the discussion regarding behavior vis-a-vis self, a decision to stay in one's organization due to such constraints as closed external opportunities may result in a variety of deviant reactions. In terms of one's career as a professional, a potential reaction which has been observed by this author but not yet directly reported in the literature is the flaunting of external offers. In this instance, the disheartened professional, whose self-esteem has already been battered by the lack of external opportunities, tries to save face by resorting to inflated statement of fact. Naturally, this kind of behavior unnecessarily heightens the expectations of colleagues and can serve to dampen morale in the respective work unit (Mowday et al., 1982):

Turnover

The model of professional deviant/adaptive career behavior ends with turnover which results when the professional resigns his or her job or is fired. The deviant/adaptive behaviors are also temporarily suspended at the point of the turnover since all organizational restraints are released. However, these same behaviors are very prone to surface again in the next organizational position unless role expectations on the part of the professional or the new organization are modified or more suitable methods of accommodating the potentially conflicting expectations are found.

Implications

The implications of the model will be viewed from three perspectives: avenues for future research, and management and professional applications. The applications are of course tentative until such time that the model can be empirically evaluated.

Future Research

As a conceptual model, any of the theoretical points presented in this paper are of course subject to empirical testing. However, a couple of ideas bear particular attention to improve model specification. First, the scope and severity of the "problem" of deviant/adaptive behavior need to be identified. Specifically, we need to know how many or what percentage of salaried professionals actually experience sufficient conflict in their expectations with their organization to sustain these behavioral responses. Then, of these professionals, how many begin to react towards the deviant side of the

continuum? Given the existence of a continuum, at what point do the behaviors become sufficiently detrimental that they become intolerable to the individual and to management?

As indicated in the text, the behaviors cited were observed rather than tested. Can their positions on the continuum be further specified? Are there other behaviors which deserve mention which were not identified in this paper?

The model presented has obvious implications in terms of individual mobility. It would be interesting to associate the occurrence of deviant/adaptive behavior with macroeconomic factors. Professionals are likely to retain "bad fit" positions during downswings in the business cycle. The model has also potentially contributed to the socialization literature, although much more needs to be done to learn about the particular entry and socialization problems faced by salaried professionals. It might also be fruitful to consider whether the behavioral responses to conflicting expectations cited here apply to other occupational groups.

Research might also be conducted to determine which professionals and which organizations are most susceptible to the dissonant phenomena discussed here. Finally, empirical treatment of the other components of the model is called for, especially the precursory variables, the nature of the cognitive state and career dissatisfaction and their symmetrical relationships to deviant/adaptive behavior, and turnover as the final resultant.

Managerial Applications

Management in employing professionals receives a very treasured resource, but also has to handle this resource with care. From the very beginning, then, at the point of hire, the manager must be very frank with the professional regarding the nature of the organization, the jobs available, as well as his or her goals and values. The manager should request that, in turn, the pro-

Professional candidate respond with equal frankness regarding his or her aspirations and expectations. Then, during the entry and early socialization period once on the job, management needs to closely monitor the progress of the new professional. Aware that conflicting expectations are likely to crop up, the manager should stress the use of accommodative mechanisms such as job redesign, dual track opportunities, the installation of a professional reward system, etc. Management should also be aware of the importance that mentoring or sponsorship has for professionals by formally recognizing this role and providing time for mentor and protege to meet. It might even consider appointing mentors or even "buddies" (who are at comparable career levels) for those who have not been fortunate enough to obtain sponsorship. Finally, there might even be occasions when the manager would be advised to tolerate some of the adaptive behaviors cited in this paper, especially for very valued professional staff.

As soon as there are signs of a potential transition to deviancy, however, management must act quickly. The same kind of interpersonal discussion held at entry and characterized by genuine closeness and an honest revelation of mutual expectations must now be resumed, if it had been discontinued due to time demands and pressures. In some cases, counseling may be required. If both parties cannot work out a compatible working arrangement, termination may be required but only as a last step. Management must understand that some of the conflict it may experience with its professionals constitutes a structural fact of organizational life, but that successful resolution of the conflict might yield some very ripe organizational benefits.

Professional Applications

Just as managers need to appreciate the career concerns of professionals, professionals choosing to work in organizations need to spend a good deal of time learning to understand the purpose, values, and climate of bureaucratic institutions. This should begin during professional training although the recommendation for change should be directed initially to professionals training professionals. Professional schools, for example, might consider inviting executives to hold seminars in which students could discover in a preliminary fashion the realities of organizational culture. However, at the point of hire, the professional, in a similar way as was discussed previously for management, must take personal responsibility for learning about the new culture he or she is contemplating entering. Then and throughout one's stay in the organization, the professional must take charge of his or her own career development. If conflicting expectations arise in spite of prior preparation, professionals are advised to be brutally frank with themselves regarding their career interests. Do they want to stay in the organization? If so, what accommodation can be made to allow them the freedom to pursue their professional work while at the same time contribute to organizational goal attainment?

During this time of self-examination, the professional also needs to seek out management and engage in that open dialogue spoken about earlier. Ultimately, the professional will need to gauge the threshold of dissonance above which one's participation in the organization can no longer be sustained but below which one can reach an accommodation in expectations with the employing organization.

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Table 1

A Continuum of Professional Deviant/Adaptive Behavior

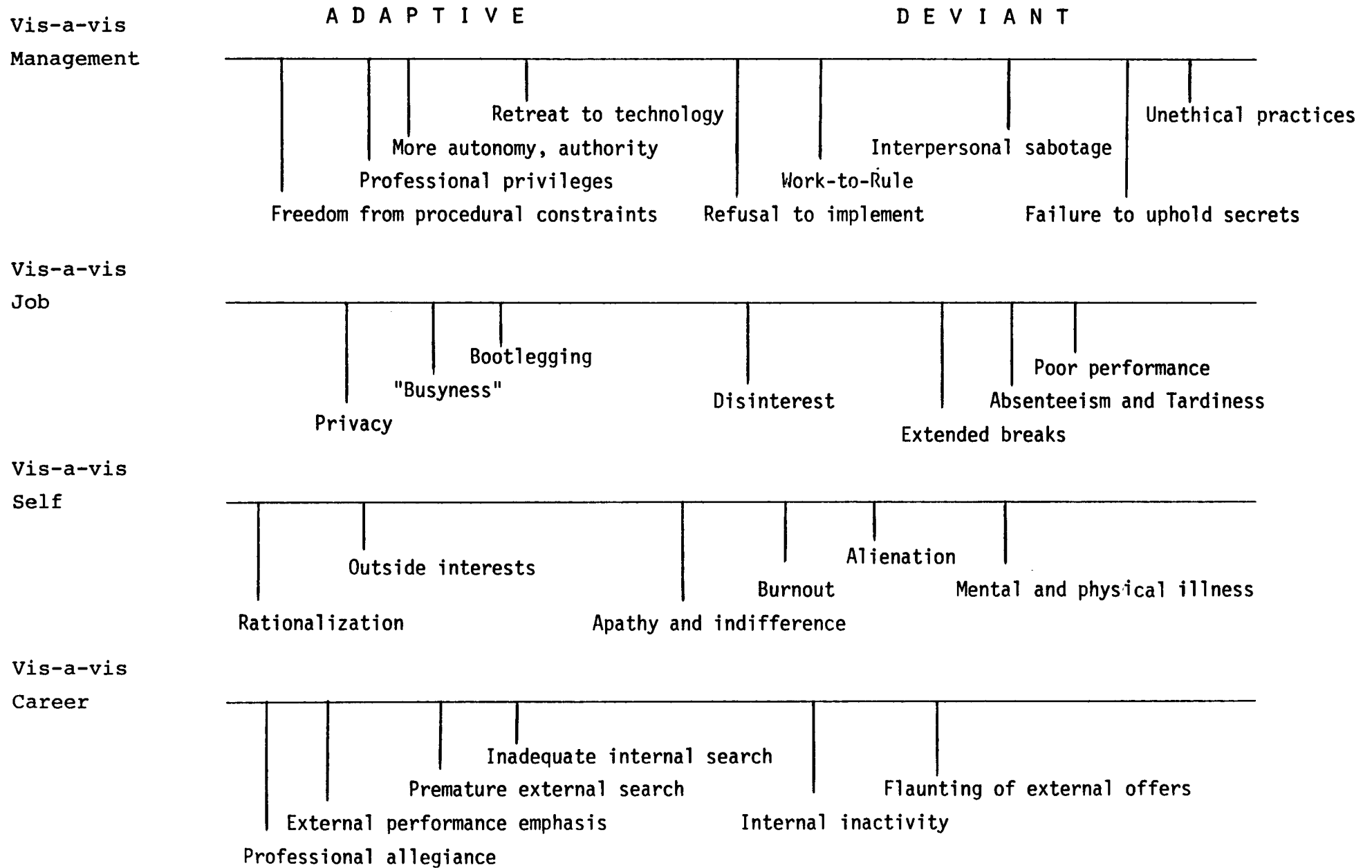


Figure 1

A Model of Professional Deviant/Adaptive Career Behavior

