AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY
OF POLICE RECRUITMENT AND
MINORITY GROUPS

Thesis for the Degree of M. S.
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AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY OF POLICE

RECRUITMENT AND MINORITY GROUPS

By

John Edward Russell

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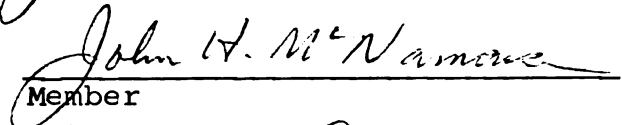for the degree of

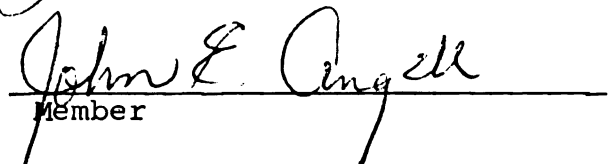MASTER OF SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT

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The recruitment function is directly related to many
of the present day problems confronting police adminis-
trators. Some of these administrators have voiced a concern
for lack of applicants from the minority community. A
National Survey identified factors such as fear of prejudice
in the selection process, lack of opportunity for promotion,
the adversary concept, availability of other employment,
civil rights strategy and ineffectiveness of the referral
method as explanation.[1] The study concluded that although
in no instance were all six variables operating; at least
one and usually two or more were present in each community
where the problem was studied.[2] In order to effectively
utilize resources, properly associate organization commit-
ment and enjoy the benefits from good recruitment, the sig-
nificant variables affecting potential applicants need
identification.

The review of the literature relating to recruitment
revealed the total organizational role as the recruiting

process. It involves planning, policy, commitment and evaluation of feedback relative to organizational needs. The policy, or attitude, of the organization establishes a relationship with potential employees, both in day-to-day activities and through its image. The image is sometimes created independent of the particular organization. These factors are evaluated here within the context of police attitudes toward recruitment. The status of the police literature concerning recruitment reflects neither the indepth considerations of recruitment generally, nor concern for relevant variables applicable to minority groups particularly.

One community, having a significant Negro population, was selected for an in-depth case study of the problem. The police department does not have one Negro officer, but has on two separate occasions had Negro officers in the past. The Chief of Police has expressed a desire to have Negro officers and has expressed concern for lack of applicants from the Negro community.

The interview technique was utilized in exploring the views of some present members of the police department, some Negro leaders and citizens of the community, and a former Negro officer of the department. Data collected was evaluated against principles of recruiting identified in the literature.

The conclusion of this exploratory research is that, in the city studied, there has been a systematic pattern of excluding Negroes, either by design, naivete or both. The failure of the department to break the existing system of alienation provides day-to-day reinforcement of the past practices of discrimination. The complex barriers deterring Negro applicants are coupled with unique and undesirable employment conditions for any Negro officer, thereby undermining any external appeal presented as a police recruitment effort. Therefore, police recruiting for minority members should begin with internal improvement. When the organization becomes an appealing employer it can then, with confidence of delivery, make appeals to potential applicants.

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[1]The National Center on Police and Community Relations, School of Police Administration and Public Safety, A National Survey of Police and Community Relations. (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 266-273.

[2]Ibid., p. 273.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many persons have in some way contributed to this project. However, the participation of certain persons represent contributions crucial to completion.

The seed of concern for the subject matter was planted by Professor Louis Radelet. His influence resulted in special attention to the problem. This concern was translated into meaningful focus through the valuable advice of Assistant Professor James LeGrande. Selection of an appropriate framework for this complex subject was particularly significant here and contributed greatly to subsequent treatment of the problem.

The process of inquiry was directed and guided by Associate Professor John McNamara. His adeptness and patience was continuously made available, and to whatever degree insight is revealed in this thesis, it is a corresponding compliment to his influence.

Any major project requires considerable effort. The persistance necessary for the completion of the Masters program generally, and this thesis particularly, was provided generously by my wife Sandie. Without her continued support and confidence this venture would have been futile.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

The police systems of this nation are being con-
fronted more and more with challenges and required minimum
standards for performance. The unrest of communities is in-
creasingly recognized as being closely related to the corre-
sponding police institutions. Underlying this identifi-
cation of the police role in our society is the recognition
that it is a personal service. The public attention upon
the nature and exposure of this role therefore, has concen-
trated in a large measure upon personnel.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. Personnel needs are seen
within a framework of apparent conflict. First, there is a
need for a greater quantity of police officers. The in-
creasing population and problems of social control attest to
demands for personnel to meet these needs. Secondly, the
significance of the police function to the overall social
effort in creating a better society makes demands for higher
standards in personnel. Thirdly, and within this context
for more and better police officers, the existing structure

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of the police agencies often demand that new personnel be
hired only at the patrolman level. These demands create an
ever increasing pressure upon the administrator in recruit-
ing personnel.

The search for personnel to meet the demands of our
time is taking on an additional condition in many communi-
ties. Due to above considerations and for other reasons,
some police administrators have given special concern for
recruiting people from specific minority groups in their
communities. Recruiting practices by these departments to-
ward this end have not always resulted in meeting this
practical manpower need.

A difficulty in obtaining minority people for the
police department exists apart from a recognized problem of
"qualified" applicants. In some communities where the police
administrator is desirous of having minority members, there
are no applicants forthcoming. Within the total context of
the employment situation in any given community, it might be
presumed that where there is a significant minority popu-
lation, there would be applicants from that group. For ex-
ample, in any given community the competitive employment
conditions for the police department exists and the depart-
ment still has some qualified white applicants. The signifi-
cant absence of minority applicants suggests the existance
of a related variable or variables applicable to their
failure to apply.

An Associated Press survey reports, "In many places where racial tensions are significant, determined recruiting campaigns have been carried on for years."[1] Except for Chicago and Philadelphia, the survey indicated results of the efforts were disappointing.[2] "The New York police department is reticent about why Negroes and Puerto Ricans are reluctant to join up" and the Chief of Police of Seattle, Washington stated, "If you can think of any technique we haven't used to recruit minorities, I'd like to hear about it."[3] Reasons given for the lack of applicants included the negative image of the police to Negroes, neighbors of potential applicants calling them "Uncle Tom" and the police being "Whitey."[4]

A National Survey of Police and Community Relations conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement, addressed itself in part to this problem.[5] This survey indicated six factors operating against attraction of minority personnel, and, although in no instance were all six factors operating, at least one and usually two or more were present in every community where the problem was studied.[6]

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[1] Associated Press, "Few Negroes Accept Police Jobs," The State Journal, April 24, 1968.

[2] Ibid.   [3] Ibid.   [4] Ibid.

[5] The National Center on Police and Community Relations, School of Police Administration and Public Safety, A National Survey of Police and Community Relations. (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

[6] Ibid., p. 273.

Normal recruiting techniques were identified as not reaching the minority population.[7] Particularly significant here is that an ideal source of recruits is referral by other employees. When a department has no minority members, the make-up of the department will tend to perpetuate that condition.[8]

Fear of prejudice in the selection process is listed as a second variable.[9] The survey concluded that the discrimination of the past has established a distrust that continues today.[10] These suspicions manifest themselves particularly in the oral steps of the selection process and the character investigations, the latter causing concern when minor police records disqualify candidates.[11] Lack of opportunity for promotion is presented as influential and is somewhat related to the preceding suspicion of the selection process.[12]

The adversary concept is reported when the police are viewed as the enemy of the minority group.[13] Within this context, any member of the minority group joining the police department would be viewed as a traitor.[14]

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[7] Ibid., p. 266.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., p. 267.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., p. 268.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 271.

[14] Ibid.

The employment market is considered significant.[15]
The survey reports that the employment market has been open-
ing to members of the minority group and better positions
than the police offer are available.[16]

A sixth variable presented by the survey team is ob-
struction of the police recruitment efforts as a civil rights
strategy.[17] Some civil rights leaders have suggested that
Negroes not join the police department in response to the
police practices of the past toward employment of Negroes.[18]

Two underlying considerations appear significant
from the Michigan State Survey. First, the problems of
minority recruitment may vary between communities. Secondly,
the image or posture of the organization itself is at a
critical juncture for major problem areas covered by all six
variables. The failure of normal recruitment measures to
search for minority group members, once identified, is only
a matter of an administrator developing techniques to re-
cruit Negro members. The value of these techniques however,
would appear to clearly hinge upon dealing with the foun-
dation of fears of prejudice in selection and promotion and
the adversary concept, which, if modified, might influence
consideration of theories relating to a civil rights strate-
gy. The remaining variable identified by this survey may

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[15]Ibid., p. 272   [16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., p. 273.   [18]Ibid.

also be approached, and possibly minimized by the nature of changes in other variables and presenting positive features of employment in the police department.

The image and posture of the police department, in any given community, would then appear basic in dealing with the problem of minority recruitment. Whereas the conditions operating negatively in a community may be unknown, the conditions of the department is common to all of them. If any one or more of these factors existed in a given community, it would appear that any recruitment effort directed at the minority group would have difficulty if the substance of the police department supported a negative image relating to the minority group. Further, recruiting, if it is considered within the context of the total department efforts to accomplish its objective, must furnish individuals who will continue to identify with the organization as an employee.

An administrator desiring to attract minority applicants must first confront the task of evaluating the posture of his department relative to the problem.

Importance of study. The importance of this particular research project to be reported later is of a practical nature. It is directed at exploring some potential obstacles confronting an administrator in his efforts to recruit minority members of the community.

The cost of recruitment efforts, both in money and other resources, can be more wisely spent when the nature of

the problem is better understood. An administrator spending resources to attract qualified minority members, without results, may even aggravate the problem. In any event, he will not be getting a return on money used.

This study may provide a better understanding of the problem area which will furnish information for decision making. If there are no applicants from the minority groups, and the administrator is concerned with correcting this condition, he will have available some considerations in how to best approach a recruitment program.

In addition to providing a starting point for the administrator, it would be expected that results of this study will increase the probability of success in recruitment. The efforts of the administrator directed through productive avenues, will serve to give credit to administrative effectiveness. The disadvantages of being ineffective in his efforts attest to this same issue of importance.

Finally, this study will hopefully contribute to whatever advantages the administrator visualizes from having minority members on his department. Whatever analysis or insight gave birth to the idea that minority members should be specifically employed, the gain from that idea necessarily depends at the outset upon successful recruitment.

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Recruitment. Recruitment is that activity specifi-
cally engaged in by the police department to attract or en-
tice persons to seek and maintain employment as a police
officer in that department. This activity must be viewed in
broad perspective.

Minority group. "Minority" is defined as, " . . .
the smaller in number of two groups constituting a whole
. . . a part of a population differing from others in some
characteristics and often subjected to differential
treatment."[19]

Police department. The police department is defined
as the organization for internal peacekeeping function
through law enforcement within the executive branch of a
political subdivision.

Administrator. The administrator is defined as the
individual of the police department responsible for the per-
formance of the total police operation.

III. ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

This study is organized to explore the problem area
in such a manner as to produce some basic insight of value

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[19]Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Spring-
field, Massachusetts: G & C Merriam Company, 1967), p. 540.

in solution. Being of an exploratory nature, the approach
is broad; yet the concern for insight calls for "in-depth"
consideration of seemingly crucial variables.

Chapter II reveals a review of the literature. The
broad spectrum of the recruiting process itself was viewed
with a concern for "benchmarks," and then concentration
given upon those considerations relating to the problem area.

Chapter III will report a case study of one community
which has the same problem identified here for study.

Chapter IV will summarize the information obtained
relative to those basic factors which seem, from the study,
to point for action.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The recruiting process is the subject of many
articles, including description of gimmicks and "how to"
techniques. Problems of minority groups in our society is a
subject of concern for many and is expressed throughout much
of the literature. The confrontation of American police
systems with some minority groups has been the subject of
national concern and numerous news reports dominate this sub-
ject, particularly in recent years. Yet literature relating
to recruiting of minorities is scarce, particularly in the
police field. The objective here is to identify the basics
of the recruiting process as they relate to the problem of
minority groups, within the context of police needs.

I. THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS

/Recruitment has been defined as the activity spe-
cifically engaged in by the police department to attract or
entice persons to seek employment as a police officer in the
department./ The literature is not overflowing with research
results and glowing testimonials as to how various insti-
tutions and organizations have successfully sought and

recruited specifically for these groups. The current concern for special efforts in these areas take on a variety of form, ranging from seeking out the qualified to qualifying the unqualified, and including programs to provide transportation insuring that some come to work. The obstacles confronting this nation in these areas appear monumental. To whatever degree some of these efforts are successful, approaches in recruiting may seriously be altered based upon new insights. Although the problem identified here is only a small segment of the total minority employment picture, the significance of new insights will surely influence future action.

Roger H. Hawk places the recruitment function within a setting when he states it establishes the new employee's expectations and the rejected applicant's image of the organization represented.[1] At the outset, a critical importance is attached to its role in the total employment process. It is a commitment of the organization. It would appear to follow that a rejection of a candidate should be reasonably consistent with the conditions presented. Further, an accepted candidate should be reasonably certain that the conditions of employment will be as they were stated. According to the author, there are too many risks involved for

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[1]Roger H. Hawk, The Recruitment Function (New York: American Management Association, 1967), p. 121.

a Recruiter and Manager to act unilaterally.[2] He states,
" . . . a recruiting effort is inescapably a subsystem of
the total business system which it serves."[3]

The objective of recruiting is presented as to, "Get
the right man into the right job at the right time--and at a
properly managed cost."[4] The significance of this identified
objective is that there has been established a particular
need, which, to the organization in question, calls for
satisfaction. Also, under past standards, the need is re-
lated to the capability of that organization to accomplish
its objective. A recommended process for identifying this
need is the job specification based upon job analysis.[5]
This involves determination of such factors as how rigidly
the duties are established, training needs, level of intelli-
gence, routine, whether emphasizing broad planning or con-
fined to details, personality needs and what characteristics
are unacceptable.[6]

An administrator calling for special efforts to re-
cruit minority members, or, withholding selection pending a
qualified candidate from a minority group, is to a great de-
gree identifying a special need of the organization to be
filled. In a police organization that need might be

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[2]Ibid., p. 7.   [3]Ibid., p. 8.   [4]Ibid., p. 183.

[5]Laurence Lipsett et al., Personnel Selection and
Recruitment (Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc., 1964), p. 14.

[6]Ibid.

identified as a department need, as opposed to the traditional specification of one particular job within the department. The broad application of this reasoning fits particularly with the broad specifications often itemized for a patrolman.

A recognized police authority presents what he considers to be persons suited for the job of patrolmen as follows:

> Potential or actual leadership qualities . . . viz, intelligence, sound judgment, decisiveness, physical and nervous energy, personality character, and the ability to convince and inspire and to maintain confidence, enthusiasm, and interest . . . organically sound with a properly functioning nervous system; he must be young and of suitable size; he must have strength, energy and physical endurance and possess adequate physical coordination and speed . . . qualified to deal with the many complex problems . . . must have a high order of intelligence, which assures ability to learn, to observe, to retain, to reason rapidly and accurately, and to adapt quickly and satisfactorily to new situations . . . must like people and be able to deal with them; he must be emotionally stable and tempermentally equipped for police work and have a broad social concept and lack of prejudice. He should have a forceful personality and a high level of social intelligence; he should be poised and have well developed powers of self expression . . . good character and reputation essential . . . and perhaps most important of all, he must be loyal.[7]

To present such an all encompassing list of requirements for a position is to be of questionalbe value in actual practice. Laurence Lipsett states that this process is often

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[7]O. W. Wilson, _Police Administration_ (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950), p. 335.

engaged in where a position is viewed unrealistically by presenting a stereotype of all desirable human characteristics, even to the point where some contradict others.[8] Authorities concerned particularly with the problem of police recruitment advise that, "Any arbitrary standard we establish will in itself set up a limitation on the number of eligibles we can reach . . . Utopian recruitment is fallacious recruitment."[9]

The establishment of a recruiting program is necessarily the fruit of an organization or institution. One authority contends that poor management cannot produce a good recruitment program.[10] He described the process as follows:

> Effective recruiting means that there has been a determination as to future needs; that the kinds of people required have been ascertained, the value of particular recruiting methods for different types of positions has been determined, contacts have been established, material has been prepared; and that the whole process of demand and supply, as well as company policies and management attitudes, is constantly under study.[11]

The underlying message of Mandell's program reported above is the anticipatory nature of recruiting. The entire

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[8]Lipsett, op. cit., p. 16.

[9]Richard H. Blum et al., Police Selection (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1964), p. 79.

[10]Milton M. Mandell, Recruiting and Selecting Office Employees (New York: Research Report Number 27, American Management Association, 1956), p. 37.

[11]Ibid.

process is geared to the future. Included within this process is an evaluation of management's attitudes and company policy. It is not merely gimmicks to attract outsiders into a preconceived mold resistant to any change whatsoever. An administrator anticipating efforts to recruit minority personnel, particularly where there have not been members in the organization; the outlook toward company attitudes would appear fundamental.

The set of attitudes established by the organization is its policy.[12] The recruiting policy is a part of the personnel policies of the organization.[13] This interrelationship within the organization system, of one part to the other, strongly suggests a vital role for any policy involving recruitment of minority groups within the society. The role of the recruiter being a link between management and the candidate needs a fulfillment of that commitment throughout the organization represented. In addition to the recruiter being knowledgeable of management's attitude, to effectively perform as an extension of that management, the organization itself must represent that commitment.

A policy expressing an attitude which is generally accepted, in some instances in advance, might only need identification to be fulfilled. The precondition to management's policy in effect serves to reinforce the position of

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[12]Hawk, op. cit., p. 140.   [13]Ibid.

the administrator. However, as the policy relates to atti-
tudes within the organization further along the continuum
of disfavor, considerably more than mere identification
would be required. The greater the degree of potential oppo-
sition, the greater the need for the policy to be presented
in a positive, clear and effective manner.

A recruiting policy is necessary for keeping a
balance between the number recruited and expectation of need;
insuring that salesmanship does not oversell the department,
that appeals are adjusted to the types of employees sought
such as whether hourly or management material.[14] The manage-
ment must insure that the new employees will in reality be
received by the organization through a smooth transition.
The success seems to depend considerably upon the coordination
and support of management, the recruiting method, and the
organization itself. An adjustment needs to be made in light
of the new potential employee.

The physical recruiting effort by an organization
should be preceded by some form of planning. One authority
cautions against responding to the strong pressures to merely
respond to the need without investing the necessary time,
effort and expense to give a more productive direction to the
process.[15] In normal recruiting practices this would include

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[14]Paul Pigors and Charles A. Meyers, _Personnel Ad-
ministration_ (Fourth edition, New York: McGraw-Hill Book
Company, 1961), pp. 261-262.

[15]Hawk, _op. cit._, p. 18.

information relating to previous recruitment efforts and their results.[16] Direct recruitment experiences with minority personnel may be lacking in the organization presented with the problem identified here. The need for outside information would appear clearly applicable in the planning stage where the organization itself is lacking in expertise. Roger Hawk again gives perspective to the recruiting approach in discussing risks:

> If the only perceived risk is that of not getting enough people, quality requirements will not be met when the time comes. If the only one attended to is that of getting quality people, a crash recruiting program will never get off the ground. A broad range of methods and recruiting skills is required in the effective recruiting organization. Available methods and abilities must be organized and applied to the job at hand. The nature of the risks changes, and the recruiting organization must be prepared to change with them.[17]

There are alternative risks to be considered in planning the recruitment program and this author suggests a need for flexibility. The alternatives of quality and quantity now has the added concern for members of minority groups. The selectivity of quality recruitment might be applicable to that of minorities. Its implications for crash programs is suggestive. An administrator might give serious considerations to consulting outside authorities concerning the select group being sought. Of particular significance in this area might be the various organizations

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[16]Ibid., p. 27. [17]Ibid., p. 54.

of the minority groups. The investment of time, effort and resources to develop a plan for this demanding need of minority group members would probably receive a pressure for recruiting action even beyond the experiences in normal recruiting. The impact of this calculated approach would appear difficult to maintain in police circles, considering the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice found that the majority of law enforcement recruiting is haphazard, poorly financed and limited to the community of which it is a part.[18] Another authority concerned with police recruitment reports the absence of any effort by some, " . . . based on the theory of waiting for the applicant to come to the agency--the theory that every-one will recognize how good we are and come knocking at our door."[19] Within the police context, the more antiquated the conditions for normal recruitment, the greater the obstacles to overcome in meeting the demands of a more encompassing program.

The actions of recruitment, proceded by effective planning, will be an appeal of some sort toward an audience appearing to offer the greatest return. The return will probably be related, at least in some degree, to the kind of

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[18]The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 136.

[19]Blum, op. cit., p. 72.

appeal. One author presents a key to developing appeals which contains insight appearing equally applicable to the problem of recruiting minority applicants.

> Emphasize the job satisfiers and de-emphasize the dis-satisfiers. Emphasize the dis-satisfiers only when you don't have them and when you know that a disagreeable situation is troubling candidates . . . a dissatisfier is a factor whose presence contributes to dissatisfaction but whose absence usually does not contribute to satisfaction.[20]

The need to emphasize the job satisfiers might easily find justification in common sense. His emphasis of the job dissatisfiers however, takes on a complementary insight for the total strategy of appeal. Under normal recruiting conditions a dissatisfier would be evaluated against conditions for all potential applicants, whether directed toward quantity or quality. The principle would seem as applicable in appealing to a specific minority group. If, for example, there appears to be a negative attitude in the minority community toward the police department. To ignore this issue in recruiting will not, at least according to this principle, take advantage of the total available appeals in that market. If then, a department is appealing for candidates and the minority community believed there was discrimination in the selection or promotion process--and this issue was not given special attention and emphasis in the recruitment appeal--the program might be undercut.

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[20]John S. Morgan, _Managing Young Adults_ (New York: American Management Association, 1967), p. 60.

When viewed within a social context affording support to the existing view of the organization—it might be a crucial deficiency since a failure to emphasize its absence might appear as a tacit admission of its presence. This same author states that in recruiting, the employer should select the appeal which he believes will work best for the kind of person he wants to attract.[21] This would include such factors as appeal to security, money, self esteem and opportunity for growth.[22] There would appear to be no limit to the kinds of appeals to be used which are imaginatively directed toward the relationship of the minority member to the police department. But, fundamental in this appeal must be the capability of the department to deliver what it promises.[23]

The actual appeal process in recruiting needs a broad base. One authority observed that the entire work force and a substantial number of people outside the work force are needed to have an effective recruiting program.[24] Recruiting is understood as more than outward advertising and involves having a favorable image of the company.[25]

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[21]Ibid., p. 59.   [22]Ibid.   [23]Ibid.

[24]Philip Farish and Moris T. Hoversten, "Ways To Step Up Your Recruiting Power," Personnel (May/June, 1964), p. 47.

[25]Ibid.

These authors also present the values of establishing relationships with teachers who will have an influence upon students at a time when they are choosing their careers.[26] Another author concerned with the problem of attracting social scientists identified the problem of the culture directing attention of youth toward certain vocations, particularly medicine, law and business, where high prestige is established.[27] These factors of influence upon youth would appear particularly significant for the minority population and their relationship with the police. If there existed an underlying negative attitude toward the police, particularly if the potential applicants are members of a sub-culture, obstacles to effective recruiting would be deep seated. The question of in-depth recruiting might still be considered, without reference to negative background, by viewing an almost standard treatment of the recruiting function in much of the police literature. An example of recommended recruitment efforts is presented by the International City Manager's Association advising of the need for attractive examination announcements, radio and television announcements, the press, billboards and direct contact by members of the force.[28]

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[26]Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[27]Elbridge Sibley, The Recruitment, Selection and Training of Social Scientists (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 58, 1948), p. 45.

[28]Municipal Police Administration (Fifth edition; Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1961), p. 134.

With the exception of the referrals mentioned, the entire recruiting appeal is directed at surface approaches, as opposed to _cultivation_ of candidates. This appears as a short step from the previously mentioned absence of recruiting efforts with a presumption that others will automatically see how desirable it is to work for the police department.

Internal recruiting methods for normal programs may contain a form of appeal requiring modification, or at least be supplemented, when considering an appeal to extend to minority candidates. John Kenny reported the value of a high _esprit de corps_ in many departments where it was found that a high percentage of applicants are referred by other officers when the work is presented as offering challenge and opportunity.[29] The Los Angeles Police Department recently revised their recruiting program due to a lack of sufficient applicants.[30] The key to their improvement was development of a referral card for distribution to all personnel of the department.[31] During the first four months of the program about ten per cent of the personnel had referred persons for testing.[32] A study involving lengthy interviews with personnel managers of about eighty companies, covering a wide

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[29]John P. Kenny, _Police Management Planning_ (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1959), p. 64.

[30]Robert A. Houghton, "Los Angeles Overhauls Its Police Recruitment and Its Basic Training Program," _The Police Chief_ (August, 1968), p. 34.

[31]_Ibid._, p. 38.   [32]_Ibid._

range of occupations, found a similar preference for this
method.[33]

The preference was based upon less cost involved in
the method and that personnel apparently do a degree of
screening in their selection.[34]   A few personnel managers
considered this an undesirable method.[35]   Underlying their
dislike for this method were firms having a problem with
"cliques" and those trying to upgrade their work forces.[36]
It was concluded by them that this method has a built-in
condition that people tend to refer people who are like
themselves.[37]

The referral method appears to have its surface
value when the administrator desires to perpetuate the same
kind of work force, but takes on a disadvantage when the
nature of the work force needs changing. On the surface
this method appears as a prime example of recruiting practices
at odds with attracting those different from the present work
force. To abandon or circumvent the referral method, in an
effort to obtain persons from the minority community, may be
forfeiting the advantages of this method and ignoring a vast
recruiting potential. At least, to discard efforts involving
the total department, presumably because it is believed, or

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[33]Joseph C. Ullman, "Employee Referrals: Prime Tool
for Recruiting Workers," Personnel (May/June, 1966), p. 31.

[34]Ibid.   [35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.   [37]Ibid.

known, that they will not act to serve the same end, is to ignore the relationship of recruiting to the total organization. A failure to evaluate successful normal recruiting practices, and consider how to make them effective for the end desired, is to not build upon the experiences of the past in a positive manner.

External recruiting methods need the same kind of evaluation. Although being distinguished here as external, the same foundation of organization support would appear necessary. Whereas internal efforts obviously need the positive action of personnel, it might appear on the surface that external efforts will serve as a substitute when the concern is for minority personnel, since the positive recruiting effort is accomplished by a select group operating outside the organization. Although the role of the organization will be considered in more detail later, there appears to be different avenues of positive support, but as necessary with internal as well as external efforts.

The shortage of police manpower appears to be pressuring police organizations from the passivity reflected in their literature, to an active role in recruiting. There is evidence of this external effort taking form of obtaining assistance from outside forces. In San Diego, recruiting teams were sent to shopping centers and college campus' in the San Diego area in a special recruiting effort.[38] The

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[38]Veon Nykus, "A Report: Police Recruiting In San Diego," Traffic Digest and Review, Traffic Institute/Northwestern University (July, 1968), p. 9.

characteristics of the community included several colleges

offering police programs and recruiters were invited to make

personal appearances before classes.[39] They changed pro-

cessing to better meet the needs of the employment market

such as examination times and reducing the time span between

examination and appointment.[40] In Washington, D. C., this

same general type of approach was used in the form of "Re-

cruitmobiles" without success.[41] The Metropolitan Department

of Washington, D. C. reports some success from a recruiting

program established as a relationship with the U. S. De-

partment of Defense.[42] Upon initiation of the Program in

November, 1967, when the Secretary of Defense authorized

applicants in the Army to be released up to one hundred and

eighty days early for accepting employment with the police

department, over one-half of the applicants received by the

department as of June, 1968, were from that source.[43] An-

other approach was taken in Detroit, Michigan when the Mayor

authorized the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce to deal

with the problem of police recruitment.[44] A police committee

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[39]Ibid., p. 10.   [40]Ibid.

[41]John Layton, "A Report: Police Recruiting in
Washington, D. C.,"_Traffic Digest and Review, Traffic Insti-
tute/Northwestern University (July, 1968), p. 12.

[42]Ibid.   [43]Ibid.

[44]John J. Saunders, "A Report: Police Recruiting in
Detroit," Traffic Digest and Review, Traffic Institute/North-
western University (July, 1968), p. 5.

was established and authorized a major campaign by an adver-

tising agency in Detroit.[45]   Included in the assignments was

one member of the police committee to raise fifty thousand

dollars for costs of advertising.[46]   Results of programs such

as this would appear difficult in determining effectiveness

in relation to resources expended. Whatever the results

from the Detroit program, with the resources available, what

would have been more effective? The appreciation of in-depth

recruiting and the cost of advertising gives cause for con-

cern. The editor of Traffic Digest & Review commented on

the above program, stating, "We can hope . . . that in the

near future recruiting through advertising and shopping

center recruiting visits and special incentive programs . . .

will be replaced by less spectacular but more concrete pro-

posals to attract qualified applicants."[47]   Although the

editor was referring to factors such as better wages, his

concern for concrete as opposed to spectacular, and in-depth

as opposed to surface appeals, appears worthy of consider-

ation in recruiting minority officers.

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[45]Ibid.   [46]Ibid.

[47]Editorial, "Three Reports: How to Recruit Police
Officers," Traffic Digest and Review, Traffic Institute/
Northwestern University (July, 1968), p. 4.

The need for evaluation of a recruitment program is strongly supported in the literature.[48] Considering the lack of knowledge concerning problems of specific efforts directed at minority groups, this process would appear even more critical.

Information for evaluation of a recruiting program appears unlimited. Post-visit questionnaires provided a means of feedback from persons who have refused offers.[49] The same author recommends an integration of factors such as cost per hire, time lapse from identification of candidates to hire and determination of source yield.[50] A research report based upon a study of three hundred and twenty organizations through office managers and personnel directors determined that eighty-five per cent of the companies used exit interviews as a standard practice. Based upon this study and that many stated the departing employees often conceal the true reason, the author recommended information concerning, 1) occupation and salary level, 2) sex and age, 3) unit, section, division, 4) quality of performance, 5) length of employment, 6) name of supervisor.[51] The significance of Mandell's conclusion from the study regarding

[48]Roger H. Hawk, The Recruitment Function (New York: American Management Association, 1967); Milton M. Mandell, Recruiting and Selecting Office Employees (New York: Research Report Number 27, American Management Association, 1956).

[49]Hawk, op. cit., p. 61.   [50]Ibid., p. 43.

[51]Ibid.

evaluation, shows how some hard core data, going beyond the
surface expectations of an exit interview, can be used to
evaluate the problem. Further, the data collected reflects
a framework for not only evaluating basic characteristics of
employees having a high propensity for leaving, but also for
evaluating parts of the organization itself. The signifi-
cance of a structure provided by the organization for self-
analysis appears as a symbol reflecting far more than its
immediate practical utility. For example, if in a particular
business it was determined that quality personnel either did
not prefer to work, or quit, if assigned to a particular de-
partment of the company, it would seem reasonable that con-
sideration be given to the make-up of employment conditions
in that department. If this is reasonable, it might follow
that consideration be given to the failure of qualified
people to apply for employment with the organization itself.
There are any number of explanations which might be used by
an organization. However, if feedback is to be of any real
value, the objectivity and thoroughness of the evaluating
process would seem as valuable as any of the explanations
given which might find surface validity. This would appear
relevant in attempting to understand the problems of recruit-
ment from minority groups.

II. ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION

Any minority group within any community may easily be the subject of concern by an administrator. The employment issue with the police today seems to have surfaced relative to Negro, Spanish, Mexican and Puerto Rican Americans. Literature dealing with efforts to meet this problem may provide some insight to deal with the question generally.

The role of the organization is fundamental in the recruiting process. The recruiting activity is merely an extension of that organization. Basic recruiting appeals, whether of an "in-depth" or surface quality, is that the organization can deliver what it promises. In an effort to gain an understanding of the organization role relative to the police problem, concern is given first to the wider organization of which the police are a part, society. Within this context, efforts of business and the police are examined.

The social organization. A basic consideration in attempting to understand some implications for minority employment is presented by Gunnar Myrdal in his study entitled, An American Dilemma :The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.[52] He went beyond the surface appearance of our heterogeneous

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[52]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944).

society and identified a homogenity identified as the American Creed.[53] Basic to this creed involves ideals of the essential dignity of the individual, a fundamental equality of all men, and an inalienable right of freedom, justice and fair opportunity.[54] He states that, " . . . it has developed that the rich and secure, out of pride and conservatism, and the poor and insecure, out of dire need, have come to profess the identical social ideals."[55]

This overview of homogenity seems significantly taxed in recent years. One author states that, "Ever since World War II a serious discontent has seized the world's people, erupting constantly into protests."[56] He states this turmoil is present in many countries of the world, including our own.[57] He states that social scientists who have studied these protests, " . . . agree only that a world wide social revolution is taking place . . . the key word in the explanation of these violent protests is always dissatisfaction, and it is aggravated dissatisfaction and discontent that foment riots."[58]

In consideration of problems involving domestic order, the National Advisory Commission reported:

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[53]Ibid., p. 1.   [54]Ibid., p. 4.   [55]Ibid., p. 13.

[56]Willard A. Heaps, Riots, U. S. A. 1765-1965 (New York: The Seabury Press, 1966), p. 1.

[57]Ibid.   [58]Ibid.

> Causes of recent racial disorders are imbedded in
> a massive tangle of issues and circumstances--social,
> economic, political, and psychological--which arise
> out of the historical pattern of Negro-white re-
> lations in America.
> ....
> Despite these complexities, certain fundamental
> matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is
> the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans
> toward black Americans. White racism is essentially
> responsible for the explosive mixture which has been
> accumulating in our cities since the end of World War
> II.[59]

According to the Commission, racism produces discrimination

and segregation and black migration combined with the exodus

of whites resulting in black ghettos; all taking place with-

in the inner city.[60] The Commission viewed a catalystic im-

pact of frustrated hopes by the Negro, legitimatation of

violence by whites, a feeling of powerlessness by the Negro,

encouragement of violence by black militants, and the police

themselves, expressing the underlying condition of white

racism.[61] Concerning the latter, the Commission recognized

the frequent contact of the police with the ghetto, stating

they are symbolic of white power and racism, and that the

police themselves express this racism.[62] Willard A. Heaps,

in reviewing the characteristics of riots involving Negroes

in the United States, reports:

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[59] Report Of The National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders, March 1, 1968, p. 91.

[60] Ibid.   [61] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[62] Ibid., p. 93.

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A common feature of all these riots is that they were triggered in nearly every instance by an encounter, or a rumored encounter, between a white policeman (or policemen) and a Negro (or Negroes) in which the former was believed to have used undue force.[63]

The police are of the social system within which they function and appear bound to the forefront of its disorders. Even without the disruptive undercurrents of our time, Raymond B. Fosdick observed in 1920, that, "The consequences of this mixture of races and color are far reaching, particularly in their effect on such functions as policing."[64] The significance of the police role within such a system is better understood within Bruce Smith's description of the policeman's art as, " . . . applying and enforcing a multitude of laws and ordinances in such a degree or proportion and in such manner that the greatest degree of protection will be secured."[65] The flexibility of the police performance must then be understood within the context of the society it represents and the confrontation inherent in their role when massive disorder takes place.

The American society creates, or at least influences, if it is not programming, the relationship of the police with the minority communities. The nature of the function

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[63]Heaps, op. cit., p. 160.

[64]Raymond B. Fosdick, American Police Systems (New York: The Century Company, 1920), p. 7.

[65]Bruce Smith, Police Systems In The United States (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 20.

permits a flexibility where the attitudes and sensitivities of the dominant group of the society might easily find expression through exercise of discretion in enforcing the law. Whatever the result of these variety of circumstances, if they be in any way negative, the resulting image must be considered in reflection to its effect on recruiting. The particular position of a minority group, such as Negroes, in their overall social interaction with the police, would have the added disadvantage of their position in the government structure.

The business organization. Some of the business experiences and insight relating to recruiting, particularly of minority groups, were reviewed for application to the law enforcement problem. Special concern is given to the importance of the organization image or its outlook toward minority recruitment.

Eugene Raudsepp conducted a survey of over one thousand professional and managerial employees concerning appealing factors of recruitment.[66] He found that interest in work and challenge were primary factors.[67] However, the company's image, or reputation, was found to be significant.[68] Relating to the organization image, the following factors

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[66]Eugene Raudsepp, "How To Hire Key People," Nations Business (September, 1963), p. 55.

[67]Ibid.   [68]Ibid., p. 56.

were discovered which appear to have a bearing on the law

enforcement problem:

1. They have a preconception about the company even without contact.

2. They prefer a company with a favorable image; an unknown company having an advantage since there is no negative information.

3. They disbelieve aspects of recruiting which do not fit their image of the organization.

4. They give more importance to information sources involving personal contact.

5. Advertising and public relations is effective if not inconsistent with the existing image.[69]

The study by Eugene Raudsepp was dealing with "key" people

and might be considered limited to highly skilled talent.

He found that, "Far down on the list in importance are

company fringe benefits, company stability and job se-

curity."[70] In considering the qualifications of those

studied, it might be considered that they have a range of

choices for employment and these factors are appealing in

separating the satisfactory employer from the highly de-

sirable. One author gives a basis for this type appeal.

Experience has shown that worthy members of a de-
prived group often have to be sought out. Perhaps
because of discouraging experiences in the past, they
are much less enterprising about applying for jobs
than are people from more favored groups. Many of

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[69]Ibid., p. 57.

[70]Ibid.

them are already employed but at jobs far below
their capabilities.[71]

Another author presents a consideration in stating

that Negroes are not convinced that employers sincerely want

to hire them.[72] Whitney Young, Jr. reported a similar view

upon returning from Viet Nam. He stated that the Negro

servicemen's attitude reflected a credibility gap about

changes in America and that they believe tokenism exists in

the efforts of America.[73] John S. Morgan states there is a

need to work through present employees, have ads in Negro

publications, speak at schools with high Negro enrollment,

Negro colleges, and work with Negro organizations.[74] But

all of these avenues either approach or depend upon the

character of the organization. The President's Committee on

Equal Opportunity In The Armed Forces reported concerning

the lack of effective recruiting efforts by the Military.[75]

They reported that if Negroes with aptitude are not encouraged

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[71]Harold Mayfield, "Equal Employment Opportunity:
Should Hiring Standards Be Relaxed," Personnel (September/
October, 1964), p. 17.

[72]Morgan, op. cit., p. 22.

[73]Whitney M. Young, Jr., "When the Negroes In Viet
Nam Come Home," Harpers (June, 1967), p. 65.

[74]Morgan, op. cit., p. 220.

[75]The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity In
the Armed Forces, Equality of Treatment and Opportunity for
Negro Military Personnel Stationed Within the United States,
June 13, 1963.

to enter the services, " . . . there is the danger that the Negro least attractive to private industry and other career fields--men not always in a position to take full advantage of the opportunity offered by the services--will enter the Armed Forces."[76] If the study of Eugene Raudsepp does provide meaningful insight for recruiting efforts relative to persons in a position to choose, and if the President's Advisory Commission of Civil Disorders properly, or significantly, described the condition of American society relative to the Negro, the appeal of an organization which was "favorable" would appear significant.

Ulric Haynes, Jr. identifies the credibility gap in the business field as being the difference between what business says it is doing, or intends to do, and what a member of the minority group, who would be a potential white collar employee, sees business doing."[77] He stated, "One would be hard pressed today to find a major U. S. Corporation that does not present itself an an Equal Opportunity Employer or a Plans for Progress Company."[78] However, he claims it takes more than words to convince a person who has been discriminated against that the conditions have changed.[79] He

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[76]Ibid., p. 13.

[77]Ulric Haynes, Jr., "Equal Job Opportunity: The Credibility Gap," Harvard Business Review (May/June, 1968), p. 113.

[78]Ibid.   [79]Ibid.

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states there are no formulas but one general approach appears to be, " . . . an individualized, energetic, systematic, and visible effort to convince the qualified minority group member that the company wants and can use his specific skills, talent, or potential."[80]

When a member of their group has been hired in a position of responsibility, it will become known in the minority community and will motivate others in the community to seek employment with that company, according to the author.[81] Haynes clarified a big mistake of companies with the Public Relations approach. Following publicity of being an Equal Opportunity Employer the applicant finds the conditions unchanged from the past, or, when a member of the minority group is hired, it is followed by created publicity causing pressure on the employee and alienating them from other workers.[82] In a subsequent issue of the same periodical, another author, reviewing the needs for implementing a policy to obtain minority members, states that one desirable method of communicating that policy is to have booklets prepared on a minority employee success story.[83] He also states however, that business does not know how to handle this problem of employing minority groups and that it is too soon

[80]Ibid., p. 114.   [81]Ibid.   [82]Ibid., p. 116.

[83]Theodore V. Purcell, "Break Down Your Employment Barriers," Harvard Business Review (July/August, 1968), p. 70.

to know whether programs being implemented will be successful.[84]

Ulric Haynes, Jr. presents some basic starting points toward minority recruitment. He states the top manager must have a total commitment; the employment tests should be evaluated for cultural bias; identification of complaints concerning interviewers asking for the applicant's position on Civil Rights; stalling decisions regarding employment and community bias concerning housing facilities.[85] Every factor except the last one would evolve around the role of the organization. Another author, concerned with personnel recruitment and selection, states it has been typically found that employees take cues from management regarding treatment of minority groups and that there are seldom problems concerning race and religion when there are objective standards of employment, placement and promotion.[86] The same view is supported, through a different avenue, by another author discussing compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[87] He emphasized the importance of insuring that the receptionist, or whoever first talks with an applicant, is aware of the

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[84]Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[85]Haynes, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

[86]Lipsett, op. cit., p. 28.

[87]Phillip Ash, "Selection Techniques and the Law: Discrimination in Hiring and Placement," Personnel (November/December, 1967), pp. 8-17.

company policy as she may act contrary to the policy because,
" . . . she feels, mistakenly, that that is what she is
supposed to do."[88]

The police organization. The police are often viewed
as an entity upon themselves. The concept of "police" is
all encompassing and many of those using the term fail to
make the distinction made by Bruce Smith in referring to the
police systems of the United States. This association of
law enforcement systems has led one author to refer to The
Police Establishment, further attributing a cohesive ex-
istance.[89] The implications of this solidarity, whether in
substance or appearance, would seem to have an impact upon
every department or part of that system. Whatever that
image is, might easily have an influence in the recruiting
operations of every department which is a part of that
system. Insights provided by Eugene Raudsepp, mentioned
earlier, concerning potential employees, concluded that key
people have a preconception about the company even without
having a contact. He further concluded that a potential em-
ployee prefers a company with a favorable image and that an
unknown company may have an advantage in not having a nega-
tive image. Considering the integral role of the police in

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[88]Ibid.

[89]William H. Turner, The Police Establishment (New
York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1968).

our social system, and the tendency for the conglomeration of police agencies to be viewed together, it would appear doubtful that any police department could have the potential advantage of some prospective employers.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice reported that, " . . . the overwhelming majority of the public has a high opinion of the work of the police."[90] The Commission found that several surveys, including the National Opinion Research Center, Louis Harris and Gallup, reaffirmed each other on this issue.[91] However, the Negroes' attitude was found to be more negative and, "The Commission studies of police-community relations in 11 localities throughout the country showed serious problems of Negro hostility to the police in virtually all medium and large cities."[92] Roger W. Wilkins, Director of the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Justice, presented as one of the basic facts in beginning to understand the ghetto is that the Negro dislikes the police intensely.[93]

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[90]The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 145.

[91]Ibid.   [92]Ibid., p. 146.

[93]Roger W. Wilkins, "A View From The Street," Proceedings of Police Administrators Conference on Community Relations June 27-29, 1966 (Washington, D. C., International Association of Chiefs of Police), p. 17.

Visible efforts are being made to improve the re-
lationship between the police and the community. The ex-
istence of police-community relations units at least attest
to the formal recognition of a relationship within the com-
munity. The motivations or objectives of these efforts pre-
sent another question. William Turner, in viewing what he
considers The Police Establishment reports the satisfaction
of a police official pleased with their community relations
program commenting, "We hope it will lower antagonisms so we
can make arrests without a mob collecting."[94] The author
writes with approval concerning another department's com-
munity relations program where they, " . . . in plainclothes,
went into the hard-core poverty areas where they mingled . . .
They talked--and they listened. The accent was not on stiff-
ly formal conferences and meaningless dialogue, but on con-
structive action."[95] The head of the community relations
unit of the latter department has since retired and he esti-
mated that ninety per cent of the police department was
hostile against their community relations program.[96] A not
uncommon complaint about community relations programs has
been directed by one authority concerned with police-minority

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[94]Turner, op. cit., p. 29.

[95]Ibid., p. 158.

[96]_____, "Our War Was With the Police Department,"
Fortune (January, 1968), p. 196.

relations, as being merely public relations.[97] The inef-

fectiveness of these efforts presumably directed to educate

the public about the police are explained as follows:

> In fact, minority groups know a great deal about
> the police. Since both crime rates and the concen-
> tration of police officers are high in the ghetto,
> minority citizens see or hear about police operations
> constantly . . . The problem is that knowledge of the
> police, not ignorance, has generally caused the
> hostility which is so prevalent in minority
> communities.[98]

The existence of police-community relations units

within a police department might be considered as progress.

There is the acceptance, either of a need to be sensitive to

the needs of others, or, at least, a recognition of the need

to deal especially with a group within the community where

there are problems. Louis A. Radelet defined police-

community relations as, " . . . the sum total of the many

and varied ways in which it may be emphasized that the police

are _part of_, and not _apart from_, the communities which they

serve."[99] Even a practice of public relations in the name of

community relations, which undoubtedly would be considered

misdirected by many, is an example of progress. Louis Radelet

has defined a result, and, even those programs considered

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[97]_____, "The Role of the Police," _The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science_ (November, 1967), p. 65.

[98]_Ibid_.

[99]Louis A Radelet, "Police Community Programs: Nature and Purpose," _The Police Chief_ (March, 1965), p. 38.

more desirable, once instituted, would doubtfully cause an automatic conversion of conditions whereby the police would be viewed as a part of the community they serve. Although the latter type program might be viewed as more progressive, it appears clearly to be a matter of degree and not of kind. The direction of concern by police departments, for minority groups, would appear to be a seed for a relationship which will produce a condition more fruitful for recruitment.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders reported that in a number of cities and particularly the larger ones, " . . . police officials are not only willing, but anxious to appoint Negro officers."[100] The commission identified obstacles other than discrimination operating to undermine recruitment of Negro Members.[101] High standards of police employment, the existence of better paying positions for those who are qualified, and the bad image of the police in the Negro community are listed as operative against recruitment.[102] The obstacles to applicants from the minority group might be identified here as having operated against recruitment, but all need not be applicable. The high standards of employment operate to exclude applicants in the major group as well as in the minority. If

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[100]Report of The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, March 1, 1968, p. 166.

[101]Ibid.   [102]Ibid.

there is an evaluation as to why certain persons do not apply, who have the necessary qualifications, this might be considered a factor. But, is it an answer as to why the particular minority group does not apply? Regardless of the probabilities of minority group members to not meet qualifications, it would appear there are people of that group, as with the majority, who are qualified and, under similar conditions, interested. However, if the practice of exclusion based upon lack of qualification is viewed by the minority group as discrimination, the absence of discrimination would be immaterial if its impact was to deter applicants.

The availability of better paying positions for qualified Negroes seems to bring into question the same considerations mentioned above. The pay scale for any given police department is in competition for those in the labor market, whether they be from the majority or minority community. It would seem more likely that this factor might explain the absence of a large number of minority applicants to the police department, in a large metropolitan area, but how significant is the pay scale in communities with large minority populations and there are hardly any minority applicants? In a large metropolitan area, where due to higher salaries elsewhere there is not an overwhelming number of minority applicants, is there any relevance to the question of minority groups and the police department? The distinct relevance of minority groups to recruitment appears

significantly less than the third factor, that of the police image.

The importance of the image of the recruiting organization was reviewed earlier. The appearance of a racial division within our own society, and the nature of the police role within the society, coupled with the role of the organization image in attracting persons who have alternatives in employment, appears as a significant variable in the recruiting picture of minority groups. It is common knowledge that the reputation of an organization can give appeal as well as pay scale. High standards may even be considered attractive when joined with an attractive image. It could be considered an achievement for those having less attractive family accomplishments. The image of the police organization, to the minority group, appears to stand out as associated with any positive recruitment effort, and possibly a key to reducing the influence of factors which might otherwise be classified as barriers.

The importance of the police image to recruitment needs evaluation. Efforts to educate the minority population about desirable practices of a police department, when a large percentage of the actual police practices are taking place daily through the eyes and ears of that population; to whatever degree the latter does not fit the former, there would be questionable gains. Howard H. Earle, Chief of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, states that after

the Watt's Riot, "Lots of well-meaning people, talking about _police image_, said we need something new, creative, daring; a new design we can throw into this, to really show the public we have something to offer . . ."[103] He suggests the police contact experts in the field of public relations to present a better image of the police.[104] However valuable a public relations program, the totality of commitment involved in seeking employment, when alternatives exist, suggest a deeper and more thorough need of convincing. Whether in the name of public relations or community relations; whether to build up an image or to attract candidates; the need for substance behind the image appears basic for the police organization. One author reviewing the needs of young adults reports they are looking for status.[105] He classified the status as being that of the employer, and that of the persons working for that employer; and, an allegedly high status which is determined to be false or tarnished might be worse than no status at all.[106] According to this author, "Young adults have grown adept at spotting the sham, the pretentious, the phony."[107] This insight might prove more

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[103]Howard H. Earle, "The Police Image," _Police_ (May/June, 1967), pp. 50-51.

[104]_Ibid_.

[105]Morgan, _op_. _cit_., p. 163.

[106]_Ibid_., p. 172.   [107]_Ibid_.

significant for a minority group view of the police es-
tablishment. The momentum of there being an absence of ap-
preciable membership for minority groups on the police de-
partment would seem to provide a background for a negative
image, and the need for substance and not merely appearance,
to overcome that condition.

The presence of minority people on certain police
departments gives a surface validity to availability of
qualified, interested personnel for the police service. The
President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Admini-
stration of Justice presented information collected by the
U. S. Civil Rights Commission that in 1962, of the nineteen
northern and western states, the Illinois State Police has
twenty-four Negro officers and the remaining state police de-
partments had a total of nine, plus three in training.[108]
The Commission further found that the Philadelphia Department
increased from 3.6 per cent to 13.6 per cent from 1952 to
1956; The Pittsburg Police Department doubled their percentage
of Negroes for the same period; The Chicago Department per-
centage quadrupled from 1952 to 1961.[109] This disparity

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[108]The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and
Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police
(U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 168, citing U.
S. Civil Rights Commission "Administration of Justice Staff
Report" (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office,
1963), Chapter 11, p. 23.

[109]Ibid., pp. 168-169.

suggests variables independent of available candidates. It further underscores variations in departments.

One author, in speaking of the Los Angeles Police Department, stated that, " . . . contempt for the Los Angeles force is so deep-rooted in the Negro community that few self-respecting young men care to identify with it."[110] The author admits that the police are less brutal today--in terms of the usual reference to physical brutality, but the reinforcing of the present social order appears more brutal than the physical brutality.[111] Another author makes the same point in far more revealing words:

> Despite the LAPD's incorruptibility, despite its efficiency, despite all the latest technological advances which it used, despite its all powerful internal loyalty, despite its officers' bravery, despite its tradition of service, it is incapable of dealing with the major problems growing from racial and economic tensions. Indeed, the case might be made that a primary source of the department's inadequacy is precisely the set of qualities of which it is so proud.[112]

William Turner identified what he considers the division of thinking between the police and the minority community.[113] In reference to the Watts riot, Chief Parker is seen blaming the criminal element and lack of respect for the law, while an old man of Watts responds to this theme as, "Parker and

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[110]Turner, op. cit., p. 102.   [111]Ibid., p. 120.

[112]Paul Jacobs, Prelude to Riot, A View of Urban America From the Bottom (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 22.

[113]Turner, op. cit., p. 96.

his police don't respect us. They're supposed to represent the law. Why should we respect the law? The law don't show no respect for the Negro."[114] How can the two themes be reconciled if both maintain their position? From the standpoint of recruiting, who is responsible for changing the other?

The wealth of literature and testimonial to the reputation of the Los Angeles Police Department for outward efficiency may well serve as an example for the problem. The historical struggle of many in local law enforcement to outlive the corruption and inefficiency of the past image of the police is now confronted with literature attacking the legal system they enforce, and suggesting that their loyalty, bravery and technological advances may well be obstacles in dealing with the problems of today. It might be considered, under the circumstances, that a corrupt department, which is also inefficient, would be less offensive in that it would not bring forth the full impact of the "unjust" legal system. In any event, the literature and testimonial within the minority community of the insensitivity of the police would probably serve as effectively to create a negative local image, as the evidence of efficiency would invite many other departments in police circles to imitate the Los Angeles Department.

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[114] _Ibid._

The evidence appears more penetrating into the police systems. A Negro officer of the Los Angeles Department was quoted as stating, "In a white community the Los Angeles police believe they're public servants, but in the ghetto it's different--the police make no attempt to understand."[115] The author stated several other Negro officers corroborated this opinion of the police attitude.[116] This same author reasons that a Negro officer tends to be more arbitrary and brutal with Negroes as his only means of gaining acceptance in the police circles.[117] If this is true, the demands upon the Negro officers would be tremendous, between his recognition of insensitivity to Negro needs, and his personal needs for acceptance. Yet, another department is reported as reflecting a limitation upon acceptance for the Negro officer. Turner reports that the Negro officers were told they would not be appointed to a desirable assignment with the Motorcycle Squad since they would probably cause friction by the necessary frequent contacts with white people.[118]

The presence of any or all of the above conditions within a police department would seem damaging obstacles to minority recruitment. The insensitivity of the department in minority communities would provide a daily reminder to a negative attitude toward the police department. Unfair

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[115]Turner, op. cit., p. 89.   [116]Ibid., p. 91.

[117]Ibid., p. 67.   [118]Ibid., p. 176.

treatment by members of their own race who are part of that same department would cement the negative image in not providing persons whereby potential applicants might tend to identify. In addition, the lack of equal opportunity within a department might tend to stifle the Negro officers positive feelings toward the department he represents. If employment conditions for minority members on the department were further limited, such as the power to make an arrest, the image of the Negro officer might serve an even more negative function. As the conditions of employment become more negative for the minority officer, the kinds of applicants might tend to be less desirable.

All existing negative characteristics of minority employment in a police department needs to be considered in conjunction with negative conditions for potential applicants generally. Without listing undesirable characteristics of police employment, it is unlikely that a prospective applicant would find all features of a police position to be desirable. The same is probably true with other kinds of employment. When a person seeks employment, wherein he has alternatives, it would seem that the position sought would have more positive features than negative. If minority members of the community viewed employment with the police department, and was mentally computing undesirable characteristics for his status, in addition to those all other candidates need to weigh, the desirable qualities to offset this

deficit must be greater than for a person from the majority community.

Jerome Skolnick made certain observations of the policemen's outlook regarding race while studying two police departments.[119]   His conclusions dovetail with the conclusions of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders relative to racism, and its implications for the police. Skolnick states that, " . . . most policemen . . . would be regarded as highly racially biased."[120] He continues that, "A negative attitude toward Negroes was a norm among the police studied . . . If a policeman did not subscribe to it, unless Negro himself, he would be somewhat resented by his fellows."[121] Another observation, more germane to Skolnick's study, is his conclusion about the role of the stereotype. He states, " . . . this disposition to stereotype is an integral part of the policeman's world . . . policemen are trained to view departures from the normal . . . ethnic stereotypes, like the modus operandi of criminals, become part of the armory of investigation."[122] The second observation concerning stereotyping seems critical to the recruiting phase for police. Skolnick's views on police

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[119]Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in a Democratic Society (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966).

[120]Ibid., p. 80.   [121]Ibid., p. 81.

[122]Ibid., p. 83.

racism find broader application by the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The racism might seem applicable in other types of employment and therefore not disproportionately affecting police recruitment, any more than business. However, when other factors, such as the police being a personal service, often dealing with conflict situations, and the implications for the tendency to stereotype makes a meaningful distinction. Viewing the focused attitude of the police department having the bias, through the eyes of the receiving minority community; difficulty for a recruiting poster to be attractive, through the same eyes, would seem to follow.

A Presidential Committee studying equality of treatment within the Armed Forces in the United States, found discrimination.[123] The Committee suggested the problem be handled primarily at the base level. They recommended that the base commander appoint an officer who would have free access to the base commander, to receive complaints of discrimination.[124] The Committee further recommended that procedures be established to encourage complaints and make them confidential to eliminate the risk that the person making the

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[123]The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity In The Armed Forces, Equality of Treatment and Opportunity for Negro Military Personnel Stationed Within the United States, June 13, 1963.

[124]Ibid., p. 30.

complaint be subject to reprisal.[125] The complaint officer

would need to be a sensitive person.[126] The personnel of the

base should be reminded periodically of this officer's avail-

ability.[127] They recommended periodic publicized base visits

by the Department of Defense, and to be available for com-

plaints.[128] Further, results of the visit would be used in

measuring the base commander's effectiveness.[129] His ef-

fectiveness concerning discrimination is to be included with

other responsibilities as base commander. These recommen-

dations were made to the President of the United States

fifteen years after another president declared a policy of

equality of treatment for persons in the Armed Froces.

Executive Order 9981 of 1948 declared the policy of the

President that there should be equality of treatment and

opportunity for all persons in the armed services without re-

gard to race, color, religion or national origin.[130]

The underlying theme of the Committee's recommen-

dations seem to be that of commitment and follow-through.

The procedures recommended involved an approach to bring the

same pressures for effectiveness with regard to the non-

discrimination policy as toward other policies more clearly

related, on the surface, to military effectiveness. The par-

ticular method selected to combat the problem was probably

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[125]Ibid.   [126]Ibid., p. 31.   [127]Ibid., p. 32.

[128]Ibid.   [129]Ibid.   [130]Ibid.

selected after review within a military context. The police are often viewed as a paramilitary organization. However, quite unlike the military, turnover of personnel does not take place so frequently. Unlike the military, even at the base level, anonymity would not be so easily maintained in many police departments. But, the form of the recommendation does not seem to be the thrust of the Committee's conclusion. A procedure for a police department might involve an outward acknowledgment of discriminatory action, by whom and against whom--resolving it in a manner consistent with the organization practices in other important policy matters. Variations in degree of commitment would not appear consistent with the findings of the Committee.

The President's Committee reported concerning military recruitment practices and stated, "Negroes are only now coming to realize that opportunity is available in the Armed Forces."[131] Although methods reportedly varied with different services, there was little recruiting directed toward Negroes.[132] An example of the insensitivity was an illustrative photograph in an occupational training guide wherein the only Negro was an enlisted man dressed for the kitchen in the steward field.[133] The tone of the report regarding this illustration was not that the advertisement was intended to convey a relationship of the Negro stereotype, but that

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[131]Ibid., p. 12.   [132]Ibid.   [133]Ibid., p. 13.

those making it were insensitive to the implications, i.e.,
how it would be viewed by prospective applicants. This may
have implications for the police. It is not uncommon now to
see recruiting brochures of police departments showing Negro
officers, with white officers. The status of new employees
is the same for many police departments as they will be
hired as patrolmen, performing the same duties. However, if
the view of the conditions of employment for the Negro
officer is undesirable--then the message relayed may be the
same. A photograph of a Negro officer may be a picture of
an "Uncle Tom" who "sold out" and is a "traitor."

Thomas E. Johnson, Supervisor for Police-Community
Relations and Tension Analysis of the Civil Rights Commis-
sion, submitted a report following visits to six large police
departments.[134] His objective, in part, was to determine
what each city was doing to recruit police from the minority
community.[135] The techniques used varied by departments.
His observations included the following influential factors:

1. Departments making the most progress are those
   who have been effective in changing their image
   in the minority community.

2. The departments need to be honest with the minority
   community concerning the selection process being
   fair.

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[134]Report of Thomas E. Johnson, Supervisor, Police-
Community Relations and Tension Analysis, Civil Rights Com-
mission, "The Recruiting Efforts of Six Police Departments
Recently Visited," January 23, 1968.

[135]Ibid., p. 1.

3. One method used for assuring the minority com-
    munity of fairness is to provide for an appeal
    process for rejected applicants.

4. Departments have arranged for education, in
    testing, for applicants failing written tests.

5. Departments need fair and equal opportunity with-
    in the promotional system.

6. Aggressive recruiting techniques involving inte-
    grated recruiting teams going into the community
    and visiting homes in search of men, as opposed
    to past practices of waiting for applicants to
    apply.

7. Reduction of time between application and employ-
    ment has prevented loss of valuable applicants.

8. Flexibility in evaluating background information,
    particularly juvenile records.

9. Lowering height requirements.[136]

The underlying recruitment ideas reported seem to hinge up-

on the commitment of the department to convince the minority

community they have a desirable department and that they are

wanted to participate as members of that department. It in-

volves an effort to evaluate requirements with flexibility,

directed toward the interests of potential employees, taking

aggressive personal face-to-face action to overcome negative

images, and submitting themselves and their system for review

by higher authority as a sign of good faith in their

practices.

The difficulties for the police to present a de-

sirable and inviting posture for prospective applicants were

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[136]Ibid., pp. 14-16.

previously mentioned as they related to the society of which they are a part. However, the problems within departments may add to this problem for other departments. Recently, in a widely read news magazine, attention was given to a Negro veteran of Viet Nam who was the first Negro on the West Virginia State Police Force.[137] The problem of acceptance by other trainees was compounded by an instructor giving lessons in mouth-to-mouth resuscitation showing how a handkerchief could be used in case an officer had to save a Negro.[138] This kind of publicity may easily feed negative attitudes in communities other than where the event took place. Yet, this same kind of publicity, reflecting internal conditions, has the equal capacity for positive news. In a well known Negro magazine it was considered news that a Negro veteran of ten years on the police force of fifty-seven men was appointed Chief of Police in a city having a population of about 34,000, of which only five per cent is Negro.[139] The article included reference to him being the first Negro Chief of Police for that size city.[140] The same magazine later included an extensive feature article about

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[137]_____, "West Virginia Homecoming," Time (February 9, 1968), p. 19.

[138]Ibid.

[139]_____, "Portsmouth's Police Chief," Ebony (April, 1963), p. 144.

[140]Ibid.

Otis Rathel, a police artist for the Chicago Police Department, showing how his role fit into the overall effectiveness of the police department and presenting some of his accomplishments.[141] This investigator personally recalls when this extremely talented artist made his services available during his normal time off, while assigned to a line unit in the same department, and prior to being assigned to a full time staff function. His enthusiasm for service was recognized within the department, and, as indicated, the department became recognized through him in Ebony magazine. The three types of publicity mentioned here would seem to affect recruitment through insight into the department for any potential applicant. The article in Time would seem a serious obstacle, even for expensive advertising to overcome. Conversely, the latter two articles would appear to complement any recruitment for minority people. Significantly, both types of advertisment were no financial cost to the respective departments. The success stories related by Ebony would seem to accomplish the same objective, on a grander scale, as the recommended practice presented earlier of business efforts to publicize success stories in the company house organ. But the minority publication will less likely have the drawback of credibility in the source or, considerations of tokenism. It reveals itself as evidence of

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[141] _____, "Chicago Cop Faces Crime," Ebony (April, 1966), pp. 48-54.

something as opposed to the object of something. The President's Committee on Equal Treatment in the Armed Forces addressed itself to the impact this type of positive publicity might make:

> The ability of competent Negroes to succeed is all-important. Nothing will do more to encourage the able Negro to enter military service as a career than tangible proof, as yet almost entirely lacking, that Negro officers can receive equal recognition and opportunity for advancement with whites. Actual examples of Negroes who have achieved major positions of responsibility in the Armed Forces will be worth thousands of words devoted to claims that no barriers exist.[142]

The message of the Commission here concerning recruitment of able Negroes is clearly that of offering tangible proof of equal recognition for minority employees through examples of equal recognition. A police administrator desiring minority applicants, and not participating through a personal commitment to provide this condition, would seem of doubtful practical significance. This commitment would find expression through minority members of the department. For those departments not having minority members, this "equal recognition" might take the form of expression through daily performance of the police service. In either case, the police function in the community involving frequent personal contacts with the minority community; the everyday duties

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[142]The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity In the Armed Forces, Equality of Treatment and Opportunity for Negro Military Personnel Stationed Within the United States, June 13, 1963, p. 23.

provides an opportunity. This message of "equal recognition" being confused with surface appearances would not appear to have the substance necessary for the enduring needs of minority employees--as would be the case for any employee's career. Before any effort to recruit able minority officers could be seriously considered, the full power of the administrator commited to the creation, and maintainance of equal opportunity within the organization would seem necessary. This commitment would require the same zeal as any other highly sought after goal by the administrator, to the point of losing his position rather than compromise in any minor issue involving creation of equal opportunity. An appeal to the minority community for able and qualified people to possibly leave other employment, for less than equal opportunity, would involve the same sacrifice for them.

Conclusion. The total recruitment process involves the interrelationship of planning, policy, commitment and feedback, growing out of organization needs and visibly protruding in appeals relevant to the potential applicant. The recruitment process is the organization and not the appeal.

The policy of the organization is its attitude. Therefore, the attitude of the organization toward the new employee is reflected in its formal policy, whether through absence, identification or identification and commitment. If the stated policy differs from the actual practice, the

gap is subject to detection, whether it be relative to the American Creed or the appealing phrase of Equal Opportunity Employer. In both instances the participation of applicants increase probability of detection and exaggeration. If the adaption of today's youth to detecting the sham and phony is considered, the probability is greater.

The image of the organization plays an important role in recruitment and sometimes exists independent of evidence directly related to the organization. The image is transmitted within the society and influences potential candidates long before the actual point in time when direct action is taken in the form of an applicant. Each police department receives the police and social image.

The police image in minority communities often identified as recruitment targets is generally negative. Yet identification of a negative image with minorities invokes a public relations or community relations response at correction. The public relations program is confronted with an already developed community expertise of police operations, and to the degree community relations efforts differ, they cannot proceed in advance of the organizations they represent. Implications of the process suggest a growing awareness of a relationship with the minority community, and the need for more thorough evaluation.

The absence of applicants is a form of feedback to the organization. Although police standards and the

existence of better paying jobs might be viewed as elimi-
nating some individual applicants, their relevance does not
explain the absence of a group response. Yet basic hostility
to the organization, restriction of total participation of
minority people who are members, existing prejudice of
police officer, mixed into a personal service handling con-
flict situations by a stereotype process operating in a
flexible framework of discretion, seems highly relevant when
viewed from the group toward which a recruiting effort is
supposedly directed. The negative image needs understanding
as the result of their recruitment effort as opposed to a
separate variable against which a recruitment effort must
contend.

A planned recruitment effort involves creating an
organization receptive to the anticipated addition and then
effectively communicating that information to potential
applicants. Organization readiness involves a commitment of
top management expressed in a policy followed up with organi-
zation backing comparative to the energy expanded in the
most important function related activities. Organization ap-
peals to dispel existing beliefs involve a visible, indi-
vidualized, energetic and systematic effort to overcome a
credibility gap. The organization must be prepared to
deliver.

CHAPTER III

A CASE STUDY

The review of the literature has identified the com-
plexity of relationships necessary between the organization
seeking applicants and the potential applicant. The lack of
sufficient knowledge concerning minority recruitment, par-
ticularly in the police field, makes an exploratory case
study appropriate for this problem to see if principles from
the literature apply, need modification or correction. This
is an in-depth study of one department which does not have
one Negro police officer, even though the community has a
significant Negro population. The department formerly had a
Negro officer. The Chief of Police has expressed a desire to
have Negro officers on his department and has strongly ex-
pressed concern for the lack of applicants from the Negro
community.

I. THE METHOD

The police function has national application, and as
indicated in the literature, police organizations are often
viewed, by friends and critics, without concern for their

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unique strengths and weaknesses. However, considering that some serve individual communities, a case study approach provided a method of localizing, to a degree, the problem for exploration. The problem was initially discussed with policemen in several municipal departments. One city was finally selected for study.

The interview technique was selected to collect the data. It has advantages relevant to this problem, namely to penetrate the superficial or surface explanations. The goal of insight is appropriately related to this technique. Each respondent was told that views given would be held confidential. The purpose was to gain understanding of significant variables and their interrelationships relevant to the problem without provoking criticism of organizations or individuals. The confidential nature of interviews would hopefully elicit more honest and revealing responses.

Nine members of the police department were interviewed. The members were selected to give a cross section of rank and specialization. The Chief of Police, command, supervision and patrolmen were included along with patrol, traffic, investigations and juvenile functions. The interviews were selected and identified by an administrator of the department as "open-minded personnel" who would reflect "good thinking" about the problem. All interviews were conducted in private and at the police station.

The inquiry later led to nine minority group leaders and citizens who had expressed a past concern for, or experienced, the problem being studied. Interviews with one person led to another, based upon selection for apparent knowledge or concern for the problem. Leaders consisting of the clergy, legal profession, business and government were interviewed. In addition, a former Negro police officer of the city and two Negro citizens who had attempted to gain employment on the department were interviewed. Interviews took place in offices, homes and place of business. Some were private and other respondents preferred others present.

The interview guide for the police included six questions. (See Appendix I). The guide served as a basis for probing and further discussion. First, the officer was asked why minority citizens do not apply for employment with the department. This question was adopted based upon the tendency of early respondents to give explanations without being asked. Second, he was asked for his estimation of the largest minority group in the community. The purpose was to establish a basis upon which the respondent could answer subsequent questions. Third, he was asked whether that minority group has relatively more or less contact with the police department than the majority population. An anticipated response of "more" was confirmed and was to give legitimacy to having minority persons on the department. Fourth, he was asked whether it is desirable to have minority

officers on the department. The purpose was to determine
his specific position on the question. Fifth, he was asked
whether special efforts should be made to recruit qualified
minority officers, to determine the degree of commitment to
question four. Sixth, he was asked how he would feel if the
Chief of Police directed that special efforts be made to re-
cruit qualified minority officers. This was presented as a
hypothetical situation. He was asked if he would support
the program and whether he would encourage others in the de-
partment to do so. The purpose was to determine the impact
of the Chief of Police upon the respondents' own views and
to determine if the officer would follow the direction be-
yond just following the order.

The interview guide for Negro leaders was less spe-
cific. (See Appendix II.) First, they were asked if it was
desirable to have the minority population represented on the
city police department. Second, they were asked why they
were not represented. Third, they were questioned as to any
special efforts having been made in getting minorities on
the department, and fourth, what they considered necessary
to accomplish the objective.

The former Negro officer was questioned about his
experiences which might provide some insights relative to
the problem. (See Appendix III.) First, he was asked
whether he considered it desirable that persons from a
minority group should be on the police department. Second,

he was asked about problems he had while a police officer in this city which could be specifically related to the fact he was a Negro. Third, he was questioned whether special efforts should be made to recruit qualified minority members. Fourth, he was questioned as to what is considered necessary to accomplish the goal of minorities on the department. Fifth, he was questioned as to why he left the police department.

Negro citizens who had made overt acts to gain employment with the police department were questioned about their experiences in that regard.

In some instances interviews were conducted in the presence of others. Interested observers assisted in understanding replies of the interviewee. In all instances where questions called for opinions of the respondent, he was asked "why" he believes the way he does.

Length of interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to four hours. Following the interviews, all field notes were summarized in narrative reports.

Limitations of methodology. The limitations of the interview technique and the case study method are reviewed by Pauline Young and co-authors William Goode and Paul Hatt.[1]

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[1]Pauline Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1956); and William J. Goode, Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1952).

The inherent limitations were maximized in this research due to the subject matter and the characteristics of the investigator.

Basic to the interview technique, except when its purpose is to detect deception, is the problem of respondents' telling the truth. This consideration was particularly applicable in this study; noticably relevant to interviews with the police officers.

First, the interviews took place in the police station which is hierarchal atmosphere with associated problems of communication. Second, due to selectivity involved as to who would be interviewed, the guarantee of confidentiality was probably perceived as weak or invalid. Third, since respondents knew they had been selected by the department one might expect a greater degree than usual suspiciousness found among policemen. The investigator attempted to minimize this problem by explaining that selection was based upon concern for a limited sample of views from all ranks and specialties. Fourth, some of the questions asked in a hypothetical form involved possible answers which would constitute insubordination in a real situation. For example, the interviewee was asked how he would feel if the Chief of Police directed that special efforts be made to recruit minority officers. If the respondent had previously answered he did not believe special efforts should be made, to maintain his view through some sort of rationalization would

require confronting the formal authority represented in the
Chief of Police. Again, the question of whether they would
support the policy of the Chief, even if his actions would
not be verified by the Chief, involved the same issue.
Fifth, the investigator was an outsider who had gained ap-
proval from the administration of the organization to inter-
view them. Last, but significant, the artificial or symbolic
conditions of the questions, not involving any action upon
their attitudes, did not give any cause to disregard any
suspicions they might have concerning the entire event. The
investigator believes that the only basis for cooperation
from the officers interviewed is that they identified with
the purpose of the research and could overcome these
conditions.

Interviews in the Negro community were seriously
limited by the character of the investigator. The inter-
viewer was white and the interviewee black, potentially
bringing forth project-significant differences of background
and experience. First, there was the investigator's diffi-
culty in being sensitive to all significant contributions
made by the respondents. In some cases, the interviewee was
required to repeat statements, only because the investigator
would not understand the points being made. If the investi-
gator was locally familiar and of the same ethnic background,
understanding would have been more easily achieved, thoughts
interrupted less frequently, and greater insight achieved.

Particularly significant to interviews with Negro citizens, was the tendency for the investigator to disbelieve the respondents in many instances. This characteristic was not recognized by the investigator until after all interviews were completed. Upon reflection, it became clear that the investigator's response to experiences related by the Negroes were questions of veracity whereas reports of experiences by police officers were followed by questions of significance to the problem. For example, if a police officer related an experience with the Negro community, the investigator never once questioned in his mind if the experience actually happened as the officer reported it, since it was volunteered. However, when some Negroes related experiences which were unusual, the investigator tended to disbelieve and in some instances told the respondent it was hard to believe. Since there were instances of doubt in veracity where the investigator is now aware, it presents the problem of how this thinking would affect the total interview process and reporting of the essential details relevant to the problem in proper perspective.

The gap between the investigator and the former Negro officer was primarily of a different nature. The accurateness of experiences related by him were not questioned as in the case of other Negro respondents. They were accepted in the same manner as the other police officers interviewed. However, the primary reason for interviewing him was to gain

insight into the problems of a minority officer, and the difference in background again created difficulty in understanding. Although the circumstances of his experiences as a police officer can be reported, it is recognized that the investigator cannot fully feel the depth of humiliation, powerlessness, and frustration which obviously characterized his role in the police department.

This same inability of the investigator relates to reporting information from the minority community in general, however it seems more acute in the case of the minority officer. His role between the black and white communities, against a background of less than understanding by fellow officers, within a framework of the normal social problems incurred in law enforcement, compounded by his own personal sense of justice, cannot be fully understood by someone who has not experienced it. Any description of experiences related by someone other than a participant will be less than complete.

The above limitations of the interview techniques and those limitations being particularly applicable to this research, are further underscored when considered within the confines of a case study. Pauline Young recognized the tendency of the investigator to over-generalize based upon too few events.[2] Only a limited number of persons were

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[2] Pauline Young, <u>Scientific Social Surveys and Research</u> (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1956).

interviewed in this community, however the selection was based upon the probability of the person being in a position to provide insight based upon past activity or knowledge concerning the problem. Even considering the conclusion being applicable in this city, its relevance elsewhere is still questionable. However, considering the function of recruitment, and if similar conditions exist in other cities, the conclusions from this study would seem of primary consideration in attempting a solution.

II. THE ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Every person interviewed believes it desirable that the police department have minority officers. There seemed to be no instance of hesitancy in making the verbal commitment of belief in this idea. The varying degrees of concern were more at the positive end of the continuum, such as how crucial its impact on the total social organization for the minority community and, "It's not only desirable; it's a must," independently reported by a Negro leader and by a police officer.

The very foundation of the recruiting process, that of need, is fully recognized by all concerned. The police department is expressing a desire for Negro applicants. It is not a question of the department seeing a need, and the people making up resources having conflicting needs. For example, if the department found a need for a minority group

in their organization and inquiry with representatives of
that group determined that the police occupation represented
lower class goals and their group was above that level in
our society, an explanation for their absence might be more
clearly seen. Conversely, if a minority group was intent
upon using the police department as a vehicle for their
goals, and the police found no need within their organi-
zation; the lack of concern and action by the employing
agency might be easily explained. In this community, the
need is expressed fully by the potential employer and
employees.

The basis for need. The basis for need of Negroes
on the police department differed in emphasis between the
police department and the Negro community. It suggests a
misunderstanding of the "job opening" for the Negro appli-
cant. The "job description" visualized by the employer is
the vacancy he intends to fill. The potential applicant may
see the vacancy differently and to that degree might be used
by the employer in a manner inconsistent with the contract
for which the applicant bargained. For example, if the em-
ployer desires to hire Negroes to pacify the Negro community,
give the appearance of an Equal Opportunity Employer, or uti-
lize a black skin and social knowledge to more effectively
solve crimes in the Negro community, it is this function for
which the Negro applicant will be used. On the other hand,
if the object is to better generally sensitize the department

to the community it serves, the applicant will be assigned accordingly.

The reasons offered for desirability of minority officers were varied. The police officers interviewed viewed the significance of a Negro officer's presence as an advantage for the department in solving crimes in the minority community. For example, it is believed that a Negro officer can accomplish more with Negroes than a white officer. One officer, who had worked with a Negro officer in the department, noted how the public generally likes to talk to their "own kind." When they had calls in the Negro community, the Negro officer did the talking, and when in the white community, the white officer did the talking. There is also the value of minority officers being able to speak a foreign language, such as Spanish. Linked with the idea of more effective enforcement, is the attitude that the police department should be responsive to the community it serves. By having minority officers on the department, members of the majority community on the department can develop insights into the minority community through its members' interaction with minority officers. It was also believed that this condition would result in a better general understanding between the police and the minority communities.

Members of the Negro community gave accent to broader goals, but including the concern for better understanding and creating a condition whereby the police and minority

community could better understand one another. One Negro respondent stated that this society better employ blacks in controlling areas of the social system to prevent forms of power not recognized as legitimate by the community in making the presence of minority groups known. He stated that riots are the voices of the unheard. The controlling role of blacks needs influence at the street level, and not just some people sitting in city hall. The whites have been controlling the black community, and whatever liaison is set up is set up by the white man, and therefore the Negro participants are open to the charge of Uncle Tom. When there is no legitimate avenue to audience, the fomentation of unrest lends itself to leadership by the undesirable elements in the society. The police role represents a controlling influence, is at the street level, and they are in the middle of all social ills.

Another consideration presented by a Negro leader involved the political advantages for the minority group seeking an identity. When Negroes are represented in the various ways of life they become better prepared for wider participation in the total system. As they participate, experience is gained, and background developed, which make them more effective competitors in the system. For example, as Negroes are received in police circles, they will develop background in law enforcement whereby some would have qualifications to compete for the office of Sheriff. The absence

of participation is viewed as another form of taxation without representation.

A significant concern of the minority community, related to this particular department, was the belief that minority representation would change the image of the department itself. One Negro leader stated that the Negro distrusts the department and they would put more trust in a Negro officer. The police of the South have had an integral relationship with those denying opportunity for the Negro. It is also seen as a vehicle for reducing incidence of conflict between police and minority communities. One Negro respondent stated that after a white police officer rides with a Negro in the patrol car, he will develop a respect for that Negro officer. This will result in less brutality by white officers toward Negro citizens, since, there will be a transfer of that respect to the Negro citizen. This entire process is seen as increasing communication between police and the minority community, as opposed to a white officer "just riding through the community."

<u>Identification of the recruitment problem in the community</u>. A recruiter having the problem of an absence of applicants should evaluate the deficiency. It is this process which is most revealing in the city studied. If a recruiter determined that potential applicants did not desire to apply for the opening, or that to have the position is

undesirable from his view, the feedback needs evaluation. Since recruiting is in fact an organization function, the feedback is relative to the organization. The acceptance of the view that the organization is undesirable employment is equivelant to poor recruiting.

The major explanation for lack of Negro officers on this department, given by the police officers, was the expressed attitude of the Negro community toward a Negro who became a member of the department. The officers stated that the Negro officer would be considered an "outcast," "traitor," "turncoat," "sell-out," with supporting evidence invariably coming from experiences with the last Negro officer they had on the department. The Negro officer and his family were threatened by other Negroes, and white officers in the Negro community were told to keep the Negro officer out of their neighborhood or he would be "buried." These threats were reported as frequent, and the Negro officer also received verbal abuse from other Negroes. One officer explained the negative attitude of the Negro school children, as a group, upon its members. He stated that individual students have greeted him, as a police officer around the school, but when that student is with a group of other Negro students, such as at a sporting event, that student will not acknowledge any association whatsoever. This respondent stated that some Negro students have indicated a desire to be a policeman, but a Mexican student has never indicated any interest.

One officer believes that the Mexicans have had a fear of police which is passed on through the generations, while yet another officer discards this view stating that regardless of the accepted image Mexicans are reported as having about police, the police in this community do not push authority and the attitudes of Mexicans toward police is based upon their experience here.

Coupled with the problem of alienation from the minority community, some officers believe a potential applicant cannot be sure he will be accepted by the whites. One officer explained that when a person becomes a police officer, he generally loses friends. The white officers will gain new friends in the police department. However, a minority group officer, being alienated from the white community at the outset, cannot afford to leave his friends in the Negro community for an unknown reception in the police community.

Some officers believed the police to be a symbol of Negro frustration with the white community. Lack of educational and/or physical requirements and the availability of better employment for those who were qualified were reported as factors. Some officers suggested the presence of discrimination in the department.

The negative attitude of the Negro community, toward the police, was not related generally as a criticism by the police, of this department itself. For example, one officer

stated he could not understand why the Negro people would have anything against the police department. "The town bends over backwards, more than it should, and they are getting more than white kids." Another officer related that a solution to the problem might be to bring several Negroes on the department at one time, so "they could lean on one another." He stated there was no problem of treatment of the Negro by the white officers, but that the problem was with the Negro's own race. The identification of the Negro community as being the problem, and other Negroes as being a source of support for each other, provides some insight. This view reflects a divorced attitude whereby the department is not considered part of the problem and the Negro officers are supposed to find individual support among themselves against the pressures of the Negro community.

Beliefs in the Negro community regarding the problem of minority applicants differ broadly. One respondent stated that the problem in this community is the same nationally; another stated that this and every other community has its own particular problems.

The most outstanding factor mentioned in the minority community was the need for a new image for the police department. This was not mentioned toward "police" as an authority, but in reference to this particular department. One Negro respondent, in voicing what he considered to be the view of the majority of the minority community stated

that they, "cannot stand the police." Another Negro stated
that the biggest problem for the police in this regard is
for them to get rid of the "big stick" enforcement image.
Historically the police have been considered brutal, es-
pecially in the Negro community.

One Negro respondent stated that some officers should
either be educated in common courtesy or be fired. He
stated that they have a negative attitude toward the Negro
community and it is expressed in their manners and their
voice. Officers should treat every man with common civility
and respect for human dignity. Officers should not assume
that any particular people should be treated less respect-
ably. Another Negro respondent stated he has never known a
Negro to be seen as right in his dealings with the police.
The police cannot always, in fact, be right. This does not
mean that the Negro never "benefits" from an encounter with
the police. He related a practice by police in towns where
there is no Negro population: a Negro passing through will
often not have the force of the law follow through on a vio-
lation, but will be permitted to leave town. His explanation
for this practice is that the town does not have Negro resi-
dents and would rather let them go than to keep them in town
for the judicial process. According to the respondent, the
Negro just laughs at the practice, which gives him the ad-
vantage, whatever the reason. The Negro is used to this.

The individual Negro applicant would be worried about being the only Negro on the department according to some Negro respondents. He is afraid of "getting hell" from the officers. He would be considered a "Spy" or "Rat Fink" in his community. Both a police officer and a Negro leader referred to the size of the community as being an added pressure on the individual Negro officer. In this city, people still know other people on an intimate scale unlike the case in a large metropolitan area which has the characteristic of anonyminity. A Negro officer here would receive the personal harrassment of being a police officer, but in a large city the Negro officer would not live in such a personal relationship with others in the community. Another Negro respondent pointed out the absence of a high Negro command officer for a Negro police recruit to emulate. For example, if a white and Negro police officer were both appointed, the white officer could find a command officer to look up to and imitate. The Negro officer would not have anyone and could probably only look forward to a life at the patrolman level.

Recruiting is a relationship with a seller, according to one Negro respondent. When the department does not have any Negroes, it looks like they do not want any. In the past there was intended exclusion for Negroes. There is a parallel with the banking situation which existed in the past. The banks never had any Negro employees. The absence of Negroes discouraged Negroes from applying since they, the

Negroes, did not want to apply and be embarrassed by being
refused. The absence of Negro employees supported the idea
that the banks did not want Negroes, and the same applies to
the police department.

The sincerity of the police department concerning
wanting Negro officers was questioned by one Negro leader.
The analogy of a hungry man was used to express this view.
If a man says he is hungry--you can tell when you put food
in front of him--you can tell by the way he eats the food.
Some Negroes have applied and were not accepted. Concern is
not only for the sincerity of the Chief of Police, but ex-
tends to the command officers of the department who are not
considered desirous of Negro officers.

This investigator believes the question of police
sincerity dovetails with the question of police standards as
an issue. Opinions vary in the Negro community. Some be-
lieve the police should maintain the same standards for
everyone, and that "high" standards should be maintained for
policemen. Others believe that the need for Negroes on the
department is a need in and of itself, and should be met,
whether by qualified or, if necessary, by those who do not
meet the standards. A third view supported is that since
the Negro is disadvantaged in the social system for develop-
ing those abilities upon which he will be judged, this should
be compensated for in the selection and hiring process.
Therefore, the department should provide tutoring for those

not meeting the standards whereby they would be brought up
to the standards prior to being a practicing police officer.

The issue of standards involves more than the issue
of objectivity in those standards. Many showed concern for
cultural bias, reflecting what one Negro respondent identi-
fied as the "white middle class." The written test is con-
sidered to have unequal application in discriminating appli-
cants. For example, there is one social level in both black
and white society which is likely to produce persons in-
clined toward police work. This is the lower class. If a
Negro and white person, from the corresponding socio-
economic level, applied for the department, there is a
probability that the white will pass and the Negro fail.
This is true, not because the white applicant is more capa-
ble, but because the cultural orientation of the test works
to his advantage and at the same time to the disadvantage of
the Negro applicant. The more educated Negro, who can pass
the tests for the police level, by overcoming the cultural
bias, are oriented to higher occupational levels. Therefore
the written test eliminates those people in the Negro com-
munity to which the occupation appeals. This standards is-
sue complements the original question of sincerity. When a
Negro applies for a job and gets ninety-nine on a test re-
quiring one hundred, and is told he failed, he returns to
the Negro community which has a negative attitude toward the
police sincerity. This is given as new evidence to support

the idea they do not want Negro officers. All this takes place in a county where the Sheriff's office reportedly does have Negroes on the department. With this kind of condition existing there is just no sense in applying for a job on the city police department, from the Negro viewpoint.

There is also the voiced view by police and Negroes alike, that Negroes who are qualified according to existing standards can find better employment elsewhere. One Negro respondent stated there is an upsurge of openings in personnel and public relations positions becoming available for Negroes. The advantages of these positions reportedly attract Negroes who would also be qualified for the police department. Two Negro leaders who gave this as a factor to explain the absence of Negroes on the city police department, when questioned by the investigator if they personally believed this to be a factor, stated they did not believe it. One respondent reverted to the sincerity issue of the department, and the second stated this factor is used as an excuse to explain away the problem.

The issues of the department image, standards and better employment opportunities were reduced by one Negro leader to the matter of credibility. It is just a matter of not believing that Negro applicants cannot be found. But he believes that the department believes they cannot find them. They need to get out of their ivory towers and sell their department. He does not believe the rationale that it is

hard to find Negroes without police records; there are a lot of young Negroes who have not been in trouble with the police and are good people. Also, the opportunities for the Negro in today's society are not as great as for a white person. These limited opportunities would make good employment very appealing. The Negro today wants the same opportunity the command officers of this department had years ago. The present command officers, who are supposedly viewed as good police officers by the community, were accepted on the police department at a time when standards were lower than they are today. They joined the police department and elevated themselves by making a career and at the same time providing a benefit for the department and the city. Today, many whites are using the police department for a stepping stone and after they get their education are leaving the department. The Negro would look upon the department as an end in itself. It would be an opportunity for the Negro to elevate himself and at the same time improve the character of the department by viewing it as a profession. Another Negro respondent stated that there are not now ten Negroes in the city who can be recruited to the police department.

Evidence of resistance. Evidence of resistance by the community power structure, including the police, was found in the community studied. The evidence tends to support the views given by the Negro community and provide an

explanation for the accepted cause given by the police. However, this evidence requires interpretation. It requires the same explication as the broader question of feedback. For example, one police respondent stated, in reference to the Negro community, that the matter of belief depends upon whether a person wants to believe something. He stated if people do not want to believe something they will react to the testimony accordingly. However, this is true for the organization itself. This investigator approached the interviews of this study seeking understanding relative to the problem, and no personal gain or justification was necessary for one conclusion rather than another. The Negro community leaders interviewed were strangers to the investigator therefore no basis for distrust of their response can be given for the inclination of disbelief. Yet there was a marked tendency to disbelieve. The pre-judging by the investigator as to trustworthiness is strongly suggestive to evaluators of evidence where their personal involvement is associated with the arrived-at conclusion. Further, the impact of this condition of resistance needs evaluation within the social organization of a disadvantaged group and how they perceive the evidence reflected in police operations.

One Negro leader, when questioned as to why Negroes do not apply for employment with the police department, stated he was very bitter about this problem. Thirty-five years ago someone very close to him applied for a job with

the department and was refused. He was forced to take a menial job of being a janitor in a local business. This individual is now a judge in another community.

Another Negro stated that fifteen years ago the attitude of the Negro community was negative toward the city police department. There was not one Negro or Mexican person on the department. At the same time the police department was advertising for applicants and stating they would hire anyone who was qualified. The Negro leadership in the community decided to test the sincerity of the department and they were interested in getting a Negro on the department. They searched the community to find someone they knew would meet the standards.

This same Negro respondent stated that a young Negro, hereafter referred to as Mr. Black, who had a high school education, was 6ft. 2½ins. tall, 205 pounds, and lacked a police record, was approached. He had won eleven athletic letters in high school and was "All State" in football, basketball and track. He had gone to school with the Chief of Police's son and was a close friend. He knew the Chief of Police personally. Although he knew those who approached him were only concerned with getting a Negro on the police department, he personally was interested in becoming a policeman. A few years earlier there had been one Negro on the police department and he was looked up to by the Negro

community. Whatever Mr. Black tried to do he always "wanted to be the best, or one of the best."

Mr. Black reportedly went to the police department and was escorted by the Chief of Police to fill out an application. He was then told to return the following day for the written examination. The next day he took the examination and achieved a score of ninety-seven. Eighty-five was passing. The Chief of Police told him he did very good and Mr. Black was escorted to a room to wait. Shortly, an examiner approached him and said he was two pounds overweight and therefore did not qualify.

The following Monday, Mr. Black went to the city council meeting and reported there was discrimination in the police department. He told them he was born and raised in the city, that he applied for the job, passed the test and then was told he was two pounds overweight. Mr. Black stated there were members of the department who weighed more than him. Nothing was done.

About two weeks later Mr. Black went back to the police department and applied again. He scored ninety-eight on the test. This time the examiner told him he was one-half inch too tall and therefore was not qualified. Mr. Black knew a man who had been on the department was 6ft. 5ins. tall.

Mr. Black's sponsors told him to go again to the city council, which he did. The city council referred the matter

to a committee of the Police and Fire Board, the Chief of Police and the representatives of Mr. Black. No action was taken for six months. The Negro leaders then told Mr. Black they were not given any reason for his not being hired and he should just go to the city council again.

Mr. Black went to the city council again. He told them they should not advertise for policemen when a qualified person applies and is not hired. He said their actions just meant they did not want Negroes on the department. He said he was tired of the "run-around" and being a "punching bag"; the city was discriminating.

Mr. Black is now working for a state agency in helping juvenile delinquents. He is an Assistant Pastor in the church, for which he receives no pay. He hopes some day to have his own church.

One Negro leader stated that in 1967 a federal grant was given to this state with the objective of recruiting one thousand police officers; five hundred of whom were to be minority officers. The program was co-sponsored by the state association of Chiefs of Police and the Civil Rights Commission. The program concentrated in certain cities of the state. The effort involved an executive director who visited the various cities and encouraged the Chief of Police and leaders of the community to form advisory committees for the purpose of recruitment. The grant provided money for technical knowledge, pamphlets and radio/television

announcements. The plan was for local communities to do the recruiting and the state and federal assistance only to serve as a catalyst. The program resulted in fifteen persons being hired throughout the state, thirteen of whom were members of the minority groups. The program was conducted for six months.

The Civil Rights Commission reportedly conducted a follow-up evaluation of the program. Minority representatives were sent throughout the state. They walked into police stations and asked persons such as the desk sergeant about advertisements they had heard concerning the need for police officers. There was a large number of police personnel which stated they knew nothing about any advertisements, and made no effort to get the name of the person making the inquiry.

Both Negro and police respondents mentioned that this police department participated in the state-wide program to recruit police officers. The Chief of Police met with Negro leaders and personally interviewed potential minority applicants. Based upon names of interested persons from the state program, over one hundred letters were sent to these persons by the Chief of Police. The only response was about two telephone calls, therefore the program was ineffective.

Several police and Negro respondents reported that a group of local Negro leaders joined in the effort to recruit Negroes. The Negro leaders found sixteen men who

indicated an interest and they were introduced to the Chief of Police. The plan, according to one Negro leader, involved having about ten Negroes hired at the same time, which would have eliminated any problem about all Negroes being assigned to the Negro community and eliminate the problem of a lone Negro on the department. One of the potential applicants was sent to the department to take the test in an effort to see what it involved. He failed the test and brought the information to be used in preparing the entire group to take the test.

Arrangements were made with a local college which donated space and instructors for the potential applicants. Only two of the sixteen appeared for classes. The apparent failure of the planned program of mass application discouraged the two who did appear for class, and they did not apply for a position. According to one Negro leader, one potential applicant stated his family had talked him out of the idea.

Inquiry of the other applicants who had previously agreed to take the classes, by the leaders, resulted in expression of "flimsy" excuses. Some stated they might apply at a later date. The Negro leader conducting the inquiry believes that they do not want to be the first one on the department. No one admitted this was the reason.

In about August of 1968, a Negro citizen, hereafter referred to as Mr. Blackman, who lives in this city, and who

has the outward appearance of being a qualified applicant,
heard a radio advertisement for police officers in the city.
Mr. Blackman is a foreman in the skilled trades and holds
the rank of Captain in the military reserves. About two
days after hearing the advertisement, while returning from
work, Mr. Blackman decided to stop at the police department.
He was wearing his work clothes. He walked into the police
station and approached a Corporal at the desk and asked if
there were any vacancies on the department. The Corporal
said no. Mr. Blackman told the officer thank you and walked
out of the station. Mr. Blackman knows the Corporal's name.

Mr. Blackman stated he is not interested in being a
policeman, but he wanted to see how the department would re-
act to his inquiry. Mr. Blackman believes that if a Negro
ever was hired, and made a mistake, he would not receive any
backing from the department. He felt, for example, if he
shot someone he would probably be used as an example and then
they could comment that they expected as much from a Negro.
Mr. Blackman says he does not fight the system any more. If
people do not want the benefit of his talents then he does
not care.

One police officer stated that the way to recruit
minority members for this city is for the Chief of Police to
make a personal effort in recruiting. He should conduct the
entire process involved. He stated the Negroes will not be-
lieve other members of the department. It is a matter of

wanting to believe something. If someone does not want to believe something, they will not believe contradictory evidence. The Negroes do not want to believe the members of the department. Also, the office of the Chief is more impressive in supporting the effort to obtain minority members, according to this officer.

A Negro leader stated he believes the command officers of the department do not want Negroes on the department. Another Negro leader stated the command officers have fifteen or twenty years experience and have developed a prejudice.

Eight of the police officers were asked if the department should make special efforts to recruit qualified members of the minority community. Three stated that no special effort should be made. They justified this response: The department should not "beg" someone to be a police officer. If a man "wants to join the department" he can; "the department can get along with them or without them." Nothing special should be done to get a person just because he is black; if he wants to join the department he can do so. Upon being questioned as to their loyalty to a special program to recruit minorities, which might be devised by the Chief of Police, all eight stated they would support the program. However, when questioned as to whether they would encourage other members of the department to support the program, one-half stated they would not do so. One

supervisor stated he would make the policy known, but not push it. Another stated he would outline the policy, say he supports it, but would not push a patrolman whose beliefs differ, as one is entitled to his beliefs. One officer stated that although he believes special efforts should be made, and would support a program of the Chief, he would not make a personal effort to encourage others since policies should be supported only through the rank structure. One of the four agreeing with the idea that special efforts should be made, supporting the Chief's program, stated that he would further make efforts to encourage others, but he would not try and force the issue. For example, if in a discussion group with officers, and someone stated he would not support the program, this officer would question him about the attitude. But, upon doing so, if the other person maintained his position, no further effort would be made since some officers are prejudiced.

One police officer stated the police department would have a problem in the community if special efforts are made to recruit minority officers. If favoritism is shown by the department, toward the minority, then the majority community creates a backlash effect upon the police department. There should be no exceptions in a program which would affect its integrity.

The Negro police officer. The atmosphere of resistance as perceived by the minority community needs to be

considered along with the position of any successful appli-
cant. Presuming that the barriers of negative conditions
existing within the community did not deter a candidate,
what could he look forward to as a police officer in this
city? When the complex pressures are better understood, from
the view of the Negro police officer, there is a correspond-
ing recognition of the police advertisement to the potential
applicant. This is the opening for which the department is
requesting that an individual apply. Implications of ex-
periences expected provide insight as to the type of person
necessary to fill the position. When recruitment is viewed
as a total process in which the employee will be performing
the operations daily, and on a long term basis, it becomes
the routine for such employment.

Several years ago the police department had a Negro
officer, hereafter referred to as Officer Gray. He had a
college education and previous police experience. Attitudes
of the Negro leaders differ over the experience of Negro
police officers in general. Some said that there is a
tendency to over-identify with the police in an effort to be
more acceptable to the white officers. He will exceed his
authority and be more zealous, especially toward the Negro
community. Another view is that the Negro citizen will tend
to expect more from the Negro officer. Since he expects
preferential treatment, and is given equal treatment, he
will consider the action taken as unfair.

The biggest problem in Officer Gray's view (and the department's view) was the Negro community. The feeling existed that he had "sold out" on them. Once, after Officer Gray arrested a Negro, the defendant said he would kill Officer Gray, stating, "You of all people should know better--why are you a cop?" Officer Gray's family was threatened and received anonymous telephone calls. His father spent large sums of money for medical care for his wife who became very nervous about the conditions.

When Officer Gray worked in the white community there was also sometimes a problem in his being a Negro. About five or ten per cent of the white citizens questioned his authority. For example, Officer Gray might arrest a white man who responds that Officer Gray cannot arrest him and says, "Where I come from you would never be a police officer." Even on minor issues there was a potential problem. For example, in telling a citizen of a minor ordinance violation, which had been the subject of a complaint by another citizen, the violator responded that it was not a violation, that she has been doing it for a long time, and stated, "I would not take your word for it anyway." In these instances where there appeared to be a problem, Officer Gray summoned a white officer to support him.

On one occasion Officer Gray and his partner arrested a white teenager, of a wealthy family, for drunk driving. Upon arrival at the station, the parents were notified and

the father came to the station. When the father stated the officers were picking on his son, the officers showed him his son was "laid out drunk." Later in court the irate father told the court that Officer Gray was picking on his son. When Officer Gray responded that he knew neither the father nor the son, the father stated he had previously heard from his son that there was a colored cop who was trying to make a name for himself. The father said Officer Gray was trying to use his son as an example for whites and that he should go and pick on the colored kids.

On another occasion Officer Gray and his partner responded to a complaint regarding a group of Negro teenagers, the intention for action being only to break up the gathering and tell them to leave. Upon arrival, Officer Gray was the object of verbal abuse, in unison, as to being a "nigger cop" and foul language used to describe his character. The disorder which existed caused a response by Officer Gray and his partner to arrest the leader of the group. The suspect fled and Officer Gray pursued him on foot and apprehended him without using a weapon. The group of about twenty-five youths then came after the officers and their prisoner. Officer Gray responded by drawing his weapon and threatening the youths if they tried to interfere. The youths withdrew but threw bricks and bottles at the squad car as the officers left the scene. Police reinforcements were summoned and after confrontation, several young people were arrested.

Following the above incident Officer Gray stated certain members of the Negro community and their organizations demanded that the police department discharge him. They claimed he had abused his authority, was prejudiced and was guilty of police brutality. They stated he should not have drawn his weapon, that he was harder on Negroes than whites, and that he had beaten the Negro youth he arrested. The police department questioned Officer Gray and his partner about the incident and then stated the officers had acted correctly under the circumstances.

When Officer Gray joined the police department, some officers said they would not ride with him. There was doubt as to how he would react when dealing with his own people. Officer Gray stated he took this as a challenge and wanted to prove them wrong. He knew there was a gap between the Negro community and the police department. He felt he had to be twice as good or better than a white officer. He worked as hard as he could to make significant arrests and to conduct thorough investigations. He did not feel he knowingly acted against the interest of the Negro community, but his knowledge of the Negro community resulted in many Negroes not being able to take advantage of him as they might a white officer. For example, when persons gave him explanations for conduct, he would in some instances see through their pretenses either by knowing the person or in explaining to the individual that he was raised in the

neighborhood and is familiar with the tricks. Officer Gray
felt he became accepted by the white officers after a period
of time, especially after the mass confrontation with the
Negro youths when white officers subsequently seemed to
"warm up" to him.

Officer Gray felt some white businessmen in the com-
munity were exceptionally nice to him, which created an ad-
ditional pressure and made him more cautious. For example,
there is always the offer of free meals which a police
officer officially must reject. Officer Gray did not want
the reputation of a "moocher" or of accepting things from
the citizen for doing his job. He was constantly offered
free meals, and he seemed to get the offers more than if he
were white. He avoided walking by certain restaurants on
his beat. Sometimes the businessmen called him from across
the street. Officer Gray was required to respond to calls
for a policeman, but was often summoned merely to be offered
a free meal. Refusals often hurt people's feelings.

Officer Gray observed the unequal treatment of other
Negroes. He observed how two situations, which were identi-
cal, were handled in an entirely different manner. For ex-
ample, a response to a family dispute in the Negro community,
the white officer typically would say, "Joe--don't beat your
wife--and if you do we're going to arrest you." The same
call in the white community is, "Mr. Jones, we know you have
a family problem here, but the neighbors have complained so

would you try and take care of the matter?" Officer Gray knew how the Negro community felt about the lack of respect shown to them. White officers approaching a situation involving Negroes might say "look boy," and in doing so has antagonized the Negro who will in some instances react in a manner giving the white officer cause for coercive action within the law. Officer Gray was then bound to defend his fellow officer. Some of the officers who worked with him were the type who could be advised of their practices. Officer Gray explained to these officers how a different approach in the Negro community would cause less problems. Other officers were not the type who could be told and Officer Gray did not want to "rock the boat."

The programmed conflict. The failure of the police department to understand the conditions in the Negro community results in conflict. When there is no significant change in police operations, the already existing gap becomes widened. For example, the police belief that the Negro community dislikes the police is used to explain actions of the Negroes against the police operations. Since this is the accepted explanation, the police efforts to correct the condition logically would lead them to attempt to change the Negro attitude toward the police. However, since the negative attitude is a result, and not the cause, the efforts are doomed to failure in the long run. At the same time,

continuing police practices which reinforce the cause for
the negative image provide fuel to the already existing con-
dition. The negative reaction of the Negro community to
these police activities again reinforce the police attitude
about the Negro community.

In evaluating the recruitment effort as a total
organizational activity to cultivate potential applicants,
the responsibility for change in attitudes is clear to the
investigator. The factors creating the image of the organi-
zation result from actions of all personnel; the actions to
effect that change require their participation. The greater
the gap between the recruiting organization and the potential
applicant, the greater the commitment necessary for change.
The change in organization policy needs communication and
follow-through for expression through daily activity. The
futility of individual department members to recruit, with-
out organization support, is well documented.

One police respondent stated, "The Negro dislikes
the police much more than the police dislike the Negro."
The officer gave an example of what he meant. Two white
officers were looking for a person in the Negro community
and stopped a young Negro to obtain information. The youth
was in the process of telling the officers what they wanted
to know, when an older Negro man, who had observed the
conversation, came up to them and took the youth away.
Later the officers saw the youth again, alone, and approached

him. He said he did not know anything. Another officer told about criticism received from Negro citizens that the police do not respond to their complaints with the same speed and concern as they do in the white community. He further stated that one person who made this kind of criticism was later at the scene of an incident being handled by the officer. He asked if anyone knew what happened and she stated she did not know anything.

A Negro leader explained that the black community does not get the same degree of protection as whites. The Negro offender preys on the Negro community. He is given leniency. Police do not crack down on houses of prostitution in the Negro community. People have reportedly called the police and when the police do not do anything, the people just stop calling. A police respondent stated that in dealing with the kids the Negro parents do not appreciate it when the police give them a break; when any action is taken they complain the police are picking on them. Another officer stated that some white citizens who are victims of vandalism, and suspect Negroes of being responsible, criticize the police for protecting the Negroes. When there is insufficient evidence to support a charge, some of these white victims complain about the inaction of the police and say that city hall must have told the police to keep their hands off the Negroes.

One Negro leader explained the communication gap be-
tween the police and the Negro community. The white police-
man is an individual and when he is flexible in a situation
with a Negro the latter takes advantage of it. The next
time, the officer will act to the letter of the law. Both
the officer and the Negro exaggerate the facts. This dual
exaggeration becomes the image for the police and the Negro
community. Then when any derogatory act is committed by a
police officer, the act is exaggerated and exacerbates the
negative image of the police in the Negro community.

As an example of this attitude an incident was re-
lated by another Negro respondent. Three Negro men were in
a car which was approached by the police. The incident
ended in a fight. The three men were arrested and one was
taken to the hospital. Due to the lack of rapport between
the police and the Negro community, there is a tendency to
believe that the police were wrong. Most of the people in
the Negro community believe the police are so prejudiced
they cannot give a simple traffic ticket with any degree of
civility.

A Negro participant in the state-wide program to re-
cruit minority police officers stated that the single most
significant variable related to success was the sincerity of
the commitment, particularly that of the Chief of Police.
The support of his command officers was also critical. It

depended upon the willingness of higher police officials to sit down and talk with minority leaders. One city, which was among the most successful, entered talks with minority members who were very hostile. The police officials endured the hostility, and minority frustrations were vented. The Negro leaders gained an awareness that the police accepted their feelings, even if they did not agree. Then the Negroes went to work in recruiting people.

An example of the impact of the credibility of a department's commitment was reflected in another city according to this respondent. The department set up a program whereby persons who failed the written test were assigned a police tutor. The applicant was permitted to take the test again and after the third time, if he failed, he was rejected. The Negro community felt the police cared and they talked about the extra effort the police themselves were investing to get Negro applicants. In one city a police inspector was assigned to a member of the minority committee and they visited potential applicants' homes. They put advertising posters on police cars. It was the sincerity that the personal efforts reflect which had the tremendous impact.

In the city under study, one police officer interviewed believes that the uniform seems to cause negative attitudes. Negro students have mentioned to him that officers in uniform are cocky. He believes it is better for

the officers working about the schools to wear civilian clothes as it does not seem so offensive to the students.

When Officer Gray was a member of the department he was requested to assist the Safety Patrol Officer at schools having Negro students. It was a public relations program to provide a good image whereby the Negro students would identify with him. He was urged to wear his uniform. Officer Gray did not receive any negative criticisms from the Negro students in the schools. Afterwards, many of the kids remembered him and waved to him in his patrol car.

The investigator believes these references to uniforms typifies the police approach to the problem of the police image. In one instance the uniform is considered a disadvantage, and a solution suggested is to wear plain clothes. When the presence of a Negro officer is viewed as a positive image, for the department, the uniform becomes an advantage, and its appearance desired. Neither has an enduring quality since the approaches are with the surface image as opposed to the substance it supposedly represents.

In this city, one police officer stated he had referred two Negro applicants to the department several years ago. They appeared more than qualified, but were not hired. He personally made inquiry in the department about the matter, but was not given any reason relative to the existing standards. The applicant was reported as having less than the desirable characteristics, within the accepted

standards. The same officer has tried to recruit minority officers on a personal basis, but they refused, giving evasive answers. The officer got the impression the potential applicants were concerned about being ostracized by their own people. Another officer stated he tried to convince two Negroes who appeared qualified to make application, but both stated the whites do not like them, that if they joined they would lose their Negro friends. The wife of one of the potential applicants was against his joining the department. Another officer stated he has tried to convince individuals in the minority community to apply, but many believe they are not qualified. The officer believes that a departmental recruiting effort might be able to convince these people to make applications. Another officer, who has tried to recruit minority people on a personal basis, stated he is not convinced that the powers of the department really desire minority applicants. He believes the department will accept them, but will not put out a strong effort; the absence of minorities on the department is the evidence.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion of this exploratory research is that, in the city studied, there has been a systematic pattern of exclusion, either by design, naivete, or both. It is not any one act in itself which can be considered the crucial deterrant, but each part contributes to the whole in giving the same result. The failure to break the system provides daily cement to perpetuate the actions of the past.

I. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The total social system must be clearly recognized as having resulted in a difference between the minority, in this case the Negro, and the majority community. To be incapable of recognizing this division through mere observation of surface relationships is impossible. Beyond the obvious, the recent years of disorder have provided tangible proof of conflicting wants. The Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders provides an explanation. Common sense is at least forced to recognize that whatever the explanation, the Negro community is at a disadvantage within the social system.

The community history of the city studied regarding minority applicants for the police department provides evidence of clear discrimination. The detailed explanation given by Mr. Black gains credibility when considered within the social context described above. It seems more plausible when a Negro attorney explains the lack of cries from the nation's populace for "law and order" when in the past Negroes were lynched in this country. It seems even easier to understand when a Negro minister explains a Negro youth having been lynched in the South for having whistled at a white girl. A police department which has had two Negroes in its history is at least a condition to lend support to Mr. Black's reported experience.

The conditions of Officer Gray's employment beg for understanding. The focused hostility by the Negro community against him does not seem to find explanation in poor conduct on his part. The Negro community, at worst, considers him as having been "overzealous." The white police officers consider him a good patrolman. If the explanation cannot be found in Officer Gray's personality, one might be led to examination of the Negro community and/or the police department itself. The police department finds its explanation in the former and the Negro community finds explanation in the latter.

In trying to examine Officer Gray's brief career, it seems to highlight some of the conditions of employment for

which the department is now seeking applicants. In addition
to hostility from the Negro community he is marked as differ-
ent by some in the white community to his disadvantage,
either by their contesting his authority or by being overly
nice to him. His minority status is used as ammunition by
others for personal gain with the law. Some of his fellow
officers said they refused to work with him and wondered how
he would react "to his own people." The pressure for ex-
celling is created within Officer Gray to compound the normal
pressures of joining an organization and the adjustments to
law enforcement. Officer Gray used his social knowledge of
the Negro community in enforcing the law. The police de-
partment, as a result, became more efficient in individual
cases. However, Officer Gray observes unequal treatment of
his fellow citizens, but to protest is a gamble against the
underlying questions of white officers wondering how he will
react with "his own people." In some instances Officer Gray
was required to enforce a technical violation of the law
against a Negro who has been provoked by disrespectful refer-
ence to him or his family by a white officer. Officer Gray
knew how the Negro felt; he knows that it is not just the
one simple act of discourtesy causing the problem, but is a
part of a long history of daily disrespect and lack of recog-
nition. The Negro citizen knows that Officer Gray knows how
he feels.

It is not uncommon for persons in the Negro community to recall Officer Gray. The daily experiences of the Negro community with the police department serve ample evidence, in their mind, that conditions are the same.

Under these conditions, and advertisement that the police department wanted Negroes on the department could be interpreted as at least one of two messages. First, it might mean they really do not want Negroes, but because of other pressures are inclined to advertise. When a member of the community applies and scores ninety-nine on a test requiring one hundred, and the test is only one of several steps in the selection process, the rejection could certainly be explained with this position. When a Negro walked into the police station and asked if there were any vacancies and is told by a Corporal there are no vacancies, this too supports the same idea. Especially when the person has heard the department wanted Negroes and two days earlier a radio advertisement reported a need for police officers. It does not take much to maintain a pre-existing and strongly rooted attitude such as belief in discriminatory hiring practices.

A second alternative is available to the potential applicant. The Chief of Police might be trying to employ Negroes. But if he is hired, he will not be working for the Chief of Police. He will be working for a Corporal and Sergeant and Lieutenant and Captain. He would be asking for

conditions as those explained by Officer Gray. He will be forced to participate in what is viewed by the Negro community as a systematic oppression of them. He will be a tool of that system used to more effectively accomplish that objective. A qualified Negro would need to weigh these considerations against employment in business. Although the business world does not offer an ideal climate either, it does not require his active participation in perpetuating a humiliating and frustrating existence for his fellow man, as does police work.

The Negro community cannot ignore the police department as they might any other individual business in the community. It affects their lives continually. It also has a key role for gaining recognition through influencing the kinds of behavior for that institution. The department can offer something to the Negro that no other business in the city can offer.

The recruiting of an organization is an extention and an integral day-by-day function of the department's operations. It should be based upon an evaluation of organizational needs. For example, if an organization decided to convert some operations to data processing, some new employees might be necessary, and some new relationships created within the organization. The decision to adopt change is based upon adjustment that the change will result in more effective performance in the long run. The organization

must plan for that change, and based upon evaluation, policies established and communicated to all those persons affected. The employees have been adjusted to the previous method of operation and even the customers are familiar with past practices. The change may involve disruption of the existing system. But the advantages in the long run constitute the basis for accepting the risks involved in the change. In any event, the administrator would make the organization ready for change. He would examine his organization and plan to cope with potential sources of conflict which might exist. He would make sure new policies are understood and to the extent possible, he would follow up and assess the success of these policies prior to arrival of the new employee, procedure or policy. It is doubtful that he would leave adjustment entirely to the new employees hired, even under normal employment conditions.

If the administrator evaluated the employment market of those he desired to hire, and determined that they did not believe he wanted to hire them, or considered his organization undesirable, based upon past exclusion and present experience; the recruiting appeal would need a full-scale effort to overcome the past. If no special effort was made to show that conditions have changed, the appeals would be interpreted by past experience. Certainly sending letters to people who indicate an interest would not satisfy an administrator not receiving any positive responses. An

administrator not making every effort to create an organi-
zation receptive to the change is not aware of what he is
asking of a new employee, or he is not really desirous of
the change.

A recruiting appeal needs emphasis of satisfiers and
the absence of dissatisfiers, when the latter are believed
to exist and do not in fact exist. Employment conditions of
the Negro officer might easily be considered to contain a
large complex of dissatisfiers. To a lesser degree, employ-
ment conditions contain many dissatisfiers to Negroes in
business and society in general. The commitment of a key
agency of control within this society, to correcting this
condition, would be an effective avenue of appeal. It might
be the most effective. The frequent contact of the police
organization with potential applicants is as much an oppor-
tunity as a problem. The police organization has a great
potential advantage over other employers who must rely on
occasional contacts and superficial relationships. The po-
lice contacts are real and personal. The organization can
dramatically and effectively show that the negative image of
the organization is incorrect. The people of the Negro com-
munity are forced by unique circumstances of our society, as
are others, to have a close relationship with the police.
Advertising appeals expressing disassociation with the
actions of the organization in the past, including the arbi-
trary exclusion of Negro applicants, which are recognized as

wrong; placing it plainly in front of the entire community for all to see would be hard for the Negro community to ignore.

The critical component of a recruiting appeal is the capacity to deliver what is promised. If promised without delivery, it is worse than no promise at all, for it becomes fraudulent. Whether for society in general, or recruiting in particular, the resulting dissatisfaction has the added insult of having been misled. Young people are tuned to detecting the phony appeals. Any adult can tell whether a reference to him as "Sir" is meant with respect or sardonic formality. The absence of calling someone a "boy" does not mean you look at him as a "man." "Tokenism" does not mean amount but refers to degree of commitment.

The initial efforts of the police organization to show they can deliver will be received with doubt and suspicion. To be received otherwise, after a history of exclusion, would require that the Negro community not have the ability to learn from experience. However, the burden of changing attitudes seems more properly placed on the shoulders of the organization rather than a lonely Negro officer which the organization appeared willing to permit to carry the conflict of a total social system. The organization is the recruiter and its entire range of operation its recruitment program.

II. IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This research has intended to develop a hypothesis concerning why minority peoples do not apply for positions as police officers. The conclusion that in the city studied Negroes are being systematically excluded by failure to clearly show a change from the past, provides the avenue for correction. The role of the organization is identified as the starting point.

When evaluation of the condition identifies the problem as in this city, the basic question involved is the commitment of the administrator. Commitment is not a condition of mere acceptance of an end when it is delivered, but of positive action directed toward the desired end. It is not being contented explaining lack of success, but of evaluating failure to try again. It is a never ending process until there is accomplishment. Without this commitment the necessary total organization effort cannot succeed.

First, the shortcomings of the organization affecting recruitment, and the administrator's commitment at correction, needs communication throughout the organization. Policy statements calling for re-evaluation and correction of certain practices are necessary, but insufficient. The need is for an education of the total department, beginning with the top command officers. It involves face to face relationships to effect change. The ineffectiveness of a less

encompassing approach is revealed in responses of some po-

lice officers interviewed. One respondent answered that

special efforts should not be made to recruit minority

officers. He reasoned that the department would accept any

qualified applicant, that all a person has to do is apply,

that the department should not make any special effort since

it should not "beg" someone to be a police officer. This

reasoning, on the surface, has an appealing air of fairness

which a policy statement, directing that special efforts be

made, must contend. However, when viewed within the total

context of obstacles and pressures which confront the po-

tential Negro applicant, the reasoning is completely inap-

propriate. Another officer reasoned that reference to a

minority officer as "wetback" is a form of banter connoting

acceptance within the tightly knit police organization which

is a common practice in police departments. He sees no of-

fense to the individual since the intent in usage is with

good will. The officer's lack of understanding is expressed

when he stated he had never given any thought to how the

other person might receive the reference to him, and never

considered how the term may have been used by others in a

negative fashion toward this individual. When a supervisor

believes that it is a partolman's prerogative whether to sup-

port a policy of the Chief relating to recruiting practices

and minority groups, the arbitrary exclusion of this active

support from supervisory responsibility reflects his depth

of misunderstanding which will confront a written policy.
This policy requires understanding as other important policy
matters of the organization.

The existance of reasoning processes within the
organization, based upon insufficient information, requires
education related to new insights whereby the additional
evidence will provide a greater understanding. One Negro
leader suggested the need for training in human relations as
having equal importance to other aspects of the recruit or
in-service training programs. However, this investigator
believes this training will require the periodic presence of
the Chief of Police to communicate the commitment to change.

The minority community, in the city studied, has a
sufficient number of qualified leaders to assist the Chief
of Police in a program of educating the department as to the
reality of their community. Also, it does not require a
podiatrist to tell when a shoe is pinching. Educators and/or
persons knowledgeable relating to minority adjustments and
problems, particularly those groups living in the existing
community, should also be summoned to give aid to the depart-
ment in the form of instruction. These educational programs
need top priority recognition within the department. Per-
formance and attitudes should receive evaluation within
these programs, along with other important characteristics,
in regular performance appraisals.

Complaints from the minority community will require investigation based upon new understanding. Evaluation of the evidence in these situations must go beyond strictly legal criteria to broader criteria of social justice. For example, cases involving words or actions expressed to minority members of the community by a police officer in the course of duty might provoke certain actions against the police officer. An investigation limited to legal blame may only be a part of the information available. The minority member may be legally wrong and the officer, either knowingly or unknowingly, having nurtured the illegal act. An in-depth understanding of the complaint may provide valuable information for future action. Better understanding resulting in improved police behavior would not only reduce the probability of physical conflict, but also the numerous unrecorded incidents of hostile interaction. The cases which provide additional insight can be used in the continuing education process of the department. The lines of communication to the minority community must be broadened for feedback on the education process. The Chief of Police needs to seek complaints, not just accept them. Enforcement of policies relating to this problem should receive the same attention of the administrator, command and supervision, as other important policies. It should receive the same response as refusal to comply with other important operation of the department.

The selection and promotion criteria need evaluating for cultural bias. The written test should be examined along with other culling out standards. Factors used for exclusion need interpretation as they reflect upon a minority candidate, since he is the one being evaluated. Persons on oral screening boards with less than understanding of cultural differences are not competent to judge the appearance of someone having a different cultural background than themselves. Background information needs interpretation as it reflects upon the individual within the cultural conditions. For example, background investigations involving white applicants include cultural adjustments such as in cases of drinking alcoholic beverages. Information received citing "excessive drinking" must be interpreted according to the standards of the information source. The person conducting the investigation may convert to the standard of "normal" from the previous standard of "excessive."

The unofficial process needs consideration too. What police department being presented with an otherwise desirable candidate has not recorded a 5ft. 7 3/4ins. candidate's height as 5ft. 8ins., or some other comparable adjustment? The assignment of individuals capable of applying this unofficial judgment with equal objectivity to the recruiting and selection function would influence this process.

The particular acts of the department do not seem as crucial as much as the sincerity reflected in positive action moving toward the desired objective. For example, the knowledge in one Negro community that the police department was tutoring those who initially failed the written test provided evidence of the sincerity of the department, not just the process of tutoring. Further, the actions of the departments participating in the state-wide recruiting effort for minority officers appearing the most sincere, were the most effective. The apparent sincerity is seen as evidence of the commitment. On the other hand, for any White Anglo Saxon Protestant Chief of Police to personally examine a written test and conclude there is no cultural bias, reflects a different degree of commitment. It is doubtful that the question originated with the Chief, but rather with some outside source. The decision to examine it may reflect apparent sincerity. However, the root of the question is most likely beyond the Chief's competence to detect. If there is a deep concern for the presence of cultural bias there would exist a corresponding in-depth analysis upon notification of an outside source that there is cultural bias. It presents a question of credibility being given to the source, if sincerity of the Chief is presumed. The detected prejudice of the investigator in this research strongly suggests this consideration by others in evaluating credibility of the minority community.

The advantageous role of the police department for daily contact with the minority community, combined with a close relationship of the Chief of Police with leaders of the minority community, provides the avenue for positive recruitment activity. A planned, committed police activity toward change, combined with opportunity for visible signs of that change in day-to-day practices, and open lines of communication to the Negro community, needs only the persistance of a department comparable to the size of the existing gap.

When Negro officers are hired, it is merely an introduction to the total process of recruitment. The Negro officer needs an education as to the special problems which may confront him in the public role. He needs assurance that no special performance is expected for acceptance with the organization. He needs understanding of potential problems such as individuals contesting his authority, or being too nice, based upon his race or ethnic background. The same planned anticipation of problems must be confronted as with the organization development program. The department must evaluate alternative courses of action in these cases and make decisions within the context of organization backing.

Command and supervisory officers must be alert for daily problems, but prepared to act without singling out the Negro officers for attention except when necessary to

communicate the department commitment. For example, they must be especially alert for indications of related problems within the organization. In those instances involving general attitudes, the leadership efforts can provide guiding examples for change. When the problem is an overt act or expression such as refusing to ride in a patrol car because of race or ethnic background, the confrontation of the total organization must be brought forth outwardly. In all instances, the attitudes and behavior of officers in this regard should be given high priority in performance appraisal. The administrator's tolerance for a period of adjustment for the organization should decrease with rising rank and be non-existent at the command level.

This research implies the need for comprehensive systemic changes of an entire department. The problems inherent in an adequate program underscores the importance of this and the required additional research to identify and understand side effects of these programs.

The heavy burdens and responsibilities on the administrator must be weighed against the alternative that an individual Negro patrolman is expected to carry the same burden, with fewer resources. The thoughts that the problem is too burdensome for anyone or any organization must be weighed against the reasons given for the desirability of recruitment in the first instance. The conditions will not

remain the same. A decision of inaction is a decision of action, since the present practices will perpetuate the past and the spiral of division will continue.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This research has intended to develop a hypothesis relating to commitment of the administrator to effect changes of attitude and behavior within the organization through application of broad administrative resources to attract and maintain minority employees for the department. This broad hypothesis needs testing. Within this framework of majority and minority relationships there has been other research. For example, according to one author, "Both experimental and field observations support the idea that a role situation involving a common fate and shared goals lead to more favorable attitudes of the participants toward each other."[1] The application of common fate and shared goals directly relate to present day problems confronting minority group and police activity. Testing should include other minorities such as the Mexican, Indian and Puerto Rican communities.

The significant role of the police function in relation to certain minority groups has invited research in

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[1]Paul F. Secord, Carl W. Backman, Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 445.

police organizations to understand the problems between the majority and minority community. Research is also necessary for the selection of all police officers. It is not merely the need for examination of mental and physical standards, but to include the factors making up the total individual, including prejudice. The reorientation of present member-ship needs corresponding selection of those reflecting a better understanding of the world around them.

Future research efforts of this subject should be mindful of significant shortcomings in this study due to prejudice of the investigator. The presence of this indi-vidual bias and its far reaching implications can permeate the total research project. It can basically affect defi-nition of the problem for study. The language can include variables without recognizing their significance and impact. Review of the literature is done through the eyes of the re-searcher including all the interpretive selectivity of his outlook. The method of approaching the problem will be in-fluenced by the depth in understanding of these various con-siderations. The actual collection of data provides ample opportunity for expression of this same tendency within a less reflective atmosphere. To proceed on the path of in-quiry with this subject without cautionary concern for this influence will result in a corresponding limitation in understanding.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Interview Guide for Police Officers

1. Why don't minority groups apply?

2. What is the largest minority group in the community?

3. In your opinion does the _____ population of the community have relatively more or less contact than the majority population with the police department?

4. It is desirable for this department to have _____ policemen?

5. Should special efforts be made to recruit qualified _____ members for the department?

6. How would you feel if the Chief of Police directed that special efforts be made to recruit qualified _____ officers? Would you do what you could to support the program? Would you encourage others to support the program?

APPENDIX II

Interview Guide for Negro Leaders

1. Do you consider it desirable that a police department have police officers of the minority population? Why?

2. Why are there no Negroes on the police department?

3. Do you know of special efforts being made to recruit minority people for the department?

4. What do you consider necessary in order to get minority members on the police department?

APPENDIX III

Interview Guide for Negro Officer

1. Is it desirable to have persons from the minority community on the police department?

2. What problems did you have as a police officer which can be attributed to being a Negro?

3. Should special efforts be made to recruit qualified minority officers?

4. What do you consider necessary to accomplish the goal of minorities on the police department?

5. Why did you leave the police department?