ADMINISTRATION OF INVESTIGATIVE ACTIVITIES-- A STUDY OF FACTORS RELATING TO CONTROL OF INVESTIGATORS

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A STUDY OF FACTORS RELATING TO
CONTROL OF INVESTIGATORS

By

John H. Faughn

AN ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT

ADMINISTRATION OF INVESTIGATIVE ACTIVITIES--
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Probably in no other area of organizational endeavor is a greater challenge presented than in the control of investigative personnel. The nature of investigative duties requires individual freedom of action and discretion. Much of the investigator's time is away from the office and out of sight of immediate supervision. This is compounded by the fact that contacts are maintained in an environment where opportunities for criminal involvement, or defection, not only exist but may be encouraged.

This paper holds that, because of the unique nature of investigative duties, the best system of control of investigators is one that motivates personnel toward organizational objectives through a positive appeal to their individual interests. Motivation, in this respect, recognizes that personnel have multiple desires or interests and entails an integration of purposes--a merging of the individual's goals with those of the organization. The function of control in this concept is

not merely to prevent disruptive behavior but to inspire superb performance.

Conversely, a single motivator concept, involving financial reward or formal authority with its emphasis on fear of punishment, is not considered the most effective means for control of investigators.

To test the hypothesis a motivational control model is presented based upon the multiple drives or interests that motivate individuals to action. The model represents a categorization of the interests or drives into four separate areas of security, status, social acceptance, and self-development. The methodology includes case studies from interviews with practitioners, representing investigative agencies at various levels of government, to determine their views on the most effective means of control. Also, an analysis of literature relevant to the control of investigators is set forth.

No concrete conclusions are reached as a result of the research. However, it appears that in many instances personnel lack sufficient qualifications for motivational control. A person must not only be inspired to behave in a certain way but he must have the ability to do so, if the desired performance is to be achieved. Another significant factor, in some cases, includes lack of specificity

in stated objectives or goals. Since all motivational behavior is purposive, if it is to be in the direction desired, the goals must be clearly established. Another factor seems to rest in a tendency for the law enforcement community in some areas to be, or at least conceived to be, socially isolated or alienated as a subculture from the total community. To the extent that this exists, of course, it adds to the difficulties in control of personnel. It appears that, at this stage, to bridge the gap caused by these factors, the onus falls primarily upon the immediate supervisor. But, it requires a particular kind of supervision--one that, which the results of this research indicate, is a mature or sophisticated type of supervision.

Implications for further research include a study of current practices in control of investigative personnel utilizing more extensive research techniques, such as, possibly, participant observation. Additional study also is indicated in each of the factors listed above as being particularly significant at this stage of development in the administration of investigative activities.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

The Problem

The February, 1962, issue of The Police Chief contains an article by Quinn Tamm concerning a scandal in the Denver, Colorado, Police Department. It reveals that around seventy policemen from the Denver department and adjacent county sheriff's offices burglarized properties they had given their oaths to protect.[1]

The Denver story once again highlights the age-old problem of police involvement in criminal activity. Although sensational for the number of offenses and personnel implicated, the events in Denver are by no means isolated. This is borne out consistently by perusal of daily newspapers.

Reported incidents of corruption seem to involve more uniformed than investigative personnel. However, few investigators, especially those of true professional inclination, can find any solace in this. In a profession dedicated to preserving the community's security, one case is one too many.

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[1] Quinn Tamm, "Rebuilding a Scandal Torn Police Force," The Police Chief (February, 1962), p. 7.

Why do policemen become involved in infractions of the very laws that the public has entrusted them to enforce? No single answer has ever been advanced, and, in fact, no one answer will probably ever suffice. Basic reasons may rest in a combination of many factors. One common explanation insists that the "nature" of police work makes policemen susceptible to crime. That is, during the course of their duties, officers are constantly exposed to the opportunities or temptations found in the underworld. Statistics are produced as evidence that crime is directly proportionate to opportunity. Others attribute police offenses to the low salaries, inadequate recruiting and educational standards, and poor training which combined result in an officer with questionable calibre.

There is one area, however, that is often overlooked when speculating on causative factors. This is the nature of administration, and especially the exercise of control over personnel, within law enforcement agencies themselves.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors deemed necessary to exercise supervisory control over personnel assigned to duties involving investigations. A challenge for administering the optimum amount of control over investigative personnel is presented as probably

unmatched in any other area. The highly specialized nature of the investigative function which requires freedom of movement and discretion on the part of the investigator makes supervisory control of his movements extremely difficult. The range of the investigator's actions takes him out of sight of the supervisor and into the most undesirable environments where opportunities for his own involvement in infractions not only exist but may be encouraged.

The more an individual's behavior is determined by authority, the less that person is free to determine his own course of action. Or, it may be stated, control relates inversely to freedom of action. Therefore, since the investigator's duties demand that he have considerable leeway in action and discretion, supervisory controls other than those normally recommended must be developed and emphasized. Since the supervisor with authority may not be present at a particular moment, means must be devised which will permit accurate prediction and control of behavior. It entails extending the influence of the organization beyond the physical limits of the office.

An analogy may be made between police corruption and defection of military personnel. After all, although the comparison lacks many similarities, both instances represent the basic act of disloyalty. The military

person leaves his country and army and joins the forces of the enemy. And, it may be said, so does the policeman who cooperates with or otherwise joins the ranks of crime--the enemy he, too, is sworn to oppose. Literature reporting on the defections in prison camps of military personnel to the Chinese Communists during the Korean conflict reveals that soldiers were exposed to repeated efforts of greatly varying nature to motivate them to defect. Although, of course, not as extensive, on occasions the investigator also may be exposed to enticements of different degrees to encourage him to violate the trust of his agency and community. But, another factor is noted which points up a significant similarity. This is the geographic separation of personnel, both investigators on duty and soldiers in enemy prisons, from their organization and its authority. Both are on their own, and motivation is required over and above the external factors that control an individual in organized activity. Instead, it requires internal motivation which implants in the individual the desire to remain loyal to his own group whether its immediate influence is present or not.

Statement of the Problem

In view of the above, the hypothesis of this paper is that because of the unique nature of investigative

duties, the most effective control of investigators will be achieved in a climate which emphasizes a positive approach to motivation of personnel. This entails a recognition of the various needs, or drives, of individuals and a merging of the goals to satisfy these needs with the goals of the organization. There is an integration of purposes where control acts as a catalyst to achieve desired performance. The objective of control in this concept is not merely to inhibit some undesired behavior but, rather, to inspire outstanding performance. Control is achieved by a motivational process which implants in personnel not only the desire to conform but the wish to produce at full capacity.

Personnel performance may be depicted on a continuum extending from the corrupt individual and the nonproductive on one end to the outstanding performer on the other end. It becomes the function of control, then, to ensure that performance is near the outstanding gradation as possible. Too much control, of course, especially in an investigative activity which requires individual initiative and discretion, may result in poor performance. The objective is to achieve a balance which will not only provide any essential restriction but will motivate individuals to perform at maximum capacity.

Motivation, as conceived by psychologists today, involves a highly complex and interwoven set of needs and goals or purposes involving physiological, emotional, and social factors which become involved in all human activity whether the individual is aware of them or not. In the past, a prevailing demonological concept explained all human behavior in terms of some other world spirit. Later, hedonism, which views behavior in terms of a single motive of pleasure, became widely accepted. This encompasses the pleasure-pain principle in which all behavior is conceived as being either toward a desired object or away from one that is undesired. Consequently, the use of financial gain as a positive incentive or formal authority with its emphasis on fear of punishment were conceived as primary factors which motivated personnel in organized activity. Today, however, man is seen as having multiple drives or interests. Also, the concept holds that individuals work for different reasons, and the same person may recognize a variety of goals.

In government service, such as investigative duties, financial reward is not considered a primary motivator. Consequently, the use of formal authority with its negative incentives or sanctions often has prevailed as the device to cause personnel to conform. This paper holds that this is not the best means to control

investigators, but, rather, as indicated above, a positive approach to the multiple interests of the individual will achieve optimum results.

Methodology

To test the hypothesis a motivational control model is presented based on the writings of noted psychologists. The model consists of the higher order of an individual's interests, most commonly referred to as the social needs. The model includes the following:

Security.

Social Acceptance.

Status.

Self-Development.

These are the acquired, or social, needs or wishes which an individual must satisfy to attain satisfactory personality adjustment. They are set forth as categories, not concrete interests or desires. Specific needs and interests, of course, have a great variety of concrete forms; but, over-all, they may be included in one, or more, of the above classifications. Since motivational activity involves a need or interest and behavior directed toward or away from a goal to satisfy the need, behavior may be controlled by manipulating the need or the goal.

The methodology consists of a review of literature and case studies of unstructured interviews with various representatives of state, local, and federal investigative agencies, exploring in depth their views on the best means of controlling investigators. Personnel interviewed were primarily supervisory and considered successful in their areas by virtue of the positions they occupy. Case studies also consist of interviews with nonsupervisory investigators to determine their attitudes on control.

On completion of the review of literature and interviews, an analysis and evaluation of the data collected is presented in terms of the control model to ascertain if it, in fact, is indicated as the best device for controlling investigators.

The physiological needs are not included since it is assumed that agencies today take such steps as are practicable in providing for physical welfare of their personnel. In this respect, the advantages accruing from a good physical plant for the motivation of personnel cannot be denied.

Also, the emotional factors, such as drives or needs, are not considered within the scope of this study since their importance, like the physical drives, is rather obvious. Their significance in control of personnel should not be discounted, however. This is

exemplified in the recent shooting by an investigations supervisor of a suspect. For how else but by overlooking the importance of the emotions drive can an explanation be made in this case where the investigator was assigned to a sexual assault case in which his own daughter was the victim.[2]

The study covers factors which relate directly to the administrative control of investigators. It is considered that, with only minor adjustments for the particular situation, the paper will apply to all law enforcement type endeavors be it a detective division of a local police department, a state activity, or a federal (including military) agency. However, the discussion hovers longest over activities, such as large metropolitan police departments, where it seems to be demanded by the acuteness of the problem.

The study is concerned only with practices of administration and not with the operational aspects of investigating a case. Attempts to determine the extent and causes of defection are not included in the scope of this study.

In addition, it is assumed in this research that the investigative function is a highly specialized

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[2] The Detroit Free Press, July 4, 1965, p. 1.

activity which requires personnel who are extremely competent.

Importance of the Study

As indicated above, in recent years crime statistics in the United States supposedly have ascended at a ballistic rate. All this is in the face of refined investigative techniques, technological advances in the detection of crime, and supposedly better selection criteria and more sophisticated training of personnel. And yet, crime continues to soar upward. Why? To find the answer, researchers have explored such varied and diverse areas as an over-all decline in public morals, lack of police and investigative professionalism and competency, concerted efforts by subversive elements, and an all encompassing conspiracy between law enforcement and organized crime. The answer may rest somewhere within this area and, no doubt, is due to not one but a combination of factors. It might be suggested that one area, and by no means the only one, which is failing in the "war on crime" is the administration, or rather lack of administration, of law enforcement agencies themselves, especially in the area of control over personnel.

Is the law enforcement community availing itself of modern scientific developments in administration theory

and practice? And, if so, is flexibility invited and are attempts made to match the most acceptable administrative procedure with a particular operation? Or, is it, because of inadequate gages of performance, still clinging to set organizational principles which other activities, whose life depended on ever-increasing standards, long ago abandoned? These are questions that demand serious consideration in the modern complex world of today which so greatly emphasizes professionalization and sophistication in the entire spectrum of organized endeavor!

The question of this study investigated simply centers around: How much control may you exert over investigators and still get the best job performance? The answer is not so simple, however, especially when viewed in the over-all context of the unique characteristics of the investigative function and its relation to society. The formal hierarchy itself as well as the alleged police "mentality" often referred to in publicized reports and the unusual nature of the investigative activities supposedly offer a sharp contrast with the complexity of the modern-day world which places a premium on individual values. The failure to bridge the gap presented by this contrast may be evidenced in instances of dereliction and corruption germinating from the inability to control personnel as well as in the increased crime rate.

Consequently, in view of the above, it is felt that this study on control of investigative personnel approaches the core of the entire situation. If there is no success in control of your own people, then what success can be elsewhere?

Definitions of Terms Used and Organization of Remainder of Thesis

Definitions of Terms Used

Administration. Administration is interpreted as the patterns of behavior common to personnel cooperation. In its more rudimentary form, administration may be defined as the coordination of men, methods, and materials toward a common goal. It entails a purpose and cooperative action to attain something which could not otherwise be accomplished.[3] Administration, in effect, is also interpreted as encompassing the designing of goals and policy.

Defection. The term defection is construed as meaning any activity by law enforcement personnel in disregard of organizational expectations and loyalty which, if detected, would bring official reprisal. Webster's New

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[3] Herbert A. Simon, et al., Public Administration (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 3.

World Dictionary defines defection as "a failing; failure; abandonment of loyalty, duty, principles, etc.; desertion."[4] Defect, the dictionary states, implies a lack of something essential to completion or perfection. The term "defection" is normally thought of in connection with an act wherein an individual, in times of hostilities, abandons his own country in favor of an enemy nation. At its severest, it is treason. The word received particular attention in this country in the middle 1950's when twenty-one American soldiers in Communist prison camps refused repatriation and chose to accept the philosophy and country of Red China.[5] The term may apply equally as well to the police officer who abandons his organization and the laws he has sworn to protect in favor of criminal elements, who, in this case, are the enemy.

Institutional Subculture. Institutional subculture is used to refer to an organization which has developed its own unique properties distinct from other endeavors. The uniqueness of the modes and beliefs vary according to

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[4] Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (college edition; New York: The World Publishing Co., 1960), p. 384.

[5] Virginia Pasley, Twenty-one Stayed (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudalty, 1955), pp. 3-238.

the total organizational milieu. Ecological factors; the nature of the work; and isolation, physical and social--all of which lessen the opportunity for cross-fertilization with other systems--are important determinants of the type of cultural pattern which emerges in an institution.

Investigations. Investigations is interpreted to mean the process of gathering evidentiary material relating to criminal offenses for use in judicial proceedings. It may or may not include apprehension of suspects, depending upon the dictates of the situation. Black's Law Dictionary defines investigation as:

> To follow up step by step by patient inquiry or observation; to trace or track mentally; to search into; to examine and inquire into with care and accuracy; to find out by careful inquisition, examination, and the taking of evidence.[6]

When considering the role of investigations within a community, a more precise definition views investigations as a preliminary phase of the judicial process, separate from it but at the same time providing a framework within which the judicial process is to be exercised. The investigation is not a judicial proceeding, but it is subject

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[6]Henry C. Black, Law Dictionary (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1951), p. 960.

to the same limiting principles and rules of evidence.[7] The role, then, includes the provision of a specialized investigative service to the community.

Investigative Agency. Investigative agencies refer to officially designated agencies charged with the responsibility of investigating specified criminal offenses. They include, but by no means are limited to, those functions within a police department charged with this mission. Since police and investigative endeavor are so closely related, the terms as used here, at times, may be interchangeable when referring in the context of the over-all law enforcement community.

Investigator. The term investigator is used in this study in preference to such titles as "detective" or "agent" because of its more general nature.

Motivation. Motivation is interpreted as an impulse to action. The term is used to stand for the underlying force that impels behavior and gives it direction. Anything, whether an attraction or aversion, which initiates activity is considered motivating.

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[7] R. H. Meir, "The Advocate as Investigator," American Bar Association Journal, L, No. 9 (September, 1964), p. 10.

Operations. Operations is considered as involving the process of accomplishing the work in question. This is the primary or "line" function which forms the basis for the organization's existence. It entails the performance of these primary duties, such as in the investigative process the actual conducting of an investigation.

Organization of Remainder of Thesis

The remainder of the thesis is organized so that Chapter II indicates general theories of motivation.

Chapter III discusses various aspects of control and outlines and explains the motivational control model.

Chapter IV reviews and analyzes pertinent literature in the field.

An analysis of case studies relevant to control of investigations is offered in Chapter V.

In concluding, an over-all evaluation of findings is presented along with implications for practice and further research in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

MOTIVATION

> No action, no emotion, no thought of a person ever occurs "spontaneously." Human behavior does not just happen; it is caused.[1]

General

Efforts to predict and control the behavior of persons, of necessity, must take into consideration the question of the "why" of human nature. Innumerable failures in the field of social control come from an inadequate understanding of the reasons which cause individuals to act as they do. For centuries, men have tried to explain the causes of human behavior. Different theories advanced throughout the centuries may be categorized into two basic approaches. One is demonological or spiritualistic; the other, naturalistic.[2] The principle forming the basis of all demonological explanations is some "other world" power or spirit which supposedly transcends this world and is not subject to the control or explanation of man. Consequently, any acts, including

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[1] B. Von Haller Gilmer, Industrial Psychology (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1961), p. 8.

[2] George Vold, Theoretical Criminology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 3-27.

deviant behavior, are not of the individual's own volition but, rather, are caused by his being possessed and driven by an "other world" power. Modern scientific thought has abandoned demonology as a frame of reference for explaining human behavior.

The naturalistic approach, considered scientific, in explaining human behavior has recourse only to ideas and interpretations of objects and events and their interrelation within the existing world of known reality. There is no place for "other world" power, or spirit, and the explanation must hinge upon what is known or believed to be true of the surrounding physical, material world of fact. There are essentially three different viewpoints within the framework of the naturalistic approach. These include: theories with principal emphasis on the nature of the individual; those with principal interest on the group and on intergroup relations; and theories that are basically eclectic, tending to include all types of factors as possibly important.[3]

Early writers who first separated from the demonological explanations stress the view that intelligence and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of man and the principal bases for explaining behavior.[4]

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[3] Ibid., p. 306.

[4] Ibid., p. 9.

Intelligence, in this concept, gives man the capacity for self-direction. He is capable of understanding himself and of acting to promote his self-interest. Pain and pleasure are considered the bases of human motivation. One of the principal instruments for control of behavior is fear--especially fear of pain. The basic doctrine of this view, known as the classical school of thought, holds that man is a creature guided by reason whose will is free and who, therefore, is responsible for his acts and who can be controlled by his fear of punishment.[5] Hence, the pain from punishment must exceed the pleasure obtained from the deviant act; then his will will determine for him the desirability of nondeviant conduct.

Writers of this school, however, differ in their views over the factors which influence an individual in his choice of action. Thus, Montesquieu finds four impulses or desires: peace, hunger, sex, and social desires.[6] Rousseau conceives the desire for companionship as the basis for formation of society.[7] Hobbes considers fear as the elemental drive causing men to establish societies and accept the necessary restraints.[8]

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[5] Ibid., p. 25.

[6] George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), pp. 551-60.

[7] Ibid., pp. 575-96.

[8] Ibid., pp. 455-76.

Much of modern law has its background within this framework as does also efforts to control personnel behavior by organizations.

Motivational Theory

Modern theorists do not accept as simple a concept of motivation as did writers of past eras. Modern theory conceives motivation as involving a multiplicity of interests rather than a single cause-effect relationship. According to Maslow, motivation is constant, never ending, fluctuating, and complex, and is an almost universal characteristic of practically every organismic state of affairs.[9]

Webster defines motive as some inner drive, impulse, intention, which causes a person to do something or act in a certain way.[10] The term motivation itself is defined in various ways. Shartle defines it as a "reported urge or tension to move in a given direction or to achieve a certain goal."[11] The core of the idea of

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[9] A. H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1954), p. 69.

[10] Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, op. cit., p. 960.

[11] Carroll Shartle, Executive Performance and Leadership (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 151.

motivation is that there are hypothetical forces that energize and direct human behavior toward goals. It is the impetus that mobilizes human action toward or away from certain goal objects or states of being. It involves a need or stimulus and behavior directed toward a goal which will satisfy the need. A motive may be simple or complex; it may be fully understood by the individual or those observing his actions, or it may mystify both. Different terms refer to motivation in its various forms, such as: needs, drives, impulses, tensions, states of disequilibrium, and desires. All of these are types of stimuli. Whereas in the immature personality stimuli give rise to random, inconsistent behavior, motivation implies a relatively stable relationship for the mature personality.[12] This is assured by conditioning, or habit.

In general, motivated individuals behave with reference to directed goals which the environment provides or which they develop themselves through biological needs or socially acquired interests. Having emotional reaction to the environment is not sufficient, however, as Bennett

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[12] Richard Dewey and W. J. Humber, The Development of Human Behavior (New York: The McMillan Company, 1951), p. 167.

and Tumin state; in order to be active, an individual must behave properly.[13]

The overt behavior in motivational condition takes place in a social and cultural setting, and the existing culture usually prescribes the way a person should behave in pursuit of drive satisfaction. Society could not exist unless purposes were formulated and institutions developed, in part, around the basic needs of individuals.

The average desires, Maslow states, are usually means to an end rather than ends in themselves.[14] He cites anthropological evidence that indicates that the fundamental or ultimate desires of all human beings do not differ nearly as much as do their conscious everyday desires. The main reason is that two different cultures may provide two completely different ways of satisfying a particular desire. Apparently, then, ends in themselves are far more universal than the means adopted to achieve the ends, for the means are determined locally in the specific culture.

Calhoon views motivation as having two major components: (1) a shortage, drive, need, or motive, and

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[13] John W. Bennett and Melvin M. Tumin, Social Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 301.

[14] Maslow, op. cit., p. 65.

(2) an object, condition, goal, or incentive related to the need.[15] In an action sense, however, another component is injected. This is the insight or the way a person looks at both the need and the goal.[16] Persons do not act randomly but always in conformity with their definition of the situation--they act in terms of their conceptions of what is and what they think they should do. Dewey and Humber claim that to understand a person's action it is necessary to know what his concepts of social behavior are; that is, how he looks at or interprets social behavior.[17] The interaction of insight and need determines what a person will do or how he will go about meeting the need. The way in which people proceed to solve problems is dependent upon the way they conceive the factors interacting in the problem situation.

Insight affects needs in many ways. How a person views the probability of success or the consequences of striving for a goal may bring about a conflict of needs. This may cause tensions, anxieties, indecisiveness as to

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[15] Richard Percival Calhoon, Managing Personnel (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1963), p. 248.

[16] Judson S. Brown, The Motivation of Behavior (New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1961), p. 24.

[17] Dewey and Humber, op. cit., p. 189.

choice of response, ambivalence, and frustration.[18] Conflict is present when a person is simultaneously confronted with two needs that are incompatible, and it may continue to act as a disturbing force without immediate resolution. Individuals have different levels of tolerance, however. Also, the amount of effort expended to achieve a goal is determined by not only a person's level of aspiration and how much he wants to reach it but also by the expectation or belief that he will achieve it.[19] In this regard, it is to be noted that the goal or objective must be conceived as attainable or else the individual will lose interest.

Repeated failure to master a problem or to substitute alternative goals may result in anxiety and a feeling of frustration or helplessness.[20] How a person reacts to frustration is contingent upon the nature of the individual, how much the goal was expected and wanted, and the source of frustration. Some of the more common reactions by employees to frustrations, cited by Calhoon,

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[18] Calhoon, op. cit., p. 250.

[19] Ibid., p. 252.

[20] A. H. Maslow and Bela Mittelmann, Principles of Abnormal Psychology (New York: Harper and Brothers, Inc., 1941), pp. 50-52.

include: increased effort, acceptance of the situation, aggression, compensation, and rationalization.[21]

The same motive can cause different behavior at different times, vary with individuals, and the same behavior can result from different motives. For example, absenteeism may be caused largely by lack of interest in the job at one time, by disagreement with a person at another, and/or by a combination of needs.

The Needs or Drives

Psychologists differ over the number of categories of motivating factors. Most, however, would agree that there are at least two categories, commonly referred to as primary and secondary drives. A modification of a systematic scheme designed by Stagner and Korwalski outlining the drives is reflected as follows:

1. Primary Drives. These are the innate, biogenic, or unlearned drives. The most elementary forms of energy mobilization arise from definite biological needs of the organism. Hunger, thirst, oxygen lack, escape from pain--these readily suggest some of the conditions which give rise to motivational behavior.

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[21] Calhoon, op. cit., p. 260.

2. Secondary Drives. These are the acquired, sociogenic, or learned motives. Two types are involved. The first has specific physiological referents and includes such motives as fear, anger, hate, disgust, and grief which imply some inner state leading to more or less vigorous activity. They differ from biological drives in that they are less closely tied to physical needs and are more related to external conditions. The other type refers to the higher order of motivational drives and are known as values and interests. They are at a more complex, subtle level and are the energizing effects of broad new physical tendencies. These needs are psychological or social in nature and are strongly conditioned by culture, society, and individual personality or temperament.[22]

As previously indicated, motivational behavior has directional character involving either action toward a desired objective or away from an aversive condition. The direction also has a dimension of intensity, for example,

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[22]Lester D. Crow and Alice Crow, Readings in General Psychology (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1954), pp. 287-90.

wanting something very badly or only slightly.[23] The intensity with which goals to satisfy needs are pursued is determined in part by the personality make-up of the individual, such as his degree of aggressiveness. If the physiological level is involved, it appears in the form of an energy-producing mechanism which helps keep the behavior of the person up to the demands of his interests and goals. The tangible goal object which provides the stimulus that leads to goal activity is an incentive. An object, when perceived or anticipated, which directs behavior toward itself classifies as a positive incentive, whereas one which directs behavior away from itself is a negative incentive. A painful incentive, when encountered, acts as a drive when merely anticipated, as in threatened punishment; it classifies as a negative incentive. Positive and negative incentives are always perceived or anticipated, and they exist in an environment.

Dewey and Humber point out that one of the most obvious of the principles of human activity is the one that holds persons do what is pleasurable and avoid that which is unpleasant.[24] This, of course, relates to the

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[23] Richard S. Lazarus, Adjustment and Personality (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1961), p. 43.

[24] Dewey and Humber, op. cit., p. 187.

pleasure-pain principle. Individuals in this concept never do anything they do not want to do, at least in the sense that what is done is less unpleasant than suffering the consequences of not having done it. What a person does is in terms of his value systems; that is, in terms of things which he has learned to esteem as valuable, such as material goods, the approval of associates and friends, or the attainment of a status that meets his ideal. The pleasures sought by individuals may not at times be readily obvious to others since many of the acts deemed pleasurable are made because they enable one to escape or avoid unpleasant experiences.

Economic reward has received considerable attention in the study of motivation, especially since early studies conducted by F. W. Taylor.[25] However, recent writers, such as William F. White, criticize the concept of financial incentive as a primary motivator and suggest greater emphasis on a more adequate concept of needs and wants of employees as motivators.[26]

Money is wanted that something may be purchased. It falls in the category of desires cited by Maslow as

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[25] Dalton E. McFarland, Management Principles and Practices (second edition; New York: The McMillan Company, 1964), p. 542.

[26] Calhoon, op. cit., p. 261.

means to an end.[27] Gross, discussing the role of economic gain, sees it as not a major interest in itself but, rather, as a means of gratifying a number of interests.[28]

Maslow describes man as a wanting individual who rarely reaches a state of complete satisfaction except for a short period. As one desire is satisfied, another emerges to take its place.[29] The presence of tension, energy, and drive in this process is all important.

The Motivational Process

The motivational process is described by McFarland as circular, in that it begins with a tension or drive.[30] The individual in this state is acutely conscious of unfulfilled needs. Next, there follows a restlessness and a search for the means of fulfilling the need. Finally, the need is to some extent fulfilled, or goals redefined, and need satisfaction is attained. The process is completed when the person evaluates the extent of satisfaction obtained and makes decisions about behavior which

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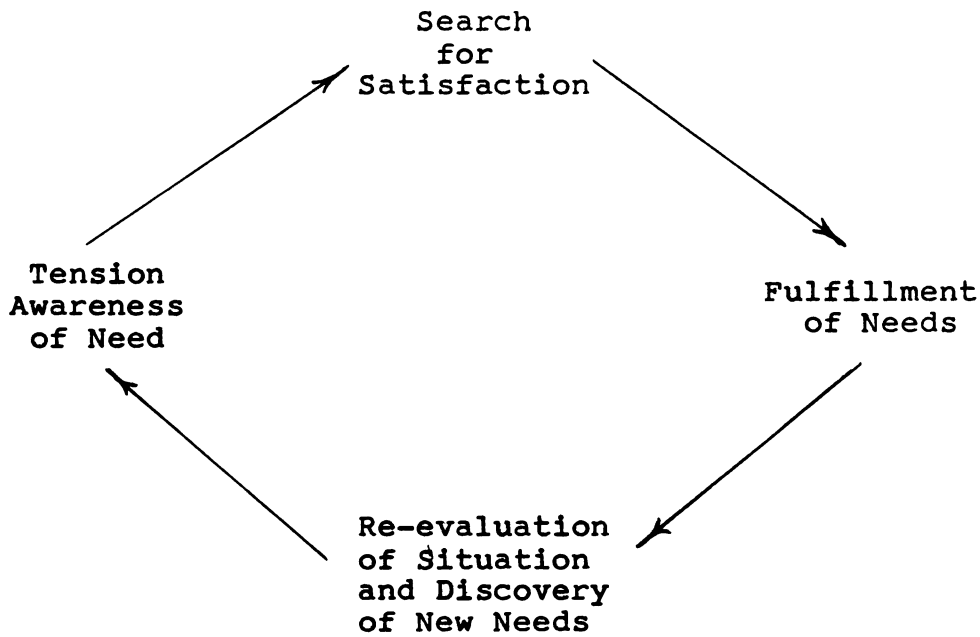
[27] Maslow, op. cit., p. 66.

[28] Bertram M. Gross, The Managing of Organizations: The Administrative Struggle (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 331.

[29] Maslow, op. cit., p. 69.

[30] McFarland, op. cit., p. 521.

is to follow. This process is diagrammed by McFarland as follows:



Theories of Motivational Factors

Various theories have been advanced to explain the inner motivations of human behavior. Among the foremost is the theory of the fundamental or basic wishes developed by W. I. Thomas which provides a classification of the concrete desires in terms of their significance for the expression of the impulses of a person. Other psychologists describe needs as existing in the form of either a hierarchy or a continuum.

The Basic Wishes or Desires

Thomas, one of America's pioneer social psychologists, lists four basic wishes or desires that are present in all individuals regardless of their cultural environment. These wishes are classified as follows:

1. The desire for new experience.
2. The desire for security.
3. The desire for response.
4. The desire for recognition.[31]

The above wishes are set forth by Thomas as categories, not as conscious and concrete wishes. The four categories taken together are to be understood as inclusive, comprehending all the positive wishes of a person. The categories are mutually exclusive in that satisfaction of one type cannot be substituted for satisfaction of another. Every person to be a wholesome and adjusted personality must realize adequate satisfaction of each type of wish.[32] The wishes that fall into these four categories may be satisfied in innumerable ways. The means by which they will be defined, or satisfied, is a

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[31]Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Loche, The Family (New York: American Book Company, 1945), pp. 302-28.

[32]Dewey and Humber, op. cit., p. 178.

function of the interaction of the individual with his environment. The degree of development of each of the wishes varies from individual to individual and from culture to culture. The wishes are set forth as follows.

The Desire for New Experience. This desire, which includes curiosity, is the positive aspect of man's capacity for boredom. The human organism is of such a nature that it is capable of becoming bored with almost any experience if confronted with it repeatedly and without respite. This desire, as with the other wishes, can lead to activity which is normal or abnormal, to behavior which will result in great benefit to mankind or to its near destruction. The unique experience of the individual, plus the social heritage in which the experience takes place, will determine the type of activity to which the desire for novelty leads. The person with a broad education is capable of satisfying his felt needs in a variety of socially approved ways, whereas the person of meager means is forced to push relatively simple narrow drives to pathological ends in order to satisfy his appetite for variety.

Another aspect of the new experience wish is that the strength of the wish can be enhanced by withholding from individuals the opportunity to experience a particular

phase of activity. This is the basis for the saying that the forbidden fruit is sweeter.

Supporters of the theory of the fundamental wishes are quick to emphasize that it is not possible to explain or control much of a person's social behavior without taking into account the desire for new experience or, otherwise described, for variety that disperses boredom.[33]

The Desire for Response. This is the need for affection, ranging from that of the parent's love for his children to the informal affectional bonds which unite groups. It may have a sexual component, but it is not inevitably connected with sex. The primary groups, such as the family, neighborhood, play or congeniality groups, provide for this need for response; and it is for this reason that some form of primary group relationship is essential in any society if maladjustment is not to be common. This is true of any culture.

Just as boredom is the negative aspect of the desire for new experience, so loneliness is the other side of the desire for response. The desire for companionship is present in all normal persons as a motive to social behavior.

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[33] Ibid., p. 180.

The Desire for Recognition. The desire for recognition, or the desire to be noticed, is present in every normal person. Few persons exist who do not possess this desire in high degree. The manner in which one gets recognition is determined by his interactive existence within a certain cultural milieu. The individual will select the role which gives maximum recognition, without losing for him the satisfaction of the other basic needs. The desire for social approval is one aspect of the desire for recognition, but not all of it. The individual will seek social approval, but, if this is not forthcoming, he will seek recognition even if it does not carry approval. This often may be the case of the notorious outlaw.

Another way in which the desire for recognition emerges is found in the multiple "confessions" of guilt which a bizarre and unsolved crime frequently evokes.

There is incalculable evidence of the desire for recognition. Military awards, the status of the Phi Beta Kappa key, the numerous athletic letters, and similar awards all testify to this. Evidence of the importance of recognition is also seen in its motivating of persons in the selection of careers. There, no doubt, would be fewer physicians, surgeons, scientists, and other hard-working professionals if it were not for the high status accorded

them. Professional persons, no less than others, will work hard if the esteem of their fellowman is the award. In this regard, it is noted that one of America's better known psychologists believes that:

> In motivation, the craving for recognition, status, and personal appreciation turns out to be supreme, so much so that our conceptions of procedure and policy in industrial relations, in education, and in psychotherapy are profoundly affected.[34]

The Desire for Security. This is reflected in the extreme conformity of the members of a primitive society wherein ostracism is tantamount to death, but it is also manifested in joining a labor union, in paying taxes for police protection, paying for fire and accident insurance, seeking permanent job tenure or seniority, and spending years in preparation for a profession or other occupation. A major part of the tax dollar is spent by the government in efforts to provide security for its citizens. Military expenditures, pensions, funds for medicare, and unemployment insurance are all directed toward security.

The desire for security does not have reference to as specific categories of behavior as do the desires for response, recognition, and new experience. In fact, the threat to any of man's biogenic or sociogenic needs is a

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[34] Ibid., p. 183.

threat to his security. If man cannot predict the fulfillment of his needs with a reasonable degree of certainty--the degree often determined by cultural values--he loses his sense of security. Just what the degrees of certainty are that a person considers adequate depend upon both the nature of the culture within which he lives and the personal-social values which have developed from his experiences within that culture. Every culture has its own definition of security which it esteems.

The four basic wishes described above, like the other secondary or acquired drives, are unconsciously learned. Any given action may satisfy more than one of these drives to behavior.

The Need Continuum

Haire has designed a continuum of needs which includes: (1) physical needs similar to primary needs; (2) social needs or the need to affiliate or associate with others and to give and receive affection; and (3) egoistic needs, involving a particular view of one's self and one's ego. Social and egoistic needs are numerous and have never been exhaustively listed, identified, or definitely classified. In addition, all these various needs may conflict with one another, arousing in

individuals feelings of frustration at the difficulty of assigning values to them.[35]

The Hierarchy of Needs

Many psychologists have suggested a hierarchy of needs on the basis of their importance. Probably the best known within this view is the widely used need hierarchy developed by A. H. Maslow who outlines five levels of human needs.[36] The five categories listed by Maslow may be presented in a stairstep diagram as shown in Figure 1.

The diagram represents an oversimplification since the needs are not mutually exclusive. All of them may be present in some degree even though there is a difference in emphasis.[37]

These five categories represent priority levels. Individuals tend to satisfy the physiological needs first before satisfying the second level and so on. For example, the hungry man seeks food rather than companionship in work. As Maslow states, "Man lives by bread alone when there is no bread."[38] It is only after the hunger and other basic needs are satisfied, or at least partially

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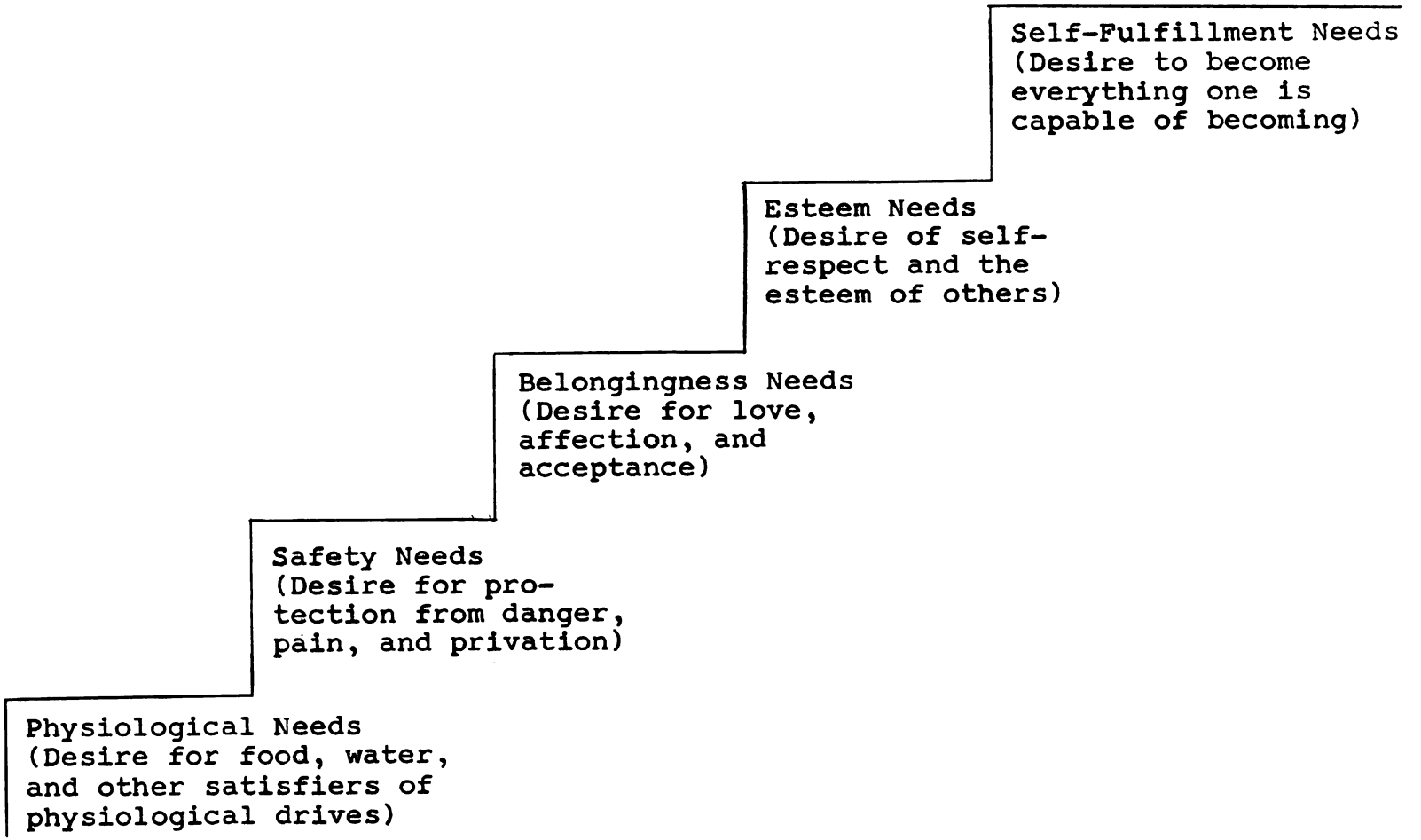
[35] McFarland, op. cit., p. 524.

[36] Maslow, op. cit., pp. 80-106.

[37] Ibid., p. 102.

[38] Ibid., p. 84.

FIGURE 1


Self-Fulfillment Needs
(Desire to become
everything one is
capable of becoming)
Esteem Needs
(Desire of self-
respect and the
esteem of others)
Belongingness Needs
(Desire for love,
affection, and
acceptance)
Safety Needs
(Desire for pro-
tection from danger,
pain, and privation)
Physiological Needs
(Desire for food, water,
and other satisfiers of
physiological drives)

satisfied, that the individual thinks about social needs. When a need is fairly well satisfied, the next higher need emerges in turn to dominate the person's consciousness, since gratified needs no longer serve as motivators. Maslow's view is that only when the first four levels are satisfied will attention be shifted to the highest need for self-realization or self-actualization--the achievement of more extensive long-range goals in life. Few persons attain the advanced stages of self-realization, which express the fullest accomplishment and achievement of the individuals.

It is to be noted that the components of motivation set forth by Maslow closely approximate those outlined by Thomas. "The desire for security" described by the latter is matched by Maslow's "safety needs." "The desire for response" cited by Thomas is equated to Maslow's "love needs," and "the desire for recognition" of Thomas becomes the "esteem needs" in Maslow's scheme of motivation. Less obviously related are "the desire for new experience" of Thomas and the "need for self-actualization" of Maslow. However, of this latter, Maslow writes that if all of the other needs are met:

> We may still often (if not always) expect that a new discontent and restlessness will soon develop,

unless the individual is doing what he is fitted for.[39]

The Multiplicity of Individual Interests

Another writer, B. M. Gross, has divided human interests or needs into four broad categories as follows:

1. Survival: Physiology, safety, activity.
2. Commergence: Belonging, conformity, affection.
3. Differentiation: Status, respect, power.
4. Self-Development: Learning, creativity, love.[40]

As Gross states, this is merely a way of stating that persons are interested in surviving, in being "a part" of something, of being somewhat "apart" from others, and in developing their full potentialities. Many actions may satisfy these interests all at once although in different proportions. The interests are mutually reinforcing and the relations between them extremely complex. According to Gross, the motive power of any one interest may be affected by the extent to which others are satisfied or frustrated, and activities seen as relating to one type of interest may serve as a substitute for action to meet another interest. Following Maslow, Gross recognizes the possible operation of a certain hierarchy of interests.

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[39] Ibid., p. 91.

[40] Gross, op. cit., pp. 319-30.

Gross notes that the concept of a multiplicity of interests stands in contrast to various theories of single motivation, such as economic gain, sex, or something else as sole determining object of human desire. He adds that a single motivational theory is acceptable only if a distinction is made between real human beings and the economist's "economic man" or the "sex driven man" appearing in popular misinterpretations of Freud.[41]

The above concepts of needs are important to an understanding of human endeavor. Any one set, such as the hierarchy outlined by Thomas, may serve as a general model which substantially reflects realities in organized activity. Both supervisor and subordinates seek satisfaction within the model; their specific wants are determined by the values placed upon satisfying their various needs.

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[41] Ibid., p. 321.

CHAPTER III

A MODEL FOR CONTROL

> It seem'd she was a queen over her possession,
> who most rebel-like sought to be king o'er her.
> Shakespeare.[1]

General

Ideas on the most effective means for prediction and control of personnel engaged in organized activity are nothing new. They unfold through history and include thoughts of the ancients. Writers often quote the administrative wisdom of Jethro in his advice to Moses on "how to judge people" or the Confucian or Platonic ideas on how to govern a state.[2]

Organized activity itself is as old as the history of mankind. As Simon notes, when two persons first cooperated to roll a stone that neither could have moved alone, the rudiments of administration appeared. Viewed in this light, Selznick states organization is the structural expression of rational action.[3]

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[1] George H. Stevenson and Leola E. Neal, Personality and Its Deviation (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1947), p. 84.

[2] Gross, op. cit., p. 32.

[3] Philip Selznick, "Foundations of the Theory of Organization," American Sociological Review, XIII (February, 1948), 25-35.

The term "administration" has many interpretations. One of the simplest and most common concepts refers to it as the coordination of men, methods, and material to achieve certain, specified goals. Some type of coordinative action has always been involved in endeavors of persons with a common purpose. Historically, administrative activity has come down through the centuries from the most simple form to the highly complex, large-scale systems of today's modern world. The tremendous strides of technology, especially during and since the Industrial Revolution, have caused fundamental changes in both administrative theory and practice. Along with this has been an ever changing social milieu with emphasis on recognition of the dignity of the individual and his rights in a group. No longer does the authoritarian master-slave relationship of the past fit. The democratic ideal has permeated the total environment. This, accompanied by increased education and greater employment opportunities, has altered substantially the role of the individual in modern organizations. Today, that role is one of an individual whose satisfactions and welfare must be taken into account if the organization is to achieve lasting success.[4]

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[4]John M. Pfiffner and Frank P. Sherwood, Administrative Organization (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 3-15.

Although administrative activity itself is age-old, the study of administration is of relatively recent origin. Only in the twentieth century has administrative thought gathered momentum as a differentiated field for scientific research with conscientious observation, abstract theory, and a conceptual language of its own. This, Gross states, has been both a product of the "administrative revolution" and a factor which has helped "spin still faster the wheel of administrative innovation and historical change."[5]

The study of administration has been approached from various viewpoints covering a spectrum with concern for the job itself on one end to the behavior of the individual on the other. The different approaches often are identified as the Legal-Constitutional, Scientific Management, Principles, Human Relations, and Behavioralistic approaches.

The Legalistic approach conceives administration in terms of law with all action taken in accordance with a legally prescribed procedure. The system itself has little, if any, flexibility and reflects no faith in the individual. The Scientific Management approach developed through an emphasis on efficiency. There is only one goal--

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[5]Gross, op. cit., pp. 91-118.

the best way to get the job done. The Principles approach, still in vogue today, embodies a pyramid structure outlining how activity should be accomplished; whereas, the Human Relations approach concentrates upon the individual and considers ignoring the human factor responsible for lack of success in the Principles approach. Finally, the Behavioralistic approach, encompassing many disciplines, wants to know how individuals actually behave in organized activity, not how some organizational chart reflects that they should perform.[6]

Organizational Theory

The control of personnel engaged in organized endeavors begins with the nature of the organization itself. The goals, organizational structure, internal functioning, as well as the entire surroundings, are all factors relating to the success or failure of members of organizations. It is here that an individual, devoting much of his adult lifetime, is greatly influenced in philosophical orientation. In this regard, Arnold Tannenbaun states that, "Man's life in contemporary society can be characterized largely as one of

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[6]Raymond T. Galvin, "The Study of Administration" (lecture on Advanced Law Enforcement and Public Safety Administration at Michigan State University on October 1, 1964).

organizational membership." He continues that:

> Man's motivation, aspiration, his general way of life, are tied inextricably to the organization of which he is a part--and even to some which he is not.[7]

Tannenbaun adds that characterizing an organization in terms of its patterns of control is to describe an essential universal aspect of control, an aspect of organizational environment to which every member must face and adjust. To Tannenbaun, organization implies control, and it is the function of control to ensure that organizational requirements are properly met and the ultimate goals achieved.[8]

The Institutional Subculture

The organization is conceived by modern administrative theories as a social entity subject to the same kind of influences, pressures, conflicts, and prejudices as any of the social organisms.[9] Organization, in this sense, refers to the complete body with all its functions correlated into a grand design toward a common

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[7]Charles P. Bonini, Robert H. Joedicke, and Harvey M. Wagner (eds.), Management Controls: New Directions in Basic Research (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1964), p. 248.

[8]Ibid., pp. 248-49.

[9]Pfiffner and Sherwood, op. cit., p. 13.

purpose. As social entities, cultural systems, or "subcultures," with unique properties develop within the organization. How unique the modes of behavior and beliefs are will vary with the total milieu of both the organization and the greater community. In this connection, Sherwood and Pfiffner believe that ecological factors and the nature of the work are the most significant determinants of character and commitment by individual members.[10] Isolation, they state, is particularly important as a conditioning factor because it results in less opportunity for cross-fertilization with other systems. In addition, they point out that the type of work helps to establish an institutional subculture. This is especially true where the organization is relatively homogeneous and where opportunity for employment mobility is restricted.[11]

Gross notes, however, that the organization existing within an environment is not a closed system. The total environment of which the organization is a part may give rise to "conflicts, obstacles, or changing circumstances."[12] The organization is surrounded by a complex array of people, other organizations, and opinions

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[10] Ibid., p. 265.

[11] Ibid., p. 266.

[12] Gross, op. cit., p. 246.

that interrelate with it on the basis of various roles. The role of public opinion and its impact in this situation, Gross states, must also be recognized.[13]

Goals

Generally, the goals of an organization are considered to be its reason in being. That is, an automobile manufacturing company exists because of its objective to produce and sell automobiles. In the past, organizations were seen as having single purposes. However, Sherwood and Pfiffner point out that this concept no longer is adequate in the complex world of today.[14] Contemporary organizations, they state, must be concerned with multiple purposes. For example, the purpose of military commanders in past eras was clear and simple: conquer. The construction of the pyramids entailed the single goal of completion. However, the goal orientation for most organizations is no longer this simple. The intangible goal of efficiency developed over the last century has been supplemented in modern organizations with employee satisfaction and welfare. Also, recognition has emerged that organizations are part of a larger social

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[13] Ibid., p. 411.

[14] Pfiffner and Sherwood, op. cit., p. 12.

system which cannot operate in conflict with the goals of the larger community. In this regard, Selznick points out that since organizations themselves are social institutions, to be successful, administrators must develop a greater awareness of this broadened responsibility.[15]

It is, therefore, Pfiffner and Sherwood add, not merely a question of organizing to build the pyramids as effectively as possible. Today, the questions of maximum use of resources, of employee interests, and of the interrelationship with the total community must also be considered.[16]

An organization may have informal as well as formal goals. Cressey, in a study of two prisons oriented along different lines as concerns treatment of inmates, found variation in official policy not only in stated goals but also in implications for achieving unstated goals. He concludes that an organization's official, formal policy has important effects on achievement of unstated goals; that an organization's arrangement with the larger social system both determine and affect accomplishment of unstated goals; and official substitution of informal for

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[15]Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957), p. 4.

[16]Pfiffner and Sherwood, op. cit., p. 13.

formal control mechanisms does not necessarily produce increased efficiency in accomplishing informal goals.[17]

It is extremely important that the goals of an organization be clearly defined and evaluated. In the absence of well-defined objectives and a clear philosophy of managing, control is practically unattainable, regardless of the techniques used. Of utmost importance, also, is the continued reappraisal of the organization's position in relation to the total community.

The Traditional Model

The traditional or formal model for organizing collective efforts toward a common goal is still the basis for most organization in contemporary society. This concept, which reflects the Principles approach in the school of administrative thought, has its origin mainly in the military and represents the best example of pure hierarchy. The term "organization" within this concept is defined as: the arrangement of persons with a common purpose to enable the performance of related tasks grouped for the purpose of assignment, and the establishment of areas of responsibility with clear-cut channels of communication or

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[17] Amitai Etizioni, Complex Organization (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1961), pp. 68-177.

authority.[18] Among other factors, the model stresses command authority, a narrow span of control, and a highly refined functionalization of tasks. Implicit in this is the subordination of individual interests to the general interest and rigid discipline. Basic to the philosophy is the concept of command as the technique of administration. Pfiffner and Sherwood reflect that the climate from which this philosophy derived was mainly predemocratic in the sense that nineteenth century industrial institutions were predemocratic.[19]

The German, Max Weber, postulated a model of formal organization which has widespread acceptance in administrative thought. Weber designed an "ideal type" of bureaucracy which consisted of:

> Emphasis on Form. This concerns emphasis on the form of the organization.
>
> The Concept of Hierarchy. The organization follows the principle of hierarchy, with each lower office under control and supervision of a higher one.

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[18] Raymond T. Galvin, "Organizational Theory" (lecture on Advanced Law Enforcement and Public Safety Administration at Michigan State University on November 5, 1964).

[19] Pfiffner and Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

Specialization of Tasks. Incumbents are chosen on the basis of merit and ability to perform specialized aspects of a total operation.

Specified Sphere of Competency. This suggests that the relationships between various specializations should be clearly known and observed. The use of job descriptions is an application of this.

Established Norms of Conduct. There should be as little as possible that is unpredictable. Policies should be enunciated and implemented.

Records. Administrative acts, decisions, and rules should be recorded as a means of ensuring predictability of performance.[20]

Fayol, Gulick, and Urwick are among others notable for models reflecting characteristic formal organization.[21] Although each differs from others in many aspects, most would more or less agree with the following model as highlighting the principles of formal organization:

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[20] Ibid., p. 51.

[21] Gross, op. cit., pp. 131 and 143-45.

Division of Labor. If a task requires more than one person, then specialize. This, in turn, may be categorized into either functional or nonfunctional. Nonfunctional divides work on a time-space basis, whereas functional divides it by purpose, process, or clientele.

Delineation of Responsibility. This holds that every member should know how he fits into the organization, to whom he is responsible, who is responsible to him, along with a description of his duties.

Span of Control. This states that there is a limited number of individuals that can be effectively supervised by one supervisor.

Unity of Command. A subordinate should be under the direct control of one, and only one, supervisor.

Authority Commensurate with Responsibility. Individuals should have authority commensurate with the responsibility they hold.

Some of the principles, of course, are more directly related to the formal control of personnel than

others. However, over-all, the model is designed for the prediction and control of behavior toward a stated objective.

The formal model has been strongly criticized, especially by the more recent students of administration. Criticism hinges primarily on the fact that it only considers how things should be done, not how they actually are done. The underlying assumption is that man will behave rationally, that is, as the formal design requires him to behave. It fails to consider, among other factors, informal groups and their manner of operation in organizations, as well as various social processes of interactions influenced by a sociometric network, a system of functional contacts, a grid of decision-making centers, patterns of power, and channels of communication overriding the formal structure.[22] As Simon and his co-authors note:

> Practical rules simply do not exist which can be applied in an automatic or mechanical fashion to actual organizational problems.[23]

The principle of specialization of tasks is frequently criticized. The concept holds that quality and quantity will increase by concentrating effort on a

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[22] Pfiffner and Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 16-32.

[23] Gross, op. cit., p. 315.

limited field of endeavor. Argyris states that inherent in specialization are three assumptions: that the human personality will behave more efficiently as specialization increases; that there can be one best way to define a job; and that any individual differences in the personality may be ignored. He attacks these assumptions by citing, in turn, three difficulties which arise: self-actualization of the personality is curtailed; specialization requires the individual use only a few of his abilities; and there is a tendency to use the lesser motor abilities. In short, Argyris states, specialization "inhibits self-actualization" and provides expression for a few shallow, skin surface abilities that do not provide the "endless challenge" desired by the healthy personality.[24]

The span of control concept as a factor dictating the number of personnel to be supervised has been widely criticized as unrealistic. The concept states that efficiency is maximized by limiting the number of subordinates whose work interlocks. The specified number varies among students but hovers around six to eight. The extent to which the supervisor can maintain effective

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[24]Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1957), p. 59.

communication with subordinates rests at the center of the argument for a limited span of control. Further, it is held that the larger the span, the more possibilities there are for forming subgroups, each presenting the supervisor with particular social interactions. Thus, a mathematical projection by Graicunos holds that as the number of persons progresses mathematically, the number of relationships which may demand the attention of the supervisor increases geometrically.[25] Gulick states that among the various factors that may influence the optimum span are the capacity of the individual supervisor, the nature of the work performed, the stability of an organization, and geographical proximity to those supervised.[26]

Soujanen, who, along with Simon, has in particular attacked this concept, agrees that all these factors are of prime importance in defining supervisory relationships.[27] Consequently, he concludes there is no quick and sure formula to determine the appropriate span.[28]

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[25]Pfiffner and Sherwood, op. cit., p. 156.

[26]Gross, op. cit., p. 148.

[27]Waino W. Soujanen, "The Span of Control--Fact or Fable," Advanced Management (November, 1955), pp. 5-13.

[28]Waino W. Soujanen, "Leadership, Authority, and the Span of Control," Advanced Management (September, 1957), p. 17.

Probably the most glaring criticism, especially from the standpoint of personnel control of the formal model, is that thrown by Argyris who states that:

> An analysis of the basic properties of relatively mature human beings and formal organization leads to the conclusion that there is an inherent incongruency between the self-actualization of the two.

He adds that this basic incongruency creates a situation of conflict, frustration, and failures for participants which, he hypothesizes, will increase as the individual increases in maturity.[29]

Formal Authority

In the traditional model, authority primarily is relied upon for the achievement of goals. The concept, which sees authority flowing from top-down, finds its essential rationale in the idea that someone has the right to command, or control, and the subordinate has the duty to obey. Thus, Fayol defines authority as "the right to give orders and the power to exact obedience."[30] Weber states that authority means the probability that specific commands will be obeyed.[31] Such obedience may

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[29] Argyris, op. cit., p. 175.

[30] Henri Fayol, General and Industrial Management (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1949), p. 34.

[31] Etizioni, op. cit., pp. 4-14.

feed on diverse motives, including the compliant actor's calculation of expediency, his habituation to routine behavior, or by personel devotion of the governed. However, Weber notes, authority must also have legitimacy believed in by both the ruled and the ruler. He formulated three "ideal" types of legitimate authority, which include traditional, charismatic, and legal authority upon which to base this belief.[32]

Gross finds that all arguments to legitimize authority are based upon one or more of five themes. These are summarized as power, in the sense that "might makes right"; wisdom, in that rulers know more than the ruled; goodness, in the sense that authority stems from the concern of rulers for the interest of their subjects; divinity, the concept of ruling by "divine right"; and consent, in that the ruled sanction authority by an act of acceptance.[33] Barnard particularly has adhered to the latter theme. His idea that authority is "the character of an order in a formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted" has been widely received.[34] In this view, the decision as to whether an order has authority

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[32] Ibid. [33] Gross, op. cit., pp. 110-12.

[34] Chester I. Barnard, The Function of the Executive (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 168-69.

does not reside in those persons issuing the order. The decision lies, instead, with the persons to whom it is addressed. Even in the case of armies or totalitarian regimes, the final test of authority is whether it will be accepted.

An emphasis on the use of authority carries with it the threat of penalty. Longnecker explains this as: "Do your work or you'll be fired."[35] The assumption behind this approach, which has a single motivational basis, is that the only reason people work is to earn money and that they will work only if driven to it by fear of losing their jobs. It ignores the fact that people also want intrinsic, on-the-job satisfactions. The approach also assumes that since no one likes work, they will try to get away with as little as they can. To prevent them from doing this, Strauss and Sayles state, the concept emphasizes close supervision:

> Management must tell every worker exactly what he is to do every minute of the day; it must spell out every rule and give the worker the narrowest range of discretion.[36]

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[35] Justin G. Longnecker, Principles of Management and Organizational Behavior (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1964), p. 410.

[36] George Strauss and Leonard R. Sayles, Personnel: The Human Problems of Management (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 106.

Reliance upon authority as a single motivator for personnel performance has received wide criticism. This concept, as does the one that focuses upon economic gain as a sole motivator, reflects a hedonistic conception of man as a "lightning calculator of pleasures and pain."[37] It does little, if anything, toward instilling individual initiative.

It seems clear that authority provides strong motivation in certain individual cases. If an individual has a great respect for authority, he may respond almost automatically to directives of supervisors. Studies have shown that some persons shy away from the acceptance of responsibility and the exertion of individual initiative and are happiest under an authoritarian type of supervision.[38] Also, there are indications that an authoritarian system tends to attract those of authoritarian disposition.[39]

Individuals predisposed toward authoritarianism usually have had less opportunity for self-development. Lipset, in a study of "working class authoritarianism," found that the individual from the lower socioeconomic

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[37]Gross, op. cit., p. 194.

[38]Pfiffner and Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 364-67.

[39]Gross, op. cit., p. 300.

stratum is more likely to have been exposed to punishment, less response, and an atmosphere of tension and aggression since childhood.[40] His educational attainments and general sophistication are limited, and from childhood he has sought immediate gratification rather than engaged in activities with long-term rewards. In this connection, Lipset quotes C. C. North who states that isolation from heterogeneous environments operates to:

> Limit the source of information, to retard the development of efficiency in judgment and reasoning ability, and to confine the attention to more trivial interests in life.[41]

All of these factors, Lipset adds, produce a tendency to view relationships in black and white terms, a desire for immediate action, an impatience with talk and discussion, a lack of interest in organizations with long-range perspectives, and a readiness to follow leaders of chiliastic disposition.[42]

A question is involved as to the degree of effort that can be obtained by the authoritarian approach. Longnecker claims that a minimum performance may be achieved through authoritarian methods; however, a truly

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[40] Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 114-15.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

outstanding endeavor may be lacking.[43] The person may perform sufficiently well to avoid dismissal but lack the incentive to do an outstanding job since there is no incentive to work harder than the minimum required to avoid punishment.[44] This, of course, relates to the "pleasure-pain" principle which considers that a person will do what is sufficient to achieve pleasure over pain.

Authority entails the application of pressures. Longnecker notes that when the pressure becomes too strong, personnel may react and fight back.[45] The reactions may occur in ways that are difficult to detect or combat, and, therefore, personnel engage in behavior undesirable from the organization's point of view. He adds that too much pressure may produce nervous or psychological disorders in the individual. He concludes that although the immediate response is satisfactory, in the long run strong authoritarianism may be destructive, leading to deterioration of the organization.[46] Strauss and Sayles note that as a motivating device it is becoming increasingly less

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[43] Longnecker, op. cit., p. 410.

[44] Strauss and Sayles, op. cit., p. 108.

[45] Longnecker, op. cit., p. 410.

[46] Ibid., p. 411.

effective. People have begun to expect more from their job than mere negative incentive.[47]

The trend in organizations vying for professional status is away from authoritarianism. Janowitz states that the military organization is tending to display more and more characteristics of any large-scale nonmilitary bureaucracy.[48] This is the result of technological change which increases the size and interdependence on civilian society of the military establishment and alters its internal social structure. Technology, Janowitz notes, requires more and more professionalization of personnel. Over-all, it appears that the impact of technology has caused greater professionalization of military personnel which, in turn, is resulting in greater stress on democratic or persuasive means of control. This, no doubt, is, or should be, occurring in other organizations that are becoming more professionalized.

The authoritative approach deals primarily with physiological needs by threatening punishment, such as elimination of the employee's salary. However, now with the rise in education and the standard of living, people have begun to look for social and egoistic satisfactions.

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[47]Strauss and Sayles, op. cit., pp. 106-07.

[48]Etizioni, op. cit., pp. 198-212.

With satisfaction of physiological needs, the satisfaction of other needs has become important in motivating behavior.[49]

The Concept of Control

Terry defines control as the process of determining what is to be accomplished; what is being accomplished; evaluating the performance; and, if necessary, applying corrective measures so that performance takes place according to plans.[50] Gross attributes two meanings to the term "control." The first is "administration" in the sense of domination, or power and authority, as when reference is made to those in control. The other meaning entails "supervision" in the sense of checking up on what has been done and taking corrective action if necessary.[51] The word has many definitions and has the serious shortcoming of having its meaning vary in different contexts. Most of the meanings are negative ones that connote adherence, or obedience, by subordinates to orders emanating from "above." In this sense, the word has a ring of authority about it.

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[49]Strauss and Sayles, op. cit., p. 107.

[50]George R. Terry, Principles of Management (third edition revised; Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1960), p. 529.

[51]Gross, op. cit., pp. 263-64.

Koonitz suggests the need for developing a conceptual framework for dealing with the subject of control. He notes that "control" is one of the most widely discussed and studied areas of administration, yet little attempt has been made to formulate principles for practicing managers, helpful in training them and suitable for guiding research.[52] Jerome, however, feels that this would not be particularly edifying since control by precept "is as unwieldy as management by numbers."[53]

Generally, the concept of control includes the regulation of organized activity. It involves an appraisal of an organization's over-all performance in achieving objectives at the highest level and, to the much lower level, of the line supervisor checking the operational progress of subordinates. At every echelon of the organization, behavior of members must be controlled and corrective action as indicated initiated. The function of controlling, of course, assumes the existence of some objective.

Formal and often detailed reports or records are often associated with control. Longnecker notes, however,

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[52]William Travers Jerome III, Executive Control--The Catalyst (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1961), p. 29.

[53]Ibid.

that in themselves these are only of historical value.[54] They do not constitute control but, rather, provide a basis for it. He adds in this regard that control is concerned with the present--"a regulation of what is happening."[55] Longnecker, in noting that the extent and nature of control may vary with the situation, states that an excessive amount may lead to a system involving voluminous reports that, regardless, fails to accomplish that for which it is designed.[56]

Adverse Reactions

Few individuals react favorably to limitations on their behavior. Consequently, unanticipated and adverse reactions may result from attempts of close control of organizational activity. Longnecker has cited a number of unwanted reactions described as the narrow viewpoint, premium on the short run, evasion, and adverse morale.[57]

Narrow Viewpoint. This results from a propensity of controls to limit the individual's vision or concern to his own sphere, with disregard for over-all organizational values. In industry, for example, a pay incentive system

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[54]Longnecker, op. cit., p. 460.

[55]Ibid., p. 464.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid., pp. 465-69.

may base the reward upon quantity output to the extent that quality suffers.

Short Run vs. the Long Run. Controls may often encourage a short-run course of action which may run counter to long-run interests of the organization. For example, Jasenski reports undesirable reactions of supervisors in a particular situation to efficiency ratings of their sections. Ratings were compiled monthly to reflect accomplishments of the section during the period. Management took the reports seriously, and, as a result, section supervisors were under considerable pressure to "look good" each month. As the end of the month approached, all attention was shifted to completing units in order to get them beyond checkpoints into other sections. In this way, they would show up as completed work in the completing section's efficiency rating.[58] Similar results were noted in a completely different culture, the Soviet Union, in a situation where factory managers work under a monthly output plan. Berliner reports that plant managers there are under tremendous pressures to achieve quotas. This has resulted in the practice of "storming"--that is,

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[58] Frank J. Jasenski, "Use and Misuse of Efficiency Control," Harvard Business Review, XXXIV (July-August, 1956), 105-12.

concentrating great effort upon production in the last part of each month.[59] Short-run expediencies may lead to a number of consequences, such as: personnel and equipment are subject to unnecessary idleness during other periods of the month because of the uneven distribution of work, and over-all poorer quality, especially during the rush period at the end of the month.

Falsification of Reporting. The individual who is subject to strong controls may be tempted to "beat the system" by looking good on paper. Various means may be used for this purpose. In the above cited Jasenski study, top supervisors were sometimes guilty of fudging figures.[60] To equalize efficiency ratings of departments under their direction, supervisors would transfer personnel "on paper" from low efficiency departments to ones with high ratings. This produced a more consistent ratio of output to man-power in the various departments. Soviet managers, reportedly, also practiced the "sharp pencil" techniques to make their records appear satisfactory. In effect, this involves "juggling" figures to reflect what the

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[59] Joseph S. Berliner, "A Problem in Soviet Business Administration," Administrative Science Quarterly, I (June, 1956), 86-101.

[60] Jasenski, loc. cit.

supervisor wants them to show. An opposite type of falsification occurs from a desire to avoid exceeding a quota too much in any one period. A quota may be deliberately underfulfilled to keep from "looking too good."[61] The purpose of this is to give higher management the impression that pressure is being maintained on personnel in the department. This results from the fact that if quotas are repeatedly fulfilled, there is a tendency of management to either increase the quota or reduce the number of personnel in the department.

Adverse Morale Effects. The malfunctioning of controls may have an adverse effect on personnel morale. The combination of pressure and seemingly necessary or illogical behavior hardly serves to increase enthusiasm for the organization. If management appears unreasonable in the application of controls, this can disturb subordinates and result in unfavorable conditions for their control. Seeing top management resorting to deviant methods, they lose respect and may themselves engage in such activity. A supervisor, for example, may refuse to accept reasonable explanations for a delay. As a result, the subordinate must be satisfied with an unreasonable

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[61] Berliner, loc. cit.

evaluation by his supervisor or resort to one or more of the devious means for combating the situation. Those subject to such types of control understandably, themselves, may be hard to control.[62]

Reward and Punishment

All organizations impose restrictions upon behavior of individual members in the way of rules of conduct. There seem also to be some who do not subscribe to the rules and become recalcitrant and oblivious to their responsibilities to the organization and its personnel. At this point disciplinary action must be initiated. The use of discipline requires considerable wisdom and discretion. If wrongfully used, it may breed retaliatory measures among personnel.[63] It should be undertaken when the situation demands, however. Pfiffner and colleagues note that the end result of laxity is a loss of respect on the part of subordinates rather than achievement of approval.[64] Effective discipline develops morale and provides an environment for successful accomplishments.

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[62] Longnecker, op. cit., pp. 465-69.

[63] Ibid., p. 542.

[64] John M. Pfiffner, et al., The Supervision of Personnel (third edition; Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 112.

An organization may employ a number of mechanisms in terms of overt or implied reward or punishment of personnel who deviate from established norms. These include the right to offer or withhold employment, control of advancement opportunities in the organization, financial rewards, prestige or status in the hierarchy, and disciplinary action. McFarland points out also the existence of unofficial sanctions, such as rewarding by allowing unofficial use of organizational resources or punishment by transferring personnel to undesirable locations.[65] Constructive use of discipline requires real talent. For a disciplinary action to have a motivating influence, it must be in line with the seriousness of the problem produced by the infraction. As Pfiffner and colleagues note, "the punishment must fit the offense."[66]

Types of Control

Controls, as previously indicated, vary with the situation, and the controlling function results in many different types of control. A classification of the variety of controls has been formulated by Jerome on the

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[65] McFarland, op. cit., pp. 540-41.

[66] Pfiffner, et al., op. cit., p. 126.

basis of the use of a particular control. This includes those used to:[67]

1. Standardize performance.
2. Safeguard company assets.
3. Standardize quality.
4. Set limits within delegated authority.
5. Measure on-the-job performance.
6. Planning and programing.
7. Enable balancing plans and programs.
8. Designed to motivate individuals.

Controls are necessary, of course, for any organization to function properly. The ideal control system is obvious and restraining yet neither distracting nor obstructing, inflexible while permitting discretion, and threading the organization in all directions in an inspired atmosphere seeking unit objectives. In such a system, the belief in the omnipresence of the control may be as significant as its actual existence. The question is how much control can be exerted and yet maintain maximum personnel performance. Since the best type of control varies with the situation, the matter comes down to matching the right means of control with the nature and function of the organization in question.

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[67] Jerome, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

Nature of Investigative Duties

The control of investigators offers a special challenge since investigative functions are, in themselves, quite unique. To begin with, a considerable proportion of the investigator's duties are dictated by factors, such as the rules of evidence and court decisions, outside the control of the organizational hierarchy. Also, much like the research scientist, the police investigator must proceed as developments disclosed during the course of the investigation indicate. At times he must work independently, using his own judgment in accordance with recognized investigative procedures.[68] Normally, being completely familiar with the case, he makes the decision on which leads should be accomplished and to what extent. Even the way he may write or "slant" his report, either intentionally or through ignorance, gives him considerable power.

Most of the investigator's work is performed away from the office and out of sight and personal contact with the supervisor.[69] The time in the office is consumed

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[68] International City Managers' Association, Municipal Police Administration (fifth edition; Chicago: Municipal Management Series, 1961), pp. 263-94.

[69] Ibid., p. 285.

mainly in preparing reports of investigation. Otherwise, he normally is working on a case, developing leads, or making contacts. The problem is further compounded by the fact that the time out of the office is spent in the most undesirable environment of the underworld. Contacts, out of necessity, are maintained with criminal elements. Both temptations and opportunities for defection are often presented.

The investigator often is a highly specialized officer whose proficiency and expertise in a particular area, i.e., homicide, vice, narcotics, etc., may well exceed that of his supervisor. This, coupled with the freedom of movement and discretion in action that the investigator enjoys, may result in an independent attitude toward supervisors unless properly controlled. Prevention of this type of situation requires the utmost diplomacy and ability on the part of the supervisor. Laxity may result in dire consequences. A too authoritarian approach may be construed as questioning the "professional integrity" of the investigator. The problem becomes even more pronounced if the investigator lacks the proper attitude or motivation. Because of these factors, a challenge for control is presented unlike, and greater than, almost any other area. Then, too, failure here is often more severe than in other organizations since it may result in

corruption or defection of personnel to criminal activities to the detriment of the entire endeavor. Too many controls will hamper the investigator in his duties. Consequently, there must be a balance of optimum perspective. This requires a sophisticated system of control and its implementation which will ensure maximum success without impairment of operations and one that will extend its constant influence beyond the confines of the office.

Motivational Control

The basic hypothesis of this paper is that because of the unique nature of investigative duties, the best system of control is one that motivates personnel toward organizational objectives by a positive appeal to their individual interests. This recognizes that personnel have multiple desires and entails creating and maintaining a climate where there is an integration of purposes, merging the individual's goals with those of the organization. Thus, control is used in the manner suggested by Jerome--as a catalyst to develop unrealized potential. The role, then, of control in this concept is not merely to prevent disruptive behavior but to inspire superb performance.

Until recent years, the hedonistic conception of man as an individual who could be controlled by a single motivator involving either pleasure or pain prevailed in

organizational theory and practice. Thus, economic reward, believed to be the answer to all of man's drive toward pleasure, or authority, representing punishment or the fear of punishment, were seen as the prime factors motivating persons to action. This concept has been supplanted by attempts to find empirical questions as to why men work. This has provided rich data of complexity and vitality much closer to life than the neat and simplified theories which propose to explain behavior in terms of a single motive.

There is a place, however, for the pleasure-pain principle in administrative theory and practice. Pleasure-pain appears frequently to guide behavior in most choices confronting individuals. Persons seek comforting adjustment and escape from distressing stimuli. This may be the sole guide for action for the lower forms of life but not with human beings. In their upward struggle in life, individuals modify the pleasure-pain principle to what Freud calls the reality principle--the willingness to undergo present distress in the hope of ultimate satisfaction.[70]

Thus, although authority is essential in organized life--in fact, this is what distinguishes organized

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[70]Stevenson and Neal, op. cit., p. 92.

endeavor from unorganized--it is not the sole motivator. Nor is economic reward. Money is important, however, by its versatility as a means to satisfaction of more basic needs.

Personnel behavior may be depicted as resting on a continuum with the areas of the corrupt individual and the nonproductive on one end to the outstanding performer on the other end. Defection or corruption of personnel represents complete failure in control. The objective of a control system is one that will ensure that performance is as near the outstanding gradation of the continuum as possible, as all relevant factors, including individual capacity, will permit. The art of controlling hinges on knowing as much what does not require control as what does. In any effective control system, less emphasis should be placed upon compliance and more upon stimulating imagination--the prevention of mistakes is less important than correction. Little control is necessary for those motivated; none may suffice for the unmotivated. For example, the star quarterback, satiated with motivation, needs no reminder to ensure his compliance with the coach's rules of daily practice, study of plays, etc.; however, no amount of repetition may deter the same individual from "skipping" class, doing his homework, etc.

Motivational Model

To test the hypothesis that control of investigators is best achieved through motivation, a model is presented which encompasses the drives and interests that motivate personnel to action. The model represents primarily an integration of the theories of Thomas, Gross, and Maslow. Thus, it consists of:

Security.

Status.

Social Acceptance.

Self-Development.

The above interests are scarcely mutually exclusive but may overlap in a number of categories. They constitute a model designed for the prediction and control of investigative personnel. Motivated behavior, as previously indicated, involves individual needs, goals, and behavior directed toward the goals. Organized behavior ideally will be that which makes possible the satisfaction of individual goals while at the same time achieving organizational objectives.

Security. Economic rewards represent security for those engaged in investigative functions as in other vocations. It is readily apparent in civil service regulations which govern personnel practices of most

investigative agencies and which emphasize seniority and tenure of appointment. Insecurity may arise from various situations. Pressures from such sources as the supervisor, co-workers, or the external environment may result in an individual's feeling insecure. Insecurity or lack of confidence may result from insufficient knowledge of the situation. Also, unclear directives, a supervisor who fails to let a subordinate know where he stands, inadequate training, and lack of "backing," either real or imagined, are among the many factors which may cause insecurity.

Status. This involves the need for recognition, to feel important, successful, or significant. This is no less important in investigation functions than in any type of human endeavor. Success is frequently measured by the contribution made to society through the job. Consequently, the status of the organization itself will reflect upon the status of the individual. It is particularly important to the investigator to feel respected for his position and to be proud of the organization. Therefore, an esprit de corps is important. As an individual, he takes satisfaction in knowing that he has done a job well and that others have given him credit for his accomplishments. Thus, the custom of citing a person for

a job "well done" is prevalent in the more advanced and sophisticated modern-day organizations. Individuals strive for economic security, but they also strive for economic rewards as a symbol of success. Status symbols identify a person's prestige and rank in the organization. Being in on major decisions, having prior knowledge of coming events, and being able to come to work a little later than others are all symbols of status.

Social Acceptance. This includes the need for response. It is not enough for a person to be secure in his job, to be interested in his work, and to be respected as a person. He must also feel that he belongs, that he is understood, and that he is well liked by his associates, his subordinates, and his superiors. The satisfaction of this need is not incompatible with sophisticated administrative practices. However, as previously noted, activities may often be organized without reference to this factor under the assumption that clear-cut organizational structure will get the job done. Overlooked is the fact that organizations are also social entities. People work together in the organization, but they also interact as social beings. Lines of formal authority overlie a more informal organization based on lines of cooperation. Individuals who work are not only organized in terms of

their job requirements and responsibilities but in terms of friendship, customs, and feelings. Consequently, an informal social structure exists alongside the formal framework. The informal groups cannot be prevented because they are the product of man's desire for continuous intimate association. These relationships develop spontaneously and in terms of the peculiar circumstances of both human nature of individuals and the total environment of the organization. The social and formal structure of the organization may or may not be compatible. To develop teamwork out of the social relationships, of course, is of tremendous advantage to the organization since it can help or hinder the over-all accomplishment of goals. An individual may be excluded from the social group, and, as a result of the alienation, a problem is presented for control of his behavior. The need may result in a situation of important consequence in the control of investigators. The nature of the work may tend to cause a close relationship between those engaged in such activity with the exclusion of the rest of the community.

Self-Development. This includes the need for new experience, learning, self-actualization, to avoid boredom, and entails man's seemingly insatiable drive of

curiosity. (Thus, Jefferson is quoted as: "There is not a sprig of grass that shoots uninteresting to me.")[71] The monotony of repetitious work violates the need for variety of experience. The need for self-development is closely associated with individual freedom of thought, action, and self-determination. Many of these freedoms may be sacrificed or are often sacrificed either out of necessity or by direct intent in order to gain a greater measure of stability and security. Consequently, seniority rules increase the job stability but work a hardship on the ambitious person who wishes to move ahead by extra effort and imagination. Pension plans increase security, but they also tend to hold personnel on jobs that they may or may not like in order to safeguard their tenure and pension.

Failure to satisfy the above needs may lead to individual conflicts, anxiety, or frustration which, in turn, may result in undesirable performance. In the investigative function, because of the unique characteristic of the work, it could lead to such dire consequences as defection and involvement in criminal activity. Because of this, recognition of the individual's interests

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[71] The State Journal [Lansing, Michigan], July 4, 1965, p. B-5.

or needs and integrating them with the goals of the organization are considered the best means for control of personnel.

CHAPTER IV

REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF LITERATURE

> Although detective duty lends itself more readily to corruption and abuse of authority than any other type of police work, close and intimate supervision is all but impossible. The Missouri Crime Survey.[1]

General

A research of literature discloses a scarcity of published material relating directly to the control of investigative personnel. The overwhelming majority of that which is written is contained in books which primarily concern police administration where little distinction, if any, is made between control procedures for investigative and uniformed personnel. This apparently emanates from either an oversight or an assumption that investigative and uniformed police services basically are identical, and, therefore, personnel in either may be governed by the same regulations and procedures.

A considerable portion of literature from various sources indicates an underlying feeling that the law enforcement community is failing to keep progress with the

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[1] Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1945), p. 257.

times. This is made apparent by the trend of recent United States Supreme Court decisions. Implicit in many of the court's holdings, as exemplified in Mapp v. Ohio, is a desire to discipline enforcement personnel and cause a rise in standards for enforcing the laws.[2] U. S. Supreme Court decisions consistently interpret the law with seeming emphasis on security of the individual.[3] Many claim this is at the expense of society as a whole. Some see a "complete" breakdown of law and order.[4] Voices are frequently heard claiming the court is "hamstringing" law enforcement agencies in their efforts to enforce the law, but this seems to have little or no effect on the trend in decisions. And, apparently, it is unlikely to, for the trend in Supreme Court decisions reflects a mainstream of philosophical orientation advocating the cause for individual freedom and rights that has flowed unalterably throughout the history of the United States.

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[2]Fred E. Inbau and Claude R. Sowle, Cases and Comments on Criminal Justice (second edition; Brooklyn: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1964), pp. 678-704.

[3]Frank D. Day, Criminal Law and Society (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1964), pp. 60-85.

[4]"Lawlessness in the U. S.--Warning from a Top Jurist," U. S. News and World Report (July 5, 1965), pp. 60-63.

In addition, the crime rate continues to soar. Professor Day quotes figures that reflect that in the decade 1950-60 the rate of crime nearly doubled. He adds that crime is increasing almost four times as fast as the population.[5]

Present, as well as past, literature reveals also that the extent of enforcement defection or corruption in this country is no small matter. The Denver case, previously mentioned, is only one of many. Investigations of the U. S. Senate Special Committee to Investigate Crime in Interstate Commerce in 1951 disclosed extensive collusion between criminals and law enforcement officers and extensive graft by law enforcement officers.[6] One case alone revealed that in New York City a bookmaking organization paid over one million dollars a year for police protection.[7]

Corruption or defection of personnel has marched alongside the evolution of law enforcement in this country and continues right up to the present. It reflects no

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[5]Day, op. cit., p. 61.

[6]Mabel A. Elliott, Crime in Modern Society (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), pp. 484-90.

[7]Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology (fifth edition revised; Chicago: J. B. Lippencott Co., 1955), pp. 337-38.

partiality and has infested the federal agencies and the state, rural, and municipal departments, both large and small. Blum states that any "frank assessment" must admit that some departments are providing "more than" their share of criminal offenders. He describes illicit activity by enforcement personnel as falling in one of three major categories. These include illegal acts during the course of enforcement duties, such as illegal searches and seizures, entrapment, and harassment; illicit activity not a means to legitimate enforcement ends, such as differential enforcement, bribery, and oppression of minorities; and "deviant" criminality in which persons or small groups engage in activity, such as burglary or fraud.[8]

It is not merely the flagrant cases of defection that concern this paper, however. As previously indicated, personnel performance may be depicted on a continuum with defection at one end reflecting complete failure in control. Since this paper conceives the desirable control system as one that will inspire superb performance, the concern is with the entire spectrum of relevant factors, including those which result in performance short of the desired goal.

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[8]Richard H. Blum, Police Selection (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1964), p. 54.

The Role of Investigations

Governmental investigative services represent a wide variety of jurisdictions in this country.[9] Except for the federal agencies, and some state activities, most are part of an over-all police organization serving a particular community.[10] Investigative responsibility varies with the jurisdiction; however, all agencies are delegated the basic function of impartially gathering evidence, including identification of persons involved, of official interest for some separate authority which, in turn, determines a course of action relative to the data collected. The extent of the investigation may vary with particular agencies, but primarily all investigative effort centers upon the basic function of collecting evidence for an action agency. The role of investigations basically, then, is to provide an impartial specialized investigative service into a designated matter for the community, or jurisdiction, it serves.

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[9] A. C. Germann, Frank D. Day, and Robert R. J. Gallati, Introduction to Law Enforcement (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1964), pp. 103-35.

[10] Bruce Smith, Police Systems in the United States (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1949), pp. 281-89.

Goals

Some writers include a detailed list of goals or objectives for an investigative agency while others assign it a single function defined in broad terms.

A cursory review of the various published goals reveals they are rather simple and inherent in the role of investigations. However, an analysis reveals a certain lack of specificity which in itself possibly could lead to failure in personnel control. For example, one source states that "the ultimate objective in the investigation of a crime is the conviction of the perpetrator."[11] Its achievement, the publication continues, necessitates proof in court that a crime was committed and that the perpetrator committed it. The source adds that "all efforts should be directed toward this end."[12] This, of course, seems reasonable and well within the role of investigative service. But, on careful analysis, is conviction the ultimate goal, or is, instead, the impartial gathering of material evidence as a basis for decision by some separate authority the ultimate objective? Of course, in most instances, the two stated objectives may very well

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[11] International City Managers' Association, op. cit., p. 263.

[12] Ibid.

correspond and stand as one. However, there may be occasion when misinterpretation from lack of concreteness in the assigned objective may result in undesirable motivation of individual investigators.

None of the literature reviewed recommends continuing reappraisal of goals to keep step with such matters as court decisions, changes in statutory provisions, or governmental or departmental requirements.

Evaluating Organizational Performance

There are few, if any, tangible evaluators which may be applied to investigative operations to determine if the work is being performed and, therefore, goals accomplished by the most effective means.[13] For example, in a modern industry, such as automobile manufacturing, there are actual concrete products, that is, the units themselves, which may be measured. These, in turn, may be correlated with other factors, all or most of which are internal and, therefore, controllable by the company, with the result that a fairly reasonable estimate may be made of job effectiveness. No concrete numbers of units exist in investigations work, however. There are such factors

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[13] O. W. Wilson, Police Administration (second edition; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), p. 293.

as number of cases investigated over a period of time which some administrators advocate as an instrument of measurement. However, the validity of this measuring device becomes questionable when attempts are made to operationally define a "case." How many men, how many hours, how much equipment, what is the best method, etc., to successfully complete a case? For that matter, how is it known specifically when a case is successfully resolved? Coupled with these factors, and many more which are inherent in investigative functions, are external factors, such as deployment of men to meet unusual needs, which must be considered.[14]

The number of current or pending cases, referred to as the caseload, plays an important role in planning for the number of investigators that should be assigned to an investigations activity.[15] However, Wilson notes, there is no recognized reliable method of determining the most desirable number of investigators since the optimum case-load has not been established by scientific research.[16]

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[14]O. W. Wilson, Police Planning (second edition; Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1962), pp. 273-80.

[15]International City Managers' Association, op. cit., p. 281.

[16]Wilson, Police Administration, p. 293.

The problem is aggravated by the fact that criminal offenses tend to be sporadic. As a consequence, the same number of investigators that may be overworked on occasions may be idle on others. This, of course, adds to the difficulties of control.

Evaluating Individual Performance

As for individual performance evaluation, this, according to Wilson, is not so difficult in investigative duties. He states:

> In no other branch may the accomplishments and abilities of individual officers be so accurately appraised as in the detective service, where percentage clearance by arrest and percentage property recoveries in one class of crime reflect rather closely the ability and effort of the investigating officer.[17]

There may be additional factors affecting achievement of these objectives, however. The area involved, skill of the perpetrator, selection method in assigning cases, and caseload in other classifications include some of the influencing factors. Failure to consider these and others may cause a feeling of frustration in the investigator who fails to achieve a high rate in these objectives and for which he is rated. Considering these as primary rating criteria may also cause frustration on the part of

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[17] Ibid., p. 290.

investigators assigned to cases, such as narcotics, where it is not uncommon for long hours, and even months, of concerted effort to still result in a low rate of arrests or property recoveries.

Internal Organization

The basis for failure in personnel control in some instances may rest directly with the nature of the organizational administration. Quinn Tamm, Director of the International Chiefs of Police Field Service Division, whose agency surveyed the Denver Police Department subsequent to the disclosed defections, attributes the scandal to a "complete breakdown" in administrative control. According to Tamm, adequate supervision, disciplinary measures, and an inspection system were lacking, and there was an entirely "wrong organizational and command set-up."[18]

Sutherland and Cressey find instability of the enforcement organization to be a major cause of inefficiency. The fundamental structure in many communities is modified frequently, they claim, and there appears to be no uniform pattern throughout the country. Nine "fundamental" changes in the New York Department were

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[18] Tamm, op. cit., p. 44.

made in seventy-five years; ten were made in Cincinnati; whereas only one change in the basic machinery for control was made in ninety-one years in the London Police Department. The changes in the United States system appear to Sutherland and Cressey to be due to popular clamor for change rather than an effort to reach an ideal.[19]

The need for organizing enforcement activities for personnel control is widely cited. Thus, Gourley states that the first step toward achieving objectives of a police department and ensuring compliance with policies is the establishment of an effective and appropriate organization.[20] However, Kenney states, organizations for most police departments have "just grown" with little thought to orderly development.[21]

Formal Hierarchy

The organizational set-up for investigative agencies varies in most instances only in degree. Although

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[19] Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology (sixth edition revised; Chicago: J. P. Lippencott Co., 1960), p. 344.

[20] Douglas G. Gourley, "Encouraging Compliance with Policies," Police (September-December, 1960), p. 54.

[21] John P. Kenney, Police Management Planning (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1959), p. 37.

some are more independent than others, all in one way or another form an integral part of an over-all governmental scheme of operation. A civil service commission or other regulatory body, external to the investigative organization, usually exerts influence ranging from very little to practically total in establishing personnel policies, such as pay, promotion, and tenure. Internally, the structure may vary from the centralized agency with all assigned personnel operating, or at least directed, from headquarters, to the decentralized organization with personnel assigned to local offices with little control from higher levels. Tight control and supervision of personnel invariably are recommended.

The organizational structure most recommended for police departments, which includes the investigations division, is derived from the principles model in the school of administrative organization.[22]

Functional specialization in most departments is represented by most investigative endeavors which also reflect the influence of major process in the organizational structure.[23] Subunits are usually established

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[22] R. Dean Smith, "Principles of Organization," The Police Chief (June, 1962), pp. 10-62.

[23] V. A. Leonard, Police Organization and Management (Brooklyn: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1951), p. 89.

which incorporate the investigations of cases of a similar nature.[24] In turn, individual specialization is highly recommended and "should be," according to Wilson, "the invariable rule."[25]

Specialization, such as with a detective division, may lead to friction with other divisions of a police department. Leonard states that integration of activities of the patrol and detective divisions is one of the most difficult problems facing police management. He feels the higher status afforded the detective division, higher pay of detectives, and their greater freedom of action are conducive to jealousy between the two divisions.[26]

He also recommends in most cases that detectives work singly; and, also, if the caseload so indicates, personnel be shifted between the detective and other divisions, such as patrol. In this respect, Leonard opposes the strict line of demarcation between patrol and detective divisions.[27]

Cooperation among individuals, as well as among agencies, is essential for success in investigative

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[24] Institute of Public Affairs, Municipal Police Administration in Texas, Public Affairs Series Number 41 (Austin: University of Texas, 1960), p. 5.

[25] Wilson, Police Planning, p. 113.

[26] Leonard, op. cit., p. 223.

[27] Ibid.

operations.[28] In this respect, Mr. Hoover describes the FBI as a cooperative agency which functions as a team with each member having clearly defined duties and individual responsibility for performance of duties.[29]

There is a tendency for the organizational structure to become somewhat vague in attempting to follow the principle of unity of command. Thus, depending upon the number of investigators, supervision of detectives in a large police department during night shifts may be assigned to a patrol command. This, however, Wilson notes, is never satisfactory; and he adds that when the patrol command fails to provide adequate supervision or when friction develops between patrol and detective personnel, a supervisory officer from the detective division should be assigned.[30] It is also noted that in such areas as vice or intelligence activity and other matters of special interest to the chief, the unity of command is often violated.[31] Gourley notes that the longer the chain of command between the executive and subordinate, the more

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[28] Kenney, op. cit., p. 49.

[29] Don Whitehead, The FBI Story: A Report to the People (New York: Random House, 1956), p. iv.

[30] Wilson, Police Administration, p. 294.

[31] R. Dean Smith, op. cit., p. 28.

likely any policy is to be modified; but this is especially true in connection with special activities, such as vice control. He attributes this to the greater pressures and temptations which often arise in the enforcement of special regulations, such as vice.[32]

The recommended span of control for a supervisor of investigations, as with most endeavors, is not concrete. Wilson states that the span is influenced by so many variables that it is difficult to establish categorically a maximum number of investigators that a supervisor can handle with efficiency.[33] However, he recommends that the number not exceed ten.[34]

Formal Authority

Formal authority consistent with the traditional organizational concept is designed in most investigative activities to flow from the top-down and is considered inherent in the office, or position. This implies a highly detailed supervision of subordinates by supervisors. In this regard, Wilson notes that the nature of investigative duties emphasizes the need for close and continuous supervision, if satisfactory results are to be

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[32] Gourley, loc. cit.

[33] Wilson, Police Administration, p. 294. [34] Ibid.

obtained. He states that this is made possible by continuous review of the daily work of each man and appraisal of his accomplishments in terms of clearances, recoveries, arrests, and convictions. He adds that:

> Supervision will usually be adequate when the supervisor knows from one hour to the next the whereabouts and activities of each subordinate.[35]

Specifically how this is to be achieved is not clearly stated, however. As noted by Longnecker, reports are of only historical value. In themselves, they do not constitute control but merely provide a basis for control which, to Longnecker, is concerned with the present.[36]

Supervision

The role of the supervisor is considered a key factor in the control of investigative personnel and activities. Most authorities in the field advocate close and continuing supervision over investigative personnel.

Murphy, a retired special agent in charge for the Federal Bureau of Investigations, states that one of the fundamental reasons for success of the FBI in investigative matters is the excellent and "continuous" supervision afforded personnel at all levels of responsibility.[37]

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[35] Ibid. [36] Longnecker, op. cit., p. 460.

[37] W. A. Murphy, "Specialization of Police Duty," The Police Chief (October, 1962), pp. 18-22.

Murphy advises that the quality of supervision of personnel will reveal itself in the quality of work performed. In regard to control, he considers it not sufficient merely to assign work to be done by subordinates. Frequent follow-up by supervisors as to progress being made in each case, or lack of progress, is vital for increasing efficiency.

The supervisor, Murphy continues, in discussing cases with subordinates and reviewing reports of investigations, will spot points of proof that need to be built up. He can counsel the investigator as to leading court cases which cover particular points of proof and make sure the investigator is operating within the law at all times. In this respect, the supervisor becomes of paramount importance in control of his personnel.

Difficulties caused by the fact personnel perform a considerable portion of investigative duties beyond the confines of the office and sight of their supervisor has long been recognized. For example, the report of the Missouri Crime Commission, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, to the effect that close supervision is all but impossible adds that the chief of detectives will occasionally become convinced that a particular detective is taking advantage of many opportunities for private gain

but will be unable to collect sufficient evidence to warrant filing formal charges.[38]

Direct Control

A wide lattitude exists in recommended techniques of direct, mechanical controls for investigative personnel. Many organizations advocate use of a daily activity report. This is a detailed report which the investigator prepares to account for his entire activity throughout his tour of duty. The value of this practice is questioned by many, however. For example, Wilson states that attempts to control the activities of personnel in this manner usually have not proven satisfactory. He adds that:

> The results do not justify the time spent in preparing the account, and frequently the reports do not record true facts, especially when these reflect to the discredit of the detective.[39]

This, of course, may very well fall within the category of an "unwanted reaction to control" outlined by Longnecker, and particularly the one he designates as evasion of control through falsification of reporting.[40] Thus, a situation is presented where too stringent a control

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[38] Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., p. 256.

[39] Wilson, Police Planning, p. 117.

[40] Longnecker, op. cit., pp. 465-70.

system in itself may provide a basis for dereliction of personnel.

In addition to written reports, personal accountability is maintained through interviews, telephonic contact, periodic counseling, and inspections. All of these, however, except those where personal observation is involved, afford the opportunity for falsification if the individual is so inclined. In further attempts to preclude this, some agencies establish internal intelligence or "shoo fly" units to check on activities of organizational personnel. Also, individual supervisors may utilize co-workers as informants or employ a "spy" system. How the activity of personnel of these latter designs are controlled, however, is also a matter of concern.

Most investigative activities use the efficiency or effectiveness rating report as another device for the control of personnel.[41] Since, under civil service regulations, the line supervisor lacks the power to promote or discharge subordinates, indirect action toward either of these ends, or at least their threat, may be initiated through the efficiency report. A poor report may jeopardize an individual's career, whereas the opposite, an

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[41] A. C. Germann, Police Personnel Management (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1963), pp. 175-81.

"outstanding" report, may lead to advancement. Supervisors may also initiate immediate disciplinary action for violation of established norms, or a "code" of conduct.

Established Norms of Conduct. Of all organizations, investigative agencies, as with any type of enforcement activity, have no place for the dishonest employee.[42] The agency that is charged by the public to enforce the law cannot itself harbor within its ranks those inclined toward deviant conduct. This is especially important since the opportunity for involvement in questionable or even corrupt activity is greater than in most other organizations. It is essential that the most seemingly insignificant regulation not be broken. Small infractions may lead to other major ones, as verified by studies of the Korean defections. Many rules, such as acceptance of gifts, may not be inherently wrong; it is the potential danger involved that is significant. Consequently, as a control over personnel, writers recommend a code of ethics stated in terms of basic objectives and general rules of official conduct.[43] Some also recommend a uniform ethical

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[42] International City Managers' Association, op. cit., p. 166.

[43] Wilson, Police Administration, p. 7.

code to govern all who are engaged in law enforcement throughout the nation. In this respect, the International Association of Chiefs of Police adopted a code of ethics in 1957.[44] Many agencies require personnel to sign a code of conduct and keep it where it may be referred to frequently. Most codes outline in detail what may or may not be done by personnel and imply a threat of stringent discipline for any infraction.

Discipline. Punishment ranging up to dismissal or court action is recommended for serious dereliction.[45] Three objectives of disciplinary action are cited as to train or retrain the individual and to establish or heighten his effectiveness, to improve and preserve morale of the group, and to raise and maintain the prestige of the agency.[46] In order to accomplish these, the initiation of quick, positive, and just action is recommended where disciplinary measures are indicated. This is based on the concept that the two principal deterrents to dereliction are swiftness and certainty of action.

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., p. 290.

[46] International City Managers' Association, op. cit., p. 166.

Multiple Factors

The recommended use of formal authority as the primary means of controlling personnel permeates law enforcement literature. However, Captain Edward Davis of the Los Angeles Police Department states that a mature supervisor should never rely on authority but, rather, should lead by properly motivating his subordinates. He adds that the supervisor should keep up a daily feedback to subordinates and ensure that excellent or unusual accomplishments are liberally commended as well as unsatisfactory or substandard performance immediately challenged.[47]

Director Hoover also recognizes factors other than those from the hedonistic concept as instrumental in successful control in investigative endeavor. In this regard, he states that the strength of the FBI rests in the fact that it is a career service, in which appointments and promotions are made on the basis of ability, merit, and competency. Money alone is not the prime consideration of his personnel, he advises, and adds that

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[47] Allen Bristow (ed.), Readings in Police Supervision (Los Angeles: Department of Police Science and Administration, 1960), p. 33.

supervisors in the FBI could triple or double their salary in industry.[48]

Institutional Subculture

Many see the law enforcement community as socially isolated from the community at large. Pfiffner and Sherwood, in distinguishing between professional and institutional subcultures, state that of all organizations the police enterprise is probably the most remarkable example of an institutional subculture.[49] The very status, they add, of the police in a free society is conducive to the development and propogation of a subsystem containing its own unique properties. The homogeneous nature of the police organization, the irregular hours of police work, the tendency of individual officers to develop a feeling of incompatibility with nonenforcement personnel, and the uniform itself leads to a lack of social intercourse with other segments of the community. Further, the frequent public criticism of police tends to cause a feeling of isolationism and extreme sensitivity among enforcement officials. The extent of this sensitivity seems to have been highlighted recently in the severe reaction to

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[48] Whitehead, loc. cit.

[49] Pfiffner and Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 265-66.

criticism by the director of one of the most respected federal agencies.[50] Another factor fostering the police subculture is the preservice status of police personnel. Generally, they may be selected from a lower socioeconomic position than the predominant middle class. Many, in fact, come from the stratum which has also the main elements of the criminal subculture. All of this contributes to a feeling of conflict with the rest of society among police personnel with the result that they seek sanctity within their own organization.

Blum states that the law enforcement community has shown a persistency to grow from within.[51] There has been an historical propensity to resist external influences. This isolation, he notes, is reflected in attitudes and policies which not only tend to separate individual agencies from the public but also isolate organizations from each other.

James Q. Wilson, in his reported interviews with numerous officers, sees a definite feeling of alienation from the rest of the public as well as an over-all feeling

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[50] "The FBI and Civil Rights--J. Edgar Hoover Speaks Out," U. S. News and World Report (November 30, 1964), pp. 56-58.

[51] Blum, op. cit., p. 16.

of lack of recognition or prestige.[52] Many claim that they are looked down upon by the rest of the communities. Some even report a feeling of isolation or of not being socially accepted in informal gatherings, such as parties. Consequently, a pariah feeling develops among officers where they see themselves as being at odds with the rest of the community. They cling together with others of the enforcement community and still further tend to splinter into smaller informal groups. Professor Wilson states, also, that corruption may permeate some of these groups which, in turn, is passed on to all members and becomes an established means of operation.[53]

There is a tendency, too, for some officers, because of their continuous contact with deviancy, to lose perspective and begin to suspect everyone, especially those not engaged in enforcement activity, as being untrustworthy.

Conversely, there is a tendency of the public to see a case of indiscretion proved against one officer as

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[52] James Q. Wilson, "The Police and Their Problems: A Theory," Public Policy (Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, 1963).

[53] Ibid.

one proved against the entire agency.[54] Thus, the status or prestige of the agency and the law enforcement community as a whole may suffer from the act of one individual and result in further social isolation from the community. To quote Mr. Hoover in this connection: "One man did not build the reputation of the FBI--but one man can tear it down."[55] Professor Brandstatter, in a speech before the National Institute of Police-Community Relations, named such factors as police corruption, enforcement of unpopular laws, and political involvement as factors tending to produce a negative image. Among factors recommended to ensure a positive image were change in police personnel management, organizational pattern, and change to more sophisticated operational procedures.[56]

External pressure, especially of a direct political nature, may be extremely detrimental to efforts in controlling personnel. Sutherland and Cressey state that exposure to political corruption in the greater

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[54]Allen P. Bristow and E. C. Gabard, Decision Making in Police Administration (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1961), p. 11.

[55]Whitehead, op. cit., p. iii.

[56]Arthur E. Brandstatter, "New Frontiers for the Police" (address before the 10th Annual National Institute of Police-Community Relations at Michigan State University on May 21, 1964).

governmental machinery often leads enforcement personnel themselves to involvement of this nature.[57] Thus, as Mr. Hoover states, to achieve success an agency must be free of political control.[58]

The concept of the enforcement community as an institutional subculture may well be exemplified in a recent statement made by one of the most respected authorities in the field, who is chief of one of the nation's largest forces. The statement attacked "untrained judges" who occupy many judicial offices and concluded that:

> The incongruity of the trained police officer and the untrained judge is an Achilles heel as far as the administration of criminal justice is concerned.[59]

Other examples may be seen in the numerous cases of criticisms of the courts and of other community leaders. This not only points up the factor of subcultural perspectives but the question of specified organizational objectives as well.

The significance of the concept of the enforcement community as an institutional subculture may be seen also

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[57] Sutherland and Cressey, op. cit., p. 345.

[58] Whitehead, op. cit., p. ii.

[59] "Outspoken Police Chief; His Target: Untrained Judges," U. S. News and World Report (July 12, 1965), p. 22.

in recent drives by other groups to have civilians appointed to panels to investigate charges of police brutality. The feelings of alienation and suspicion tend to cut both ways, as is highlighted in the issue of civilian boards of review in civil rights cases.[60] No doubt, a long step toward resolving this conflict and toward more effective personnel control is for law enforcement agencies to conceive themselves, as suggested by Professor Radelet, "as a part of, not apart from the community they serve."[61]

Personnel Qualification

Attempts to control the efforts of personnel must also consider individual qualifications for the activity in question. Examination of the qualifications of investigative personnel tends to add to the complexities of the problem in control.

Professionalism

Literature reveals considerable concern over "professionalism," or lack of professionalism, in the enforcement community.

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[60] "Should Civilians Rule on Police Brutality Cases," U. S. News and World Report (July 12, 1965), p. 10.

[61] Louis A. Radelet, "Police and Community Relations: On the National Scene," The Police Chief (September, 1964), pp. 40-44.

Bernard C. Brannon, then Chief of Police, Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department, in an address before the 6th Annual National Institute on Police-Community Relations on May 16, 1960, stated that three "earmarks" of a profession were: special knowledge and skills, the primary objective is not pecuniary, and the association of members into organizations within their profession. Applying these criteria to the police occupation, Mr. Brannon stated that he believed police work itself fully qualified as a true professional undertaking; however, he had reservations whether police personnel themselves were as equally qualified.[62] These statements by Mr. Brannon echo sentiments of many observers. Practically all consider law enforcement to be a profession; yet, like Mr. Brannon, few contend that enforcement personnel have attained that status.

The significance of the above observations should not be lost to the organizational hierarchy and especially the immediate supervisor. As a manager of investigative functions, the supervisor may very well find himself in a situation where his subordinates lack the professional qualifications to meet the demands of the organization.

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[62] Bernard C. Brannon, "Professional Development of Law Enforcement Personnel" (address before the 6th Annual National Institute on Police-Community Relations at Michigan State University on May 16, 1960).

Kirk, reporting on the "Progress in Criminal Investigation," states that investigative function in America is more than susceptible to failure of perspective, due to its lack of acceptance universally as a profession and because its personnel are, by virtue of necessity, largely "self-trained, half-trained, or untrained."[63] According to Kirk, there is no generally recognized type of training such as found in other professions. Where efforts have been made to develop adequate training, it is generally administered by personnel who themselves are not products of a standard training program.[64]

Kirk adds that professional standards and good performance can always demand and get their own terms. This will be evident in law enforcement and in other areas when the quality of performance is good enough to demand respect and consideration.

Selection and Training

O'Connor found that, so far, progress of law enforcement to better itself has been slight. Ranks are

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[63] Paul L. Kirk, "Progress in Criminal Investigation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXCI (June, 1954), 54-62.

[64] Ibid.

continued to be filled, he stated, with individuals incapable of professional service.[65] Brandstatter also sees a need for better recruiting practices.[66]

The problems associated with selection of qualified personnel for investigations work is not of recent origin. The Missouri Crime Commission in a report in 1926 describes the situation of the average-large detective bureau and the problems incidental to it as follows:

> Selection of capable investigators has always been one of the most difficult problems of detective administration. The requirements are so imponderable that no formal test or examination has this far succeeded in weighing and measuring them. At the very best, the appointing authority can only guess at individual capacity and aptitude for detective duty. The real test comes in handling concrete cases. The concensus of detective administrators is that only 10% of those originally selected prove equal to all the demands of such exacting service.[67]

Opinions vary widely over personnel selection criteria and methods. Kirk believes that selection of an investigator should not be left solely to the discretion of a personnel or civil service commission. He points out that, by any standards, the criminal investigator is the most important link in the chain of investigations. His

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[65] George W. O'Connor, "Survey of Selection Methods," The Police Chief (October, 1962), pp. 8-11.

[66] Brandstatter, loc. cit.

[67] Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., pp. 256-57.

efforts may be supplemented by the lawyer, psychiatrist, or police scientist, but normally a case is solved on the skill and ability of the investigator himself. Consequently, in order to increase the probability of his ultimate success, Kirk claims, selection of an investigator should be by persons who have a thorough understanding of the job requirements and a profound appreciation of the inherent qualities necessary for the good investigators.[68]

In regard to training, Kirk states, the investigator should be given every opportunity and incentive for the best training possible so that progress he found in some cities may be matched. This progress, he claims, that was seen in certain quarters where training was considered relatively good, stood in sharp contrast to that in other regions where training facilities were not encouraged. Kirk adds that not only does better training lead to more desirable performance, but it will increase over-all prestige and reduce other problems as well.[69]

Blum claims that the enforcement officer is a product of his times. The one that was selected at the turn of the century would not be acceptable today. Changes in standards correspond to the changes in the

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[68] Kirk, op. cit., p. 61. [69] Ibid.

total society. Modern police service, he feels, can be effective only if personnel are highly qualified, adequately trained, and properly supervised. Further, he states, in the light of historical trends, the highest standards that are devised today probably will be inadequate within the span of a generation. Blum enumerates several principal reasons why selection standards in law enforcement must be raised. These include: the complexity of the social environment which demands police competence, the fact that the educational attainment level of the average citizen is constantly rising, the growing multiplicity of laws and legal rulings, the fact that police service is a highly personal service--it covers a broad scope of activities--the fact that the goal of law enforcement is to attain recognition as a profession and a need to build a proper image of the vocation, the high level of interagency cooperation and coordination that is required, and the impelling need to find practical solutions to the crime problem.[70]

Blum reports that educational standards for police vary throughout the country from grade school education, through high school, junior college, and, for agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a college

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[70] Blum, op. cit., pp. 14-17.

degree.[71] Several arguments from various sources calling for higher educational achievements as selection criterion are enumerated by Blum. One holds that educational attainment requirement assures the social equality of enforcement personnel in relations with the public, which is a "fundamental need in order to achieve self-respect as well as respect from the community."[72] Another argument which runs parallel to this is that school attendance is an initiation rite to membership in the social order. Summarizing the arguments for higher education, Blum states that attainment in the academic sphere is considered a:

> Measure of intelligence, of acquired skills in judgment, writing, thinking and expression, of suitable social respectability, and of proof of ambition and perseverance.

One of the arguments offered on the negative side for higher education seems to point to the basic conflict between "police" and investigative duties and, consequently, makes the required criterion of many departments for experience in police duties before investigative assignment questionable. This relates to the problem, as Blum states it, which is encountered when higher educational standards are required or "overtraining" for police

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[71] Ibid., p. 56.

[72] Ibid.

work. He claims that the monotonous and routine nature of most lower level police assignments may not be suited to the highly intelligent recruit and may leave him frustrated and often result in his leaving the department, becoming a low morale grumbler, or "trouble-maker." "In police work, the exceptional moment," Blum states, "the occasion of crisis which arises, does tax the judgment and intellect of the brightest; but these moments are few and far between."[73] This, it appears, does not present a fertile bed for recruiting when, subsequently, personnel from this environment of monotony and routinism are assigned to investigative duties which require initiative, freedom of movement, and discretion.

Opinions vary over the need for uniformed service prior to assignment to investigative duties. Wilson feels that routine patrol service "with its manifold problems and experience in preliminary investigations provides invaluable training" for investigators.[74] In fact, he states, in the absence of other acceptable criteria, such as psychological, physical, and written examinations, at the present time the most satisfactory basis for selection appears to be observation of individual patrolmen for

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[73] Ibid., p. 58.

[74] Wilson, Police Administration, p. 289.

discovering evidence of their investigative ability. This, of course, tends to ignore many investigative organizations, such as the federal agencies, which do not demand prior enforcement duty for recruiting personnel.

On the whole, as indicated previously, progress in selection and training of personnel has not been uniform throughout the country. On one end of the spectrum there are agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigations, which, among other criteria, require applicants to be college graduates, and, in some cases higher, for selection.[75] This is supplemented by a sophisticated training program. No prior law enforcement experience is required. On the other end, there are departments which require merely a high school education or even less. The reputation and success enjoyed by the FBI and other agencies which require higher educational attainments while simultaneously not emphasizing prior enforcement experience should be significant in this respect.

Over-all, it appears that assignment to investigative duties should be entirely voluntary on the part of the individual and that emphasis should be placed on securing the best available based on an individual's

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[75]Blum, op. cit., p. 56.

potential and not necessarily prior experience. A person's former duties, in fact, may make him undesirable if he has become "set in his ways" or been in a position where he has not had to use independent judgment as required in investigations. Uniformed work, of course, by its very nature, restricts this latter aspect. Consequently, in police departments serious thought to lateral entry into investigative duties is indicated. This, coupled with a thorough indoctrination of the individual on his duties and expectations, will enhance the professional qualification which appears essential in this type of duty for control of personnel.

Analysis

Review of the literature reveals that the most commonly recommended practice for control of investigative personnel is derived from the hedonistic concept which sees man as being motivated by a single factor of either pain or punishment. As such, behavior is directed either toward or away from some object. Since pay in investigative service, as with most governmental endeavor, is not considered exceptionally lucrative, the negative, or aversive, aspect of the pleasure-pain principle is relied upon to motivate personnel to action. This, of course, entails the use of formal authority which stresses fear of

punishment. Formal authority, as represented in the traditional approach to administrative organization, pervades the literature as the most acceptable motivating factor for control of personnel although there are some significant exceptions.

An evaluation of the literature in terms of the motivational control model is reflected as follows.

Security

Although on-the-job security is usually provided for by civil service regulations, a number of factors are noted which could promote a feeling of insecurity for the individual investigator. Formal authority, of course, with its emphasis on fear frequently leads to an individual's feeling insecure. This may emanate from a "tough" supervisor who either directly or implicitly and continuously threatens an investigator. He may thus fear a bad "oer," transfer, or take other action jeopardizing his career. Insecurity may also arise from lack of confidence which, in turn, is caused by inadequate selection or training of the individual for the position. The remarks of Mr. Brannon to the effect that although the service itself qualifies as a profession the personnel themselves may not are particularly significant in this respect. A feeling of insecurity may also arise in an investigator

from his conception of being part of a subculture often at odds with the greater community. All of these factors are especially important in attempts to control the investigator. Not only will it cause reluctance to make exception judgment, that is, "go out on a limb," which is often required in investigative duties, but it may result in his seeking security elsewhere.

Status

Within the organization, investigative personnel seem to enjoy a slight advantage in status over other personnel engaged in the same service. However, this may, in turn, be jeopardized by assignment to specialize in routine or otherwise undesirable cases. It is with the external environment, however, where the investigator is affected most from the lack of status or prestige.

In this regard, it was noted that in many communities law enforcement may be concerned as a subculture to be looked upon with suspicion. As a result, members of the organization, feeling at odds with the rest of the community, may, as James Q. Wilson notes, become involved in questionable activity.

Social Acceptance

No difficulties were noted for investigators to be accepted within their own group. However, as specialists,

friction often develops with members of other enforcement divisions or agencies. The feeling of lack of acceptance by the greater community, especially the segment enjoying higher status, may cause an investigator to seek acceptance, as well as recognition, elsewhere. Thus, a "busman's holiday" may ultimately result in problems of control.

Self-Development

Investigative duty with its freedom of action may in itself help fulfill this drive of self-development. However, an investigator may feel restricted from lack of promotional opportunities, or boredom may develop from overspecialization. A failure to meet this need, then, as with the others, may present difficulty in control, especially in view of the investigative function which affords considerable opportunity for fulfillment elsewhere.

In the final analysis, the literature on recommended means for controlling investigators gives little consideration to meeting individual needs as represented in the motivational control model. A recognition of the desirability of merging goals of the investigative endeavor with those of the individual is almost completely absent in published literature. An additional factor was discovered, however, which bears directly on

the concept of control through motivation. This concerned the lack of qualification of personnel. As noted previously, motivation entails not only goals but behavior directed toward that goal. If the individual lacks the ability to achieve the goal, behavior in that direction declines. Consequently, it appears that selection and training of investigators must be taken into account if control is to be achieved through motivational behavior. The lack of individual qualification caused by inadequate training and selection permeates and adversely affects gratification of all the interests essential to motivational control.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES

Interviews

Case studies consist of unstructured interviews with representatives of various law enforcement organizations. These include federal, state, and detective divisions of various police departments serving urban centers, ranging in size up through a standard metropolitan area. The supervisory personnel, which compose the overwhelming majority of interviewees, are considered successful administrators because of the positions they hold. A general discussion of the area of control initiated the interview. Interviewees stated their views on various control procedures. Following this, a deeper probing of the subject was made utilizing the motivational control model as a guide. Information from the interviews is presented as concepts of successful practitioners on factors relating to the most effective means of controlling investigative personnel. Whether their views on control are consistent with their practice was not explored and is unanswered. Also, interviewees remain anonymous because of the somewhat sensitive nature of the inquiry.

The interviewees were essentially in agreement on all points discussed, and their views indicate a high regard for the investigator as a person. Results of the interviews are reflected in substance as follows.

All practitioners interviewed are in agreement that there is a considerable difference between controlling uniformed personnel and those assigned to investigative duties. First, the actions of the uniformed person, by virtue of the fact he is in uniform, are readily discernible by others, both fellow officers and the public. His work is more routine. Also, he is assigned normally to designated areas and required to report through official channels of communication at specified intervals. In addition, the uniform itself is a deterrent to those who would approach an officer with an opportunity for indiscretion. This all contrasts considerably with the duties of the investigator whose identity is more concealed and who, because of the nature of his duties, must be on his own and out of contact with other officers much of the time. To maintain control, then, requires means over and above those normally considered.

Goals should be concretely defined to avoid misinterpretation. Subordinates should know specifically where they "stand" and what is expected of them. In connection with stated goals, to "clear an innocent

person" is considered as important, or more so, as conviction. This was specifically stated during interviews and varies somewhat with much of the literature. Innumerable examples exist where results of investigation "cleared" the suspect. Goals and individual expectations should be continuously re-evaluated in terms of changing conditions and personnel advised accordingly. A recognition of clear-cut goals or purposes can preclude in many instances differences that develop with other agencies over jurisdiction, as well as the public at large.

Money is discounted as a primary motivating factor by all. Also, with only slight exception, the use of formal authority alone to motivate personnel to action and control their activities is discredited. It is recognized, however, that authority has a significant role. Rules must be established and stringent disciplinary measures initiated in cases of infractions. Elimination of the undesirable is essential. But using formal authority and fear of punishment as a device "hanging over" the individual's head is not considered in any manner the best means to control investigators. Positive sanctions rather than negative ones are seen as the most effective.

Many controls, although not specifically designed for this function, are inherent in the work itself. For

example, often investigators work in teams where one is always subjected to the discerning eyes of the other. The innumerable networks seeking information act as a control in that they are most apt to discover an officer's indiscretion. Personal counseling and progress interviewing by the immediate supervisor and official reports are other means of control.

The investigative report which reflects officially the results of an investigator's efforts is considered one of the best means of evaluating his performance. The report, when reviewed by competent supervisors, will disclose a pattern of the investigator's activities. The dates, or period, of investigative activity, personnel interviewed, areas involved, thoroughness of investigation, and acceptability of techniques or procedure are all factors which offer a feedback for control. However, reports, being historical in nature, only report what has occurred, and there is the possibility the data will be manufactured.

Other reports for the sole purpose of control are of little value since they may be easily falsified. If a person were inclined toward dereliction, he would not be deterred by a report of this nature and could, in fact, find a false feeling of security in its execution.

The assignment of cases presents a means of control since the number of cases a particular investigator carries gives a rough estimate of his workload. Specialization adds merit to this device since a comparison then may be made among investigators who are assigned the same categories of cases. Even cases within specific categories vary, however, and attempts to compare workloads entailing a variety of case categories is difficult and often impracticable.

Case completion rates computed on a monthly basis also provide a means of control. However, too much emphasis on this may result in adverse reactions, such as falsifying caseloads by particular sections or falsifying reported investigative activity by individual investigators. Also, too much pressure for quantity can adversely affect quality. Suspense dates should be set for investigators, however. These act as goals for completion by a certain day for the investigator. Otherwise he may procrastinate.

Too much pressure may adversely affect morale, also, and, in turn, lead to more disastrous consequences.

All interviewees hold, with varying degrees, that control rests primarily within the individual himself. The investigator, because of his freedom and opportunity to deviate from expectations, must be an individual who

can be trusted. A number of terms advanced consistently in this connection include "dedication," "sense of accomplishment," "loyalty," treating the investigator as a "man," and "trust," both the organization in personnel and personnel in the organization.

Selection of personnel for the particular duty involved is a prime factor in any system of control. Some interviewees see a problem in the transition of personnel from the routine, restrictive type uniform duty to investigative service with its freedom of activity and discretion. Opinion on the necessity for uniformed experience prior to investigative assignment usually varies with the interviewee's own experience.

Although the importance of selection is emphasized by all ("You can't gamble on the man"), no set criteria to guide the selecting process seems to prevail except that it has to be an individual with honesty, integrity, and so forth.

Such factors as span of control receive little recognition since the varied nature of the investigative function makes establishment of a concrete number of subordinates impracticable. There is much by-passing of the chain of command in matters of special interest to higher authorities. For example, the results of the investigator's work are open for scrutiny by higher authorities

as well as the prosecutor's office. If they deem that more work is required, instructions, in turn, go back to the investigator, sometimes through but often by-passing the investigator's supervisor. It is not too uncommon for the investigator to work directly with the prosecutor's office on a particular case. This presents a type of dual supervision and, in effect, at times especially in sensitive cases, results in the supervisor's having little or no control over the investigator and often having little knowledge of what he is doing.

Over-all, although the mechanical and feedback type of control are considered essential, practitioners state the most important means of control is to view the investigator as a mature individual and with respect and dignity.

The Model

Results of depth exploration using the motivational model as a guide are reflected substantially as follows.

Security

This is essential for the investigator if he is to be successful. He must know what his duties specifically entail and that superiors have complete confidence in him. In connection with the latter, "backing" by the supervisor as well as the organization is greatly emphasized. Lack

of confidence and insecurity from failure of a supervisor to support his subordinates may permeate the entire organization. Civil service policies offer a high amount of security in terms of pay and tenure. These factors can, in effect, however, be reversed to instil insecurity. For example, the individual who has added long years of service in his career and enjoys a substantial income, when constantly faced with an authoritarian approach which threatens all this, is made to feel insecure. Thus, out of fear, he clings to the routine, stifling initiative, and avoids decisions which would possibly jeopardize his career. The effects of this on investigation's function, of course, can be severely detrimental since independent judgment and discretion are inherent in investigative duties.

Social Acceptance

Approval by co-workers is an extremely important factor in control. The investigator usually conforms as he would "lose face" otherwise. Also, judgment of the group is a significant element in achieving a high rate of performance. "They" know if he is shirking for, in many instances, if the individual investigator does not carry his load, it must be carried by someone else. The investigator who seems alienated from the group, a

"loner," may be an indicator of deeper underlying problems.

A difficulty may arise from permitting an individual to remain on the same assignment too long. If this is done, cliques may develop within the organization which could be detrimental to control. A recommended solution is periodic transfer of personnel.

There were very little indications of lack of social acceptance by the greater community although a few felt that this may exist. This varies among agencies and communities. There is a tendency for enforcement personnel, in some agencies, to interact socially primarily among themselves and isolate themselves from the total society. Some investigators, because of their work, become suspicious of practically everyone, which promotes isolation.

Status

The reputation of the organization is extremely important for the prestige of an individual. One person, too, can seriously jeopardize the status of everyone in the entire organization. This is well known and acts as a means of control. An esprit de corps is essential.

Giving recognition to an investigator for a job well done will improve over-all effectiveness. Some agencies

have formal systems for issuing recognitions through awards and commendations.

Some feel that the enforcement community lacks sufficient prestige or status with the greater community. These interviewees are in the minority. This is an influencing element, however, and varies with the organization.

An investigator may lose status or prestige in assignment to routine, more undesirable cases, too frequent transfers, or publicly criticizing his efforts. Also, not being in on the "know" in a sensitive case which makes restriction of information essential may cause a loss of prestige, if normally the individual would be aware of this type of information. Because of this, assignment to sensitive cases affecting a particular section should be to personnel external to the section in question. Also, in this connection, all personnel records, results of background investigations, and related data should be maintained close to the highest level of authority, away from operational and administrative persons, and with as few persons having access to them as possible. Otherwise the prestige or status of many may suffer.

Self-Development

This is an especially significant motivator for investigators. The sense of "self-accomplishment," that he is helping the community, motivates the "dedicated man" which is essential for investigative duties. However, this motivator may cut both ways.

One of the more serious problems in respect to this need and investigators is the failure to see the direct results of their efforts. Those engaged in collection type efforts who never see the results of action taken on information they gather are often prone to feel thwarted and frustrated. This is true also, and perhaps even more pronounced, when investigative endeavor identifies an obviously guilty offender only to see him later released as a result of judicial action.

Overspecialization is another factor, as is continued assignment to routine or unchallenging cases. For example, prolonged assignment to cases, such as personal background investigations or simple larcenies with unknown subjects, may lead to boredom and consequent difficulties in control. A recommended solution is to rotate personnel, especially those assigned to routine type cases,in order to provide variety.

In the final analysis, generally, the practitioners, although not specifically planned as such, seem to adhere closely to the factors which constitute the motivational model for control.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study investigates factors relating to control of investigative personnel. The nature of investigative duties requires a considerable degree of both freedom of discretion and judgment on the part of the investigator. Much of his work is performed away from the office and out of sight of superiors. Contacts, out of necessity, are maintained with criminal elements. Both temptation and opportunities for crime are often presented, as well as the less spectacular aspect of performing below standards. Too much control can restrict an investigator in his duties and, as too little, invite disastrous results. The question comes down to how much control can be exerted and still achieve maximum performance. The desired situation is one that not only will provide any necessary restriction but will motivate personnel to superb performance. Consequently, it is hypothesized that in view of the unique nature of investigative duties the most effective control will be achieved in an environment which emphasizes a positive approach to motivation of personnel. In this concept the goals of the individual and those of the organization are integrated into an over-all common

objective. Control of investigators in this sense is not merely concerned with the restrictive aspect of control, that is, to keep an investigator from defecting or corruption, but with achieving from the investigator outstanding results.

Methodology

To test the hypothesis a motivational control model is presented based upon various needs or drives listed by renowned psychologists. The drives are categorized into four basic areas and included in the control model as follows:

Security.

Social Acceptance.

Status.

Self-Development.

An appeal to the multiple interests or needs, as represented above, of an individual is considered more effective for investigators than a single motive approach represented by financial award or formal authority.

A review of literature to determine recommendations for controlling investigators by authorities in the field reflects very little has been published and that which does exist leans heavily toward the "close" supervision and authoritative approach. The difference may be caused

by the fact the literature in the main fails to make a distinction between uniformed and investigative duties. Or, it may be writers in the field have not maintained pace with the times and fail to see the subordinate today as an individual to be treated with dignity and one whose needs must be recognized if he is to perform at maximum capacity.

Findings

Factors significant to control of investigative personnel revealed as a result of this research tend to fall within five general areas.

Internal Organization. An apparent gap exists between much of the published literature and the views of practitioners on recommended organizational means of control. The latter, aware of the unique nature of the investigative function, prefer an approach that emphasizes recognition of the investigator as a mature individual. Much of the published literature still adheres to the traditional model for organization. This reflects the principles approach and, among other factors, stresses the use of formal authority as a means of control. Studies disclose that as organizations become more professionalized, modification of organizational procedures occurs, and there is less emphasis on authority and more on other

means for control. Studies indicate, also, the higher the personnel educational and over-all "maturity" or sophistication level of personnel in an organization, the less effective is the use of authority for control. Successful investigations supervisory personnel view less the use of formal authority as a single motivating factor and an effective control device and prefer, instead, the multiple interest approach. They recognize, however, authority is essential, that it is, in fact, the basis of organization, and, also, that individuals have diversified goals and some thrive on domination. There are also apparent inconsistencies in adhering to such factors as span of control and unity of command which are advocated by the principles approach to administration.

Goals. Goals, of course, are essential for all motivational activity. The literature reflects a lack of specificity in statement of investigative goals which could lead to adverse consequences. A propensity appears to exist which emphasizes conviction of the offender. "Clearing" an innocent person should also be a goal, however. Although this may be inferred from the literature, it lacks concreteness and may be subject to misinterpretation resulting in undesirable motivation of individual investigators. For example, an adverse

situation could develop if an investigator conceives conviction of the perpetrator as the sole objective of the organization and one overriding all other considerations. This concept may derive from an overzealous supervisor who uses conviction rate as a prime criterion in rating his investigators. A goal so perceived may lead to an overly aggressive attitude by an investigator to "get" the guilty party, regardless. This, in turn, may lead to violation of individual rights, wiretapping in violation of law or departmental regulations, or activity otherwise resulting in eventual court discipline. In this connection, it is rather possible that an excessive concern with this "goal" of conviction (instead of an impartial gathering of evidence for a separate action authority) is the basis for much of the criticism that many enforcement officials have directed toward the U. S. Supreme Court in recent decisions. An absence of concrete goals is particularly significant in motivational control since motivation depends on specified goals or objectives. Finally, there is yet no scientifically determined system for evaluating organizational or individual performance as in other organizational endeavors. All of these factors result in increased responsibility for the immediate supervisor.

Institutional Subculture. Some sources, primarily from published literature, tend to view the law enforcement community as an institutional subculture. As such, it is socially isolated from the greater community. This may lead to loss of status or social acceptance and, in turn, result in problems in control. A question arises over the advisability of separating the investigative function from uniformed services. This would help disintegrate the tendency toward social alienation from the total law enforcement community and assist in cross-fertilization. Possibly, also, a trend would be initiated toward molding the innumerable, separate local investigative departments into one centrally directed service at the state or other level. Another possible factor would be to eliminate protection among the officers, at least allegations to this effect, which also would serve as a cross-check on control. The isolation, whether real or imagined, of law enforcement from the total community adversely affects individual feeling on security, status, acceptance, as well as self-development. To the extent that this alienation or social isolation prevails, the onus for bridging the gap between the greater community and the individual investigator is primarily the concern of the immediate supervisor.

Lack of Personnel Qualification. There appears to be an absence of what many term "professionalization" among personnel in many, if not most, agencies. There is a wide range of selection and training procedures and criteria. Many organizations demand prior experience; others do not. Some have high educational standards; others, relatively low. Extensive training for personnel exists in some agencies; little if any in others. The question whether prior experience in uniformed duty is an essential criterion for investigations assignment seems to have considerable merit. There is a difference in the nature of the work, and many agencies do not require uniformed experience. Elimination of this requirement in many departments should open up many resourceful avenues for lateral selection. Deficiency in personnel qualification, of course, seriously affects the factors of individual security, status, and self-development, as well as possibly preventing acceptance in such areas as professional associations. The lack of personnel competency adds immensely to the burdens of control, and, here again, it falls heavily on the immediate supervisor.

Sophisticated Supervision. As indicated above, supervision at this stage of development in investigative activities is all important in the process of control.

Motivation alone does not appear sufficient. Since "close" supervision because of the nature of the work does not seem feasible, and since the investigator must use individual initiative and judgment, in fact, is encouraged to do so, the type stressing authority and fear of punishment does not appear in order. Another type, that was revealed mainly through the case studies but also mentioned in literature, seems most important; it may be termed sophisticated, or mature, supervision.

Conclusions

No concrete solutions may be made within the scope of this study. Attempts were not made to determine the reasons or the extent of investigations personnel's defection. In addition, there are no scientifically developed evaluators for individual and organizational performance upon which to base conclusions on control of personnel. Extensive study of the specific problem of control must entail some research technique, such as participant observer, to determine what, in reality, is practiced, and evaluation of success, in control of investigative personnel.

In the final analysis, control of investigative personnel presents a challenge probably not exceeded in any other area of organized activity. Within the

investigative function are assigned personnel who often have been selected from the uniformed ranks of a system, authoritarian in nature and administered basically with emphasis on discipline and fear of punishment. Generally, before investigative assignment the individual in this system has had little official experience with personal initiative and freedom of discretion; yet, upon assignment to investigations, suddenly this is all changed, and the investigator finds himself in a position where independent judgment and choice of action is the practice rather than the exception. Much of the investigator's time is spent away from the organization and from the direct observation of his immediate supervisor. The range of his activities takes him into the most undesirable environment where opportunities for his own involvement in infractions not only exist but may be encouraged. All this adds to the burdens of supervision and is compounded by the fact the individual investigator may, more often than not, lack full professional qualification. Add to this the pariah feeling of some enforcement personnel, caused by being members of an institutional subculture often at odds with the over-all culture of which they are a part, and the problem becomes even more pronounced.

The matter comes down to a situation where too restrictive control may impair the effectiveness, whereas

laxity may lead to severely adverse consequences. A balance is required which will not only prevent disruptive action but will encourage outstanding performance. To achieve this entails a recognition of the investigator as a need-fulfilling, goal-seeking individual whose behavior is caused and has some purpose or objective. The desired situation is one that permits achievement of individual goals while at the same time realizing organizational objectives. A system geared to this permits independent freedom of action and places great emphasis on the dignity of the individual which is so important in a democratically oriented society. The people of a society of this nature revolt against the use of sheer authority, and their resentment increases proportionately with their increase in education and over-all sophistication. In organized endeavor, the more professional its personnel become, the more independent freedom of action and judgment they demand.

The onus of creating the environment where the investigator not only is motivated to conform but also to produce at maximum capacity falls mainly on the immediate supervisor. Only if the supervisor understands the complexity of the individual's interests as well as those of the over-all society and relates them to organizational purposes will ultimate success be realized. In developing

this climate, the supervisor must realize, however, that not all persons are the same, but some thrive on authority and at times there may be some who deviate. When this occurs, those involved must be disciplined with sufficient gravity and fairness. The supervisor must also ensure that goals are specifically understood and that personnel are aware of organizational expectations.

The above is the type of supervision which, for want of a better term, is described as "mature" supervision, that tended to prevail among those supervisors interviewed who, by virtue of their position, are considered successful.

Successful motivation involves another factor, however. The individual must have the ability to perform the behavior desired. During this research, it was discovered that in some cases this capacity may be questionable since personnel may lack the qualifications necessary to achieve maximum performance. Consequently, selection and training become significant factors in the control of investigative personnel at this stage of development in the investigative function. This, too, adds to the burdens of the immediate supervisor.

In view of the above, in the final analysis, the hypothesis of this study must be revised to include sophisticated or mature supervision. The hypothesis then

states that because of the nature of investigative duties, the most effective control of investigators will be achieved in an environment that emphasizes motivation and a mature, sophisticated supervision of personnel.

Implications for Further Research

Potential areas for additional research include the following.

A further exploration of this specific subject on control of investigative personnel utilizing other research techniques, such as participant observation.

An investigation of the causative factors involved in corruption of enforcement personnel on the order of the inquiries concerning defection of military persons during the Korean conflict.

Optimum caseload for investigative functions.

The advisability of complete specialization in investigative duties.

The average time and effort required for investigations of different categories of cases, such as narcotics, homicides, etc.

The extent and influence of an institutional subculture that incorporates law enforcement activities.

Selection and training of investigators.

Specific goals for investigative organizations. This, of course, will lead to the challenging area of the various jurisdictions.

Finally, the area which seems to have the most serious merit for definite progress, and the one that is the most challenging, involves the hypothesis that investigative functions, because of their specialized nature and need for professionalization, should be autonomous and entirely separate from any uniformed police authority. This, of course, would explore resulting changes in the subcultural concept, professionalization, and related areas.

In addition, in view of the gap between administrative procedures and practice, research of operational literature and procedures being employed appears in order. In this connection, it may be hypothesized that although there have been considerable changes in statutory and policy demands on the investigator, recommendations on investigative techniques of years ago are repeated and remain unchallenged in today's literature, especially in areas such as interrogation or interviewing.

This paper only penetrates the surface in this complex subject of control of investigative personnel. However, it is hoped that an aim inherent in all research

is achieved and avenues are opened which lead to additional explorations in this area.

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