

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INVESTIGATIVE
FUNCTION--SPECIALIZATION WITHIN
THE DETECTIVE UNIT

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THE DETECTIVE UNIT

By

Charles F. Peterson

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

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Certain criminal investigations are extremely complicated. The follow-up investigation in a felony case requires special training and personnel with special qualifications. It also requires carefully cultivated sources of information and the application of sophisticated, ethical, and lawful techniques of interrogation and investigation. It was observed that some administrators of municipal police departments in the United States assign investigations to investigative personnel in accordance with the concept of specialization in case assignment, and some follow the generalist approach.

This study involves an attempt to determine which of these two methods of case assignment will result in greater efficiency as measured by the percentage of cases cleared. The clearance statistics as reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for inclusion in the Uniform Crime Reports are utilized as the standard of comparison. It was hypothesized that a police department which followed

the practice of assigning all crimes of a similar type to a specialist investigator would reflect a higher rate of clearance than would a department which assigned investigations in rotation or other generalized procedure. This study had as its objective the possible application of its findings in furtherance of the cause of specialization within the detective division of the New York City Police Department.

The research methodology began with a compilation of a nine point profile of a selected patrol precinct located within the city of New York, and by use of this instrument four comparable cities were located within the state of Michigan. The selected cities were Grand Rapids, Flint, and Saginaw, all of which followed the concept of specialization in the assignment of investigations, and Kalamazoo which generalized. Each of these cities was visited, detectives and supervisors were interviewed, relevant departmental forms inspected, and personal observations were made. In some cases observations were made as a participant-observer. Data was gathered on the methods employed in the selection, retention, and evaluation of investigators. The procedures followed in the receipt, assignment, and disposition of a criminal investigation are recorded and evaluated.

The clearance rate achieved for the index crimes as defined by the Uniform Crime Reports for the year 1967 is reported for each city. The clearance rates achieved by the two generalist jurisdictions are compared to the clearance rates achieved by the three specialist jurisdictions. An analysis of the clearance rate achieved for each crime is presented.

No specific conclusions are drawn as a result of the analysis of the clearance rates. The evidence collected and relied upon did not support the hypothesis; that is, the superiority of either method of case assignment could not be demonstrated based on the collected data. The rate of clearance achieved by the generalist jurisdictions was higher in some crime categories, lower in others, than that achieved by the specialists, and vice versa.

The data available did not allocate the credit for a clearance specifically to either the patrol or investigative branches, therefore their relative efficiency could not be determined, nor could the investigative functions of different cities be compared.

Additional research into the validity of the use of clearance statistics as a measure of departmental efficiency is indicated.

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I would like to express my appreciation to the Attorney-General of the United States who, through the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, provided this opportunity for me to continue my education.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Crime in the United States is presently at an all time high, and still climbing. Threatened most by the spreading incidence of crime are the seventy percent of Americans who live in cities. The most elementary freedom of all--against arbitrary interference with one's bodily security and property--is in growing jeopardy. As a result, a deepening concern over law enforcement pervades urban society, as well as the nation as a whole. Public attention is being directed towards the police agencies; their resources, procedures and the quality of their administration, with the objective to improve them. There are many areas which need to be improved, and no one in the police field can deny this. The long standing feeling that improvements in a police agency can only be achieved by the interference of an outside power is not without foundation. Few police departments are led and directed by men who can be said to be "administrators" in the true sense of the word. All too often needed changes are postponed until something happens to require a procedural overhaul, this "something" usually causes embarrassment to the

department and a consequent loss of prestige. Administrators who recognize the need for changes and because of budgetary or manpower limitations are unable to initiate them are not taken to task here. It is the high-ranking police administrator who, often being close to retirement, resists changes and adopts a "do nothing" posture. This fairly common attitude is closely related to its predecessor "we've always done it this way."

Most of the larger police departments are organized into a number of functional divisions, the patrol force being the largest and most important in terms of function. To the extent that the patrol force fails, by its preliminary investigation of a crime, to apprehend the perpetrator, investigators or detectives are required. This investigative function is created by the assignment of men from the primary work of patrol, thereby weakening the patrol force, to the secondary task of investigation after the fact, a specialty.

The creation of, and continuance of a detective division is no longer a questionable procedure in the modern era, however, there are a few experts who would abolish the detective. Most of these experts would agree with V. A. Leonard, who states:

In cities of 150,000 population and under--perhaps higher--the presence of a detective division would seem to be a waste of departmental resources. In such

jurisdictions there appears to be no sound reason for not lodging total investigative responsibility in the patrol division.¹

One city, Port Arthur, Texas, did just that. It uses a "Patrolman-Detective" combination in that an officer is assigned for short periods of time to duty in civilian clothes to investigate specific crimes.² However, its small population of 66,676 was an important decisional factor; to abolish detective divisions is not the trend today. On the contrary, the trend is toward increased specialization, which is reducing the patrol officer to the status of a watchman. Clift writes:

In evaluating specialization, it can neither be said that it is wholly bad or wholly good. Certainly, some specialization must be carried on, especially when duties can no longer be performed as a routine function. This is to say that we should never specialize when generalization is possible. Moreover, sound policies of coordination must be enunciated when divisions of work are made. It is a serious mistake for a police chief to allow his specialized activity to unduly weaken his general patrol strength. If anything, the general patrol should be strengthened when specialists are engaged, otherwise it becomes a merry-go-round with more specialists, fewer beat patrolmen, still more crime, and still more specialists.³

Specialization, meaning the assignment of patrolmen to detective status for the purpose of conducting

¹V. A. Leonard, Police Organization and Management (Foundation Press, 1964), p. 194.

²International City Managers Association Yearbook, 1963, p. 413.

³Robert E. Clift, A Guide to Modern Police Thinking (Anderson Co. Publishers, 1956), pp. 32, 33.

investigations which will lead to the identity, arrest, conviction of perpetrators, and to the recovery of stolen property in appropriate cases, is today used by all large police departments. It is the purpose of this study to attempt to illustrate how these men could be best organized within the detective organization in order to achieve maximum efficiency. It is felt that a man assigned to investigate crimes is more efficient if he is assigned responsibility for one class of crime; e.g.: all armed robberies, or all sex crimes occurring within that jurisdiction. This "specialist" (detective) is in effect specializing still further by devoting all his energy to the solving of one class of crime. The author's interest in the problem stems from over five years as a working detective on the New York City Police Department, assigned to a busy mid-Manhattan precinct detective squad. The New York City Police Department's detective division consists of two major subdivisions; a small number of specialized headquarters squads, and 79 decentralized generalist detective squads assigned to patrol precincts. The operations of the headquarters specialist squads will be discussed in Chapter II, at this point our concern is with the generalist squads. The New York City procedure at the precinct level is to assign investigations without regard to crime specialization, usually the number of men working together will divide the number of hours of the tour and agree that all cases reported during assigned

periods are their individual responsibilities. For example, if four detectives are working a day tour consisting of 9 hours (8 a.m. to 5 p.m.) the first man will be responsible for all crimes reported between 8 a.m. and 10:15 a.m., the second for those reported between 10:15 a.m. and 12:30 p.m., and so forth. In effect the clock is assigning the investigations. This system characterizes the "generalist" concept used in many large cities today. There is no control over the workload assigned to any one individual, it being in the hands of fate or chance; when the crime occurs or is reported. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that the above method is less efficient than the specialist concept. Restated, it is the basic hypothesis of this research that a police department that requires its' detective administrators to assign investigations to a detective who is a specialist in that type of crime will be more efficient in that it will solve more crimes and identify more perpetrators.

There are several questions that this study will attempt to answer:

1. Does a department which specializes in the assignment of follow-up investigations to detectives reflect a higher clearance rate than a department similar in size and enforcement problems but which follows the detective generalist concept?

2. Does the utilization of the specialized case assignment procedure result in better control over the activities of the investigators?

3. Is expertise developed by the investigator assigned to and responsible for the solving of one class of crime?

Methodology

After an analysis of several precincts in New York City, including the thirty-second in Manhattan, the one-hundred fourth in Queens, the forty-fifth in the Bronx, and the sixty-fourth in Brooklyn, it was decided that the one-hundred twentieth precinct in Richmond (Staten Island) most closely resembled the cities in the midwest. Accordingly a nine point profile of the one-hundred twentieth precinct was prepared. This profile was used to select four cities in Michigan which most closely paralleled the one-hundred twentieth precinct to which the findings could be most validly applied. This profile appears as Table 1. Case studies of four cities were prepared; three cities which use the concept of specialization within the detective branch and one city which did not. The findings as a whole were applied to the one-hundred twentieth precinct. This circuitous manner of proceeding was, under the circumstances, necessary, but as long as the abstraction was carefully observed it was not found awkward.

TABLE 1

A PROFILE OF A METROPOLITAN POLICE PRECINCT
AND FOUR MICHIGAN CITIES

	New York 120th Pct.	Saginaw	Flint	Kalamazoo	Grand Rapids
Population	175,000	100,000	203,000	90,000	201,060
Square miles of city	14	17.64	32.8	25.2	42.2
Miles of streets	199	268.37	534.45	not available	not available
Police strength (sworn)	296	186	335	137	279
Civilians	3	16	192	33	43
Detectives	23	17	39	12	21
Sectors or districts	22	32	22	9	15
Percentage of non- white population	7	24	18	6	9
Predominant char- acter of city	residential & industrial	industrial	industrial	residential & industrial	residential & industrial

The case studies were supplemented by personal interviews with members of the police departments studied. An effort was made to interview detectives and their immediate superiors rather than higher ranking officers, whenever possible. In all cities an actual investigation was followed from the time of its reporting to either a final or temporary disposition, and in several instances the investigator was accompanied by the author, which provided an opportunity for first-hand observation of departmental procedures.

Sources of information

This study is based primarily on library research of available documents and a review of the literature, on the factual data collected during the semistandardized interviews described above, on the personal observations of the author, and on the author's own experience applied to interpret the data presented. In this report much relevant material is presented regardless of how well it could be validated. However care was taken to clearly differentiate those aspects of the study which it is felt are adequately validated by the field research and case study. The conclusions of this paper are restricted to these results.

Importance of the Study

Rising crime rate

In the calendar year 1966, the latest year for which we have statistics, more than three million serious crimes were reported to law enforcement agencies, a national increase of eleven percent compared to the year 1965.⁴ The Uniform Crime Reports as administered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation employs seven crime classifications to establish an index to measure the trend and distribution of crime in the United States. These crimes, murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny of \$50 and over in value and auto theft. These crimes were selected for use in the Crime Index because, as a group, they represent the most common law enforcement problem, that is, they are the type committed within every state of our nation. In the preface to the 1966 edition of the Uniform Crime Reports, J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. director, wrote:

The overall crime problem and the performance of criminal justice systems are subjects of deep concern. Recently, there have been many studies looking toward solutions to these problems such as the deliberations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, as well as State and Federal Crime legislation; which have generated many

⁴Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports 1966, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Gov't Printing Office, Wash., D. C. 20402.

plans, theories, and action programs. One vital need remains clearly apparent; namely, meaningful information for sound decision making.⁵

The report pointed out that crime, meaning the number of offenses committed had increased sixty-two percent during the years 1960 to 1966, the crime rate, the number of offenses per 100,000 population had increased forty-eight percent during the same period, while the population had increased only nine percent. It is recognized that these increases are due in part to improved procedures in the reporting and recording of crime, however to attribute more than a very small portion of the increase to this cause is to avoid the issue. There are more crimes being committed today, and we must face facts. Police administrators might well speculate the extent to which they unwittingly contributed to this increase in crime by inefficient methods. Within the context of this research it may be asserted that failure to adopt certain procedures which would facilitate the identification and apprehension of criminals, consequently allowing them to remain at large to commit additional crimes, maximizes both the number of crimes and the crime rate.⁶

⁵Ibid., p. v.

⁶In its March, 1968, preliminary annual release of uniform crime reports, the F.B.I. said major crimes for 1967 were sixteen percent higher than in 1966. Violent crimes rose fifteen percent with murder up twelve percent, aggravated assault eight percent, forcible rape nine percent, and robbery twenty-seven percent.

The cost of maintaining the police function is increasing

Salaries of police have more than doubled in the decade 1958 to 1968, and the development costs of highly technical, sophisticated equipment used to combat crime has added to the already straining police budgets. One way to reduce costs is to make more efficient use of that which you have. The largest expense in any police budget is that disbursed as salaries. Administrators are engaged in a never-ending search for measures which will enable them to either reduce the number of specialists or to improve their methods to increase efficiency. One method by which police departments are evaluated is the percentage of crimes reported to the police which are solved, or "cleared." A procedure therefore which will enable more crimes to be cleared, resulting in a higher clearance rate, is a desirable course to follow. If it can be demonstrated that one method of case assignment will result in more efficient manpower usage, in this case more control over investigators and a higher percentage of crimes solved, then the suggested method should be adopted.

Lack of research in this area

Extensive and thorough search of the extant police literature fails to reveal the existence of any research in this area. As the review of the literature will show

writers in this field merely state the advantages accruing to the police agency which adopts the theory of specialization in case assignment. The police administrator is not provided with statistics supporting the recommendation that investigations should be assigned to a specialist who devotes all his working time to the solution of such crimes. Alternatives are not discussed nor even pointed out. One of the few usable guides for evaluation purposes is the information provided by the Uniform Crime Reports. A police administrator is able to obtain an imprecise but an operating evaluation of his agency by referring to the tables in the Uniform Crime Reports which contain the clearance rate for the seven serious crimes, both nationally and by geographic groupings of states. Much care must be exercised that comparisons be attempted only between localities which have similar ecological and demographic characteristics. Bruce Smith cautions:

It cannot be denied that the size, training, and general efficiency of the police departments do have some effect on the local crime picture. On the other hand, there are other factors affecting the amount of crime which merit careful consideration. These include such matters as the composition of the population of the city as regards age, sex, and race, as well as the size and characteristics of the population of any adjacent metropolitan area; the economic status of the population; the climate of the area; the general nature of the community, that is residential, agricultural, industrial, or resort; the educational, recreational, and religious facilities of the community; and the attitudes of public prosecutors, the courts, and the public in general towards the problems of law enforcement.

A comparison of the raw figures or even the crime rates of one community with another may not be particularly significant. The important thing is the extent to which the local crime rates exceed or fall short of the average for cities of the same population group, geographic division, or state. Such a comparison sheds light on the relative size of the problem at hand.⁷

Limitations of the study

This research was undertaken by the author in order to gather material which would further the concept and cause of detective specialization within the Detective Division of the New York City Police Department which, at the present time, does not specialize in the assignment of criminal investigations. It is believed that detective personnel could be more effectively utilized, supervised, and evaluated under the specialist procedure. To test the hypothesis properly the ideal situation would be to adopt specialization within one representative borough of the city, for example Richmond County, for one year. At the termination of the trial period the clearance rate of the test borough, as well as other indicators, would be compared. Precedent for this type of project exists, in recent years we have had the "Operation 25" project which demonstrated that when a precinct was assigned sufficient

⁷ Bruce Smith, "Crime Reporting as a Police Management Tool," The Annals of the American Academy, Vol. 291 (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1954), p. 132.

manpower to cover all of its posts, arrests increased and crime declined; and the "Sixteenth Division" project which demonstrated the superiority of one-man motor patrol car operation under certain circumstances. Currently, the "Twentieth Precinct" experiment is being conducted which is testing new administrative techniques within the precinct. Since at the present time a project designed to ascertain the efficiency of specialization in the assignment of criminal investigations is not eminent, of necessity the research must be conducted elsewhere.

It was theorized by the author that several New York City precincts were "cities" themselves, and that by the compilation of its characteristics it could be compared with cities in the midwest where the research was feasible.

A further limitation is that the cities compared are relatively small in size and in police manpower. The fact that there is no large city which continues to apply the generalist method of assigning cases to investigators makes the evaluation of the New York City practice very difficult. Finally, it must be pointed out that this study is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Masters degree, and time limitations restricted the number of cities visited and the duration of the visits.

Scope of the study

This study will concern itself with the method used by the cities studied to select and evaluate their investigators, how a case is assigned to an investigator and the reporting of the results of the investigation. The research will concern itself with investigations that are criminal in nature and which are of the seven serious crimes reported in the Uniform Crime Reports and discussed previously. The clearance rate of detective branches which specialize and those which do not will be compared and analyzed.

Definition of terms and organization of remainder of thesis

Case--for the purposes of this study, case will be used interchangeably with and as a synonym for "investigation."

Clearance--for the purpose of this study a crime will be considered to be "cleared" or solved when the police have

- 1) identified the offender, and
- 2) have sufficient evidence to take him into custody, and
- 3) actually take him into custody.

In view of the fact, however, that the statistics provided by the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports are relied upon in this study, the above definition will be expanded

to include as cleared or solved a crime where, in exceptional circumstances, some element beyond police control precludes formal charges against the offender. Examples of elements beyond the control of the police would be where the victim refuses to prosecute, or local prosecution is waived because the subject is being prosecuted elsewhere for a crime committed in another jurisdiction. The arrest of one person can clear several crimes or several persons may be arrested in the process of clearing but one crime.

Clearance rate--the percentage of crimes cleared of the total crimes known to the police. This study will be limited to the analysis of those crimes serious enough to be designated as "Index Crimes" for the purposes of Uniform Crime Reporting.

Detective--a sworn member of the department who is assigned to investigative tasks at the discretion of the chief or police commissioner, or who has passed a civil service examination which entitles him to such assignment. This term is used in this study in preference to such titles as "investigator" because of its greater specificity.

Detective unit--the smallest unit which provides a follow-up investigative service; the function to which responsibility for the solving of a crime is shifted after termination of an unsuccessful preliminary investigation by the uniformed patrol force.

Follow-up investigator--is used in this study interchangeably with the terms "detective" and "investigator."

Index crimes--those offenses which are "index crimes" are:

1) Criminal homicide

a) murder and non-negligent manslaughter: all willful felonious homicides as distinguished from deaths caused by negligence. Excludes attempts to kill, assaults to kill, suicides, accidental deaths, and justifiable homicides.

b) manslaughter by negligence: any death which the police investigation establishes was primarily attributable to gross negligence of some individual other than the victim.

2) Forcible rape--rape by force, assault to rape and attempted rape. Excludes statutory offenses (no force used--victim under age of consent).

3) Robbery--stealing or taking anything of value from the person by force or violence or by putting person in fear, such as strong-arm robbery, stickups, armed robbery, assault to rob, and attempt to rob.

4) Aggravated assault--assault with intent to kill or for the purpose of inflicting severe bodily injury by shooting, cutting, stabbing, maiming, poisoning, scalding, or by the use of acids, explosives, or other means. Excludes simple assault, assault and battery, fighting, etc.

5) Burglary--breaking and entering. Burglary, housebreaking, safecracking, or any unlawful entry to commit a felony or a theft, even though no force was used to gain entrance, and attempts. Burglary followed by a larceny is not counted again as larceny.

6) Larceny--theft (except auto theft)

a) fifty dollars and over in value;

b) under fifty dollars in value. Thefts of bicycles, automobile accessories, shoplifting, pocket picking, or any stealing of property or article of value which is not taken by force and violence or by fraud. Excludes embezzlement, "con" games, forgery, worthless checks, etc.

7) Auto theft--stealing or driving away and abandoning a motor vehicle. Excludes taking for temporary use when actually returned by the taker or unauthorized use by those having lawful access to the vehicle.

Investigation--an investigation is interpreted to mean the process of gathering evidentiary material relating to criminal offenses for use in future judicial proceedings. It may or may not include the apprehension of suspects depending upon the dictates of the situation, but always has as its aim the identification of suspects.

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.⁸

When considering the role of investigations within a community, a more precise definition views an investigation 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. As such it is subject to all the rules of evidence which apply in the courts of the particular jurisdiction and the rulings of the United States Supreme Court.

Specialization--as used in this study is defined as the restriction of one's efforts to a limited branch or field of activity within one's profession or business; where used concerning a detective division or sub-division thereof it refers to the assignment of criminal investigations of a similar nature to an individual detective for investigation and report.

The remaining chapters of this study are organized as follows:

Chapter II is a review of the available literature in the field as it bears on the subject of this research.

Chapter III is to be considered as background material deemed to be vital to a complete understanding of

⁸Henry C. Black, Law Dictionary (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1951), p. 960.

how a detective unit actually functions; the selection, internal promotion, evaluation and supervision of detectives.

Chapter IV is a report on the field research conducted in the police departments of four Michigan cities.

Chapter V consists of the summary and conclusions arrived at based on this research, and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Specialization--in General

The concept of specialization is widely accepted in American industry, and in American life. It is not an exaggeration to state that the United States is the great industrial power it is today because of the ability of our business leaders to divide a complex task into manageable parts, allowing several trained employees to each pursue, and become expert in, one aspect of the overall task. The resulting efficiency manifests itself both in increased quality but also in greater quantity; more total work will be done if members of the group specialize in certain activities than if each member does varied tasks.¹ The value of specialization was recognized as far back as 1776 by Adam Smith in his famous example of the making of pins, in which he describes the great productive power which results from assigning to each man one task which he performs in cooperation with others. He then points out that

¹Franklin G. Moore, Management; Organization and Practice (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

In every other art and manufacture, the effects of the division of labour are similar to what they are in this very trifling one; though in many of them, the labour can neither be so much subdivided, nor reduced to so great a simplicity of operation. The division of labour, however, so far as it can be introduced, occasions, in every art, a proportionable increase of the productive powers of labour.²

Smith was concerned with increased production, and little thought was given in those early times to quality as a result of specialization of tasks. It remained for the professions to recognize that specialization aided the providing of quality service to patients and clients.

Specialization in the Medical Profession

Specialization in the medical profession appeared at an early date. In Egypt, as early as the 6th century, B.C., each physician applied himself to but one disease and in ancient Rome specialization within the medical profession was also a common practice.³ At the time the American medical profession began to develop, specialization had become accepted as proper, and even usual, in Europe. The European universities continued to maintain leadership of medical education, and many of America's early physicians studied in the European medical schools.

²Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), Vol. 1, p. 6.

³Cecilia C. Mettler, A History of Medicine (Philadelphia: Blakiston Co. Publishers, 1947), p. 321.

As soon as circumstances permitted, the American physician copied the European example, and medical specialization appeared in the United States.⁴ The trend in America towards specialization was well established by the time of the American Revolution, but it was not until 1864 that the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association adopted a recommendation to the effect that the subject of specialties be formally approved. Finally, in 1869, the following resolutions were adopted.

Resolved, That this Association recognizes specialties as proper and legitimate fields of practice.

Resolved, That specialists shall be governed by the same rules of professional etiquette as have been laid down for general practitioners.

Resolved, That it shall not be proper for specialists publicly to advertise themselves as such or to assume any title not specially granted by a regularly scheduled college.⁵

These resolutions, having the effect of officially recognizing specialization, encouraged still further the trend away from general practice and intensified specializing by medical practitioners. By 1962 there were ten major specialty fields and nine minor fields officially recognized by the American Medical Association, with only twenty-one percent of all physicians considered to be in "general practice." There is concern today over the

⁴Arturo Castiglioni, A History of Medicine (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1940), p. 239.

⁵Glenn Greenwood and Robert Frederickson, Specialization in the Medical and Legal Professions (Mundelein, Illinois: Callaghan & Company, 1964), p. 12.

increase in the number of specialists because many physicians feel that the recognition of specialists is reducing the prestige of the general practitioners. Specialists have been criticized for invading the territory of the general practitioner.

Physicians are "certified" in their specialty after examination by a board consisting of those who are already specializing in the area. Some physicians have asserted that the specialty boards use their examinations as a device to limit the size of the number practicing the specialty, rather than to test the skill of the applicant, but this and other similar internal problems are administrative in nature and cannot be said to be a criticism of specialization per se. The medical profession has, by specializing, met the problems of keeping up to date with advanced techniques, of providing an outlet for individual interests and skills, and of developing experts in areas of recurring need.

Specialization Within the Legal Profession

The tradition that every attorney can and should perform all functions of the legal profession came into being during the formative years of our country.⁶ The English system of separation between "barristers"; who

⁶Ibid., p. 49.

was the courtroom advocate, the one to whom requests for legal opinions were directed, and who belonged to a group from which judges were nominated, and the "solicitor," who alone had direct dealings with the clients, did not develop in our country. There is some evidence that in the early years transportation, communication, and economic activity had not developed sufficiently to support lawyers who wished to concentrate on one or even several branches of the law. As society became concentrated in the larger cities, the large law firm evolved and fostered the growth of specialization in the practice of law. By the mid-twentieth century many lawyers had not only narrowed their practices to particular fields of law but even to the "side" of the cases they would handle. Today, we see this in the personal injury field where certain lawyers are known as "plaintiffs' lawyers" and others as "defendants' lawyers."⁷

The practice of law has not become as fragmented as that of medicine. There are only two specialties recognized by the American Bar Association, although there has recently been applied much pressure to expand the list to include other branches of the law. In an opinion, No. 175 (adopted February 19, 1938) it was stated

⁷Ibid., p. 51.

We are of the opinion that it is not permissible to include in a simple professional card language indicating that the lawyer restricts his practice to any particular class of work not generally recognized as a specialty. Obvious examples of the latter are "admiralty" and "patents, trademarks and copyrights."⁸

However, we must keep in mind that the above, which is an application of canon 27 of the canons of Legal Ethics affects only the publication of information that an attorney restricts his practice to certain specialties. It does not restrict him from specializing. In today's complex society it would be impossible for one man to keep abreast of all the developments and daily changes in every branch of the law. One court decision by the United States Supreme Court has the effect of changing and/or establishing law simultaneously in many branches of the law. An attorney will specialize for many reasons; because he has a particular interest in it, because he feels he can gain greater prestige or earn more as a specialist than as a general practitioner, or because there is a need for a specialist in the community in which he practices.

The rise of the large law firm has contributed greatly to the specialization of the practice of law. Large firms are tailored to meet the needs of their clients, and usually a firm will represent clients who are engaged

⁸American Bar Association, Canons of Professional and Judicial Ethics; Opinions of the Committee on Professional Ethics and Grievances 391 (1957). This opinion applied Canon 27.

in similar pursuits; stock brokers, banks, builders, manufacturers, etc. The young attorney fresh out of law school who is hired by one of these large firms serves for a period of time in each specialized section or branch of the law provided the firm's clients, for example, Estate Planning, Corporations, Real Property, Taxation, etc. After several years he is assigned on a permanent basis to that section of the law which best serves his own, and his firm's interests; he becomes a specialist.

The law graduate who opens his own office, the so-called "sole practitioner," must after a few years limit his practice to a few specialties for the same reasons as stated before but with the additional one of physical limitations imposed on him as an individual. It is not surprising that the number of sole practitioners is declining; the economics of the overhead of running an office, the impact of the knowledge explosion in the law, and impossibility of properly serving clients as an individual have all combined to make him one of a vanishing breed.

Specialization within the legal profession, not being a structured recognized subdivision as in medicine, is not subject to accurate analysis. Questionnaires mailed from time to time by the various state bar associations attempt by the survey method to estimate the percentage and extent of specialization within the legal profession have proved unsatisfactory. Each year at the annual meeting of

the American Bar Association the proposal is renewed to recognize and certify specialists. The various advantages to the public and the practitioners are cited. In 1962 a proposal was adopted which established a "Special Committee on Recognition and Regulation of Specialization in Law Practice." The committee was discontinued in 1963,⁹ but formal acknowledgment of the practice is not essential. It is clear from the material presented in this section that specialization in the practice of law is the rule, that expertise is thereby assured, that specialization improves the quality and the quantity of professional practice.

Specialization in Federal Law Enforcement

In the preamble to the United States Constitution, the founding fathers stated their aspirations in broad terms. To achieve the flexibility they knew would be required in order to provide for the future then unseen, great power was vested in the Congress. To Congress they granted the authority to make laws; to the executive branch the power to carry them out; and to the courts, the authority to make certain that what the Congress legislated

⁹[Report of the American Bar Association] Special Committee on Recognition and Regulation of Specialization in Law Practice (August, 1963).

and the President ordered would fit within the bounds of the Constitution.¹⁰ As the Congress made needed laws, and as the President executed them, there followed the need for investigators to assure that the laws were properly administered and enforced. The history of the development of the Federal investigative power closely parallels the nation's growth and the problems that accompanied it.¹¹

Early Federal investigators drew their authority directly from the Constitution itself. For example postal agents were needed to see that the mail went through soon after Congress established the Postal Service, and customs agents were needed to detect and prevent smuggling and other devices to cheat the infant nation out of the funds it needed to survive. The Secret Service was originally created solely to protect the nation's currency from counterfeiters.

Historically, then, the Federal government recognized at an early date the need for specialization in its law enforcement agencies.

Until the close of the nineteenth century, however, the Federal Guardians of the public welfare as visualized in the preamble to the Constitution still represented only a handful of investigators in the Treasury and Post Office departments.¹²

¹⁰Miriam Ottenberg, The Federal Investigators (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), p. xii.

¹¹Ibid., p. xiv.

¹²Ibid., p. xv.

Congress made up for lost time in the first half of this century, creating hundreds of agencies and commissions and giving many of them investigatory powers within the scope of their jurisdiction. Each specialized in the enforcement of the laws affecting its sphere of authority. Congress has used its taxing power to expand the number of agencies which operate under the Treasury Department, such as the F.B.I., the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division and the Bureau of Narcotics.¹³ The power of Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce led to the creation of the Federal Trade Commission which in turn has created numerous investigative units, all specializing in the enforcement of a federal law affecting trade; wage-and-hour regulations, safety regulations, etc.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has perhaps the most general jurisdiction of all the federal agencies, to enforce all of the laws not specifically legislated to another agency. It is responsible for the investigation of all crimes against the Federal government, except, as noted above, those within the jurisdiction of another Federal agency. To enable it to carry out its mission, the F.B.I. maintains offices throughout the nation manned by trained employees. Within each office the men are assigned to

¹³The Federal Bureau of Narcotics and other units have been recently reorganized, but this does not affect the rationale behind their original creation.

specialized units. In most large cities, there is a unit which specializes in the investigation of violations of the Selective Service Act, a "bank unit" which specializes in the investigation of thefts from banks insured under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, a "truck squad" which specializes in the investigation of thefts of goods while in interstate commerce, and other specialized units.¹⁴ There is no such thing as a "generalist" in the F.B.I., all agents specialize in the investigation of a specific crime or a closely related crime. Where a case arises involving a crime which rarely occurs,¹⁵ it is assigned to the agent whose area of specialization is similar.

It is evident that Federal Law Enforcement agencies are specialists, and that within the agencies themselves the concept of specialization is carried still further by assigning investigations of a like nature to a specific individual investigator who devotes all his energy towards solving that type of crime. The advantages of this type of case assignment can be observed by the high rate of crime clearance enjoyed by the Federal agencies, most notably the F.B.I. In the majority of the cases, the offender is

¹⁴William A. Murphy, Specialization of Police Duty, The Police Chief (October, 1962), p. 18.

¹⁵Crimes against the government are of infinite variety. See Title 18, United States Code (revised 1948, St. Paul: West Publishing Co.).

apprehended and pleads guilty. Superior training is a contributing factor, but the specialization in investigation concept is the instrument which brings together the training, experience, and initiative of the investigator, maximizing the number of successfully concluded cases.

Specialization Within a Municipal Police Department

The need for dividing the tasks which comprise the daily work of the modern police department is clearly recognized today. In creating functional units for the basic police services, O. W. Wilson cautions the administrator to keep several things in mind:

1. The patrol force is the backbone of the department, the field army which is responsible for the basic police services;
2. special units are justified only when performance is definitely improved thereby;
3. the principal purpose of the special unit is to assist the patrol force in the field of special interest and to undertake tasks that it is able to perform; substantially better than the unspecialized patrol force;
4. special units should not be used to relieve the patrol force of all responsibility in the field of the special activity.¹⁶

Most large departments are organized into functional branches or divisions. The number of divisions depending on the size of the department and the particular needs

¹⁶O. W. Wilson, Police Administration (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1950), p. 23.

of the community which it serves. There is no hard and fast rule, but Wilson states that in departments of more than 100 men there should be created a separate division for each of the primary police tasks, i.e., patrol, traffic, detective, vice, and juvenile.¹⁷ All of the cities visited during this study were organized into specialized branches.¹⁸

Factors influencing the degree of
specialization to be introduced

In the police departments of today the question is no longer whether or not to specialize, the question is where to specialize in order to provide the best service to the community. The degree of specialization to be adopted is based on the following determining factors.

1. The quality of personnel. The higher the quality of police personnel the less the need for specialization. In theory, if there existed an exceptionally efficient patrol force there would be no need for a detective division. The greater the capabilities of the men of the patrol force the less need there is for specialized units. Conversely, a poorly trained patrol force which consists of men of less ability creates the need for specialists to assist it.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸Specific information may be found in the case material in Chapter IV.

2. The need for special skill and ability. Certain police tasks require skills and abilities that can be obtained only through specialization. Examples of this are the operation of polygraph, the conducting of chemical tests for intoxication, and firearms identification. The proper investigation of certain types of crime requires special skills and abilities. Homicide investigation is an example of a crime requiring special skill to achieve success particularly in view of recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court.¹⁹

3. The importance of the task. Specialized units are sometimes established because a particular police activity is regarded as extremely important and it is singled out for special attention. In most departments we find the normal specialized functional units to be those of Patrol, Traffic, Detective, and Youth. In some police departments, however, the need to respond to the desires of the community which it serves has required the creation of additional specialized units. These units may actually serve a need or may be the result of pressure groups who stimulate creation to serve an artificial need. An example of the latter would be the licensing function of many large departments which is maintained solely by public pressure

¹⁹Most notably the "Escobedo" and "Miranda" rulings.

and which concerns itself with the regulation of conduct which is in most instances unrelated to the police mission.

4. The amount of work to be done. Work which is concentrated in time and place, even though it does not require a special skill or ability may justify specialization. Examples of this would be the enforcement of parking regulations within a small area, and in some cities the conducting of investigations relative to applications for pistol permits.

Distribution of Manpower to Specialized Divisions

V. A. Leonard, among others, points out that:

The formula for the numerical distribution of men among the various divisions and units of a police organization is as yet unknown.²⁰

There can be no doubt that the relative importance of assigning men to traffic duty or to the detective division is one of the most difficult decisions to be faced by the police administrator. Of what social significance is a traffic death, a sexual assault on a child, or an adult mugging death? These are the subjective, qualitative determinations the administrator must make in balancing competing results for manpower. To aid him in making his decisions he must take into account operational costs, the

²⁰V. A. Leonard, Police Organization and Management (New York: Foundation Press, 1964), p. 75.

caseload, the frequency of the various types of crime, and the severity of punishment provided for the particular crime by the penal law. This latter can be said to be the attitude of the public as expressed through their elected representatives, however this is not always the case. A more reliable guide for the administrator would be the public sentiment expressed locally by newspapers and letters to his department.

Kirk, after discussing with approval the policy of specialization within the medical profession in order to better serve the public, writes

This is also the answer to the police administrators problem. His is not a task of limiting specialization, but of balancing generalists and specialists so that crime and disorder will receive treatment best fitted to reduce it. This is not an organizational problem whereby ratios are abstracted and rigidly followed. Rather, it is a question of administration devoting attention to the soundest control and work measurement devices available.²¹

In the final analysis the distribution of manpower is very often the subjective expression of the administrator's philosophy of law enforcement.

Advantages of specialization

There was found to be substantial agreement among the authors of police literature that certain distinct advantages accrue to a police department which specializes.

²¹Paul L. Kirk, "Progress in Criminal Investigation," in The Annals, Vol. 291, pp. 9, 10.

The major advantages are briefly listed below:

1. Responsibility is definitely fixed for the proper performance of a task,
2. Expertise is developed,
3. Training is improved,
4. Esprit de Corps encouraged,
5. Interest of Personnel stimulated.

Disadvantages of specialization

There was also found to be general agreement that specialization could have its drawbacks. Some authors stressed one or another disadvantage which to him seemed the most undesirable result of specialization, but the following briefly lists disadvantages presented by all of them. It must be mentioned that these objections were not made against specialization per se, but were the result of "over-specialization," a condition to be avoided.

1. It has a tendency to divide the department into separate forces that sometimes act independently of each other. Murphy gives this as the main drawback, stating:

The principal disadvantage is that officers so assigned have a tendency to form departments within a department. They lose sight of the general responsibility of the organization and are only interested in the matters within their own unit.²²

²²William A. Murphy, "Specialization of Police Duty," The Police Chief, October, 1962, p. 22.

This tendency has come to be described as "compartmentalization"; the inability or unwillingness of specialists to recognize the importance of other units and the necessity of cooperating with them. This causes friction, competition for staff, facilities and equipment, and restricts executive development. Compartmentalization also leads specialists to ignore work that is the primary responsibility of some other unit, lowering the efficiency of the entire department.

2. Problems of administration are increased. The increase in the number of branches, each with its own hierarchy, complicates the integration and coordination of the department, hinders the communication process, and intensifies problems of control. One text explains it this way:

Specialization in planning and control is essential for effective operations. It must be provided if the department objectives are to be attained. The error arises in concluding that, because there is need for specialization in planning and controlling, there is equal need for special operating personnel. The police chief should avoid unnecessary specialization at the level of execution. . . . The best rule is to assign to the patrol division all police tasks that do not interfere with regular patrol duties and that patrolmen are able to perform substantially as well as specialized personnel.²³

Disregarding the above guideline has led to much of the criticism heard today whenever the concept of

²³Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, Municipal Police Administration (Chicago: The International City Managers' Association, 1954), Fourth Edition, p. 69.

specialization is discussed. It is the misuse of specialization, rather than its use, which has prolonged the controversy.

Specialization Within the Detective Function

But in the detective force, if nowhere else in the police administration, we must have thorough administrative efficiency or we might as well abolish the detective force entirely.²⁴

Organization of the detective function as it affects specialization

The organization of a detective division or bureau greatly affects its efficiency. Improperly organized divisions increase the already existing problems of recordkeeping, of fixing responsibility of supervision, and other measures of control. In reviewing the literature the earliest reference located which had a specific recommendation as to how a detective division should be organized was found in a book by L. E. Fuld. Fuld points out that municipal detective forces are of three kinds: central office squads under a chief of detectives, precinct detectives, . . . and temporary detective details. He quickly discourages the use of the latter method, saying:

²⁴Leonard F. Fuld, Police Administration (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1909), p. 179.

This system is an exceedingly bad one, because it is impossible for the detective officers under such a system to obtain that expert and specialized knowledge which it is absolutely necessary for the efficient detective to possess.²⁵

Fuld also disapproved of the precinct detective theory of staffing, citing that the rapid means of communication made possible by the telephone, and the ease with which a detective could be summoned to the scene by automobile made the stationing of a detective at a precinct unnecessary. The best system, according to Fuld, is that of the squad of central office detectives under the command of a chief of detectives. He does not mention by what method investigations should be assigned to these detectives but this method of organization facilitates specialization in the assignment of investigations.

Raymond B. Fosdick, writing in 1920, wrote that there were only two prevailing types of internal organization of detective bureaus in American cities: the centralized bureau, operated at headquarters, and the decentralized bureau working largely from precincts or other sub-units. He merely lists the merits and drawbacks of each system, and remarks:

There has been much discussion regarding the relative merits of centralization and decentralization, and no general conclusion can be reached as to the superiority of either of these plans.²⁶

²⁵Ibid., pp. 173-175.

²⁶Raymond B. Fosdick, American Police Systems (New York: The Century Publishing Company, 1920), p. 334.

However, he points out that those who favor centralization contend that there is a need for specialization in criminal investigations which cannot be effected when detectives are distributed throughout precinct units, and that better control over the detectives results when operations are centralized.²⁷

Graper, writing in 1921, merely restated the views of Fuld, observing:

There are three main methods of organizing detective divisions in municipal police departments--the centralized system of central office squads; the decentralized system of having detectives attached to a police district or precinct and subject to the officer in command of that district, and in the smaller cities, the system of temporary detective details.²⁸

Graper later warns that, regardless of the method of organization selected:

Unless properly supervised, detectives, like most other persons, become slack in the performance of duty.²⁹

The system used at the present time in New York City is a compromise of the above systems.³⁰ Each patrol precinct has a squad of detectives assigned to it whose task is to undertake follow-up investigations of all crimes

²⁷ Ibid., p. 335.

²⁸ Elmer D. Graper, American Police Administration (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1921), p. 197.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 184.

³⁰ This material is provided at this point for informational and orientational purposes only. A more detailed account will be found in Chapter IV.

committed within the geographical boundaries of the precinct and which are unsolved. An office is maintained within the precinct building, however the detectives are not under the command of the precinct commanding officer. They are commanded by a detective lieutenant who is in turn under the supervision of a detective district commander located in another area of the city. The precinct detective assigned to a follow-up investigation, or "case," remains responsible for its proper management at all times.

There also exists several specialized detective units that operate from police headquarters and which provide assistance to precinct detectives on important cases without, however, assuming any responsibility for the outcome. This assistance is not automatically provided on request of the precinct detective, but rather is forthcoming only when in the opinion of a headquarters superior the investigation is of sufficient importance that a prompt solution is desirable. Examples of cases of this kind would be those generating pressure from the newspapers, those which are embarrassing to the department, and those investigations having political significance.³¹ These

³¹When, in 1962, the safe in the office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York City was burglarized, no less than 14 members of the Safe and Loft Squad promptly responded to the scene.

headquarters specialized units also have original jurisdiction in investigations referred to the department by outside agencies, such as the F.B.I. or the district attorney.

Specialization in the Assignment of Investigations

In the reviewing of the pertinent literature, no support whatever for the generalist method of case assignment could be located. In support of the concept of specialization in the assignment of criminal investigations, however, much is written. The advocates of specialization are in substantial agreement as to the benefits which accrue to the individual investigator and to the department through specialization. The advantages are similar to those listed in the prior discussion concerning functional specialization in a municipal police department generally, but are much more specific.

V. A. Leonard wrote the following in a chapter headed "Internal Organization":

Functional specialization within the detective division is to a considerable extent the expression of organization by clientele. The establishment of homicide, robbery, burglary, check and automobile theft details is in recognition of the gains to be made through the highly specialized study of the operational characteristics and modus operandi of a particular type or class of criminal offenders.³²

³²V. A. Leonard, Police Organization and Management (New York: Foundation Press, 1964), second edition, p. 72.

In the same volume, under the chapter entitled "Supporting Line Elements," Leonard becomes more specific:

Specialization in a detective division permits the investigator to concentrate his time and energies in the investigation of a particular type of criminal activity and through continuous work in a specific criminal area, he gradually builds up a fund of skills and information that is indispensable to departmental efficiency. He comes to know personally the offenders who operate within the specific criminal specialty which constitutes the functional area assigned to him for investigation; he becomes familiar with their methods of operation, their habits, friends, relatives, and close associates. Not infrequently an experienced detective is able to narrow the investigation and search down to a single individual after a careful study of the crime scene and recognition of the salient features of the modus operandi.³³

Leonard again, writing in a book primarily directed at young people in order to interest them in law enforcement careers, points out that as a police organization grows larger the need for specialization becomes clear. In discussing the detective division he states that the department benefits by men who do specialized work for which they have special skills or training, and that:

The men assigned to these specialized squads or details work constantly on the investigation of a particular type of crime. As a result, they become highly skilled in the solution of cases assigned to them.³⁴

In one of the most widely read texts on police administration, Municipal Police Administration, a convincing

³³ Ibid., pp. 216, 217.

³⁴ V. A. Leonard, The Police of the Twentieth Century (Brooklyn: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1964), p. 7.

argument is presented which favors investigative specialization

The case for complete specialization in the detective division is clear. . . . The assignment of cases in rotation, thus avoiding any possibility of specialization, is an undesirable practice.³⁵

After asserting that the reason for specialization was obvious it was pointed out that criminals themselves specialize and that they do not usually change their line. Detective divisions should therefore be organized into special groups or bureaus to cope most successfully with the criminal specialties, allowing the members of these bureaus to become expert in their particular line.³⁶ In a sense, law enforcement is contradicting itself when it recognizes that criminals do develop individual methods of committing a crime, a modus operandi, and then to neglect to specialize in case assignment to take advantage of the criminal's human weakness of habit. The personal characteristics of one criminal are likely to differ from those of other criminals and often influence him in the selection of his specialty. A confidence man has a different personality than does a robber or a burglar. It is reasonable

³⁵Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, Municipal Police Administration, International City Managers Association, Fourth Edition (Chicago: 1954), p. 308.

³⁶Ibid., p. 308.

for law enforcement administrators to assign detectives to specialize, allowing them to become familiar with both the modus operandi and the personality quirks which prevail in criminals of a certain type insofar as this is possible.

Orlando W. Wilson, probably the best known of the present day experts on police administration has long been an advocate of complete specialization in the assignment of criminal investigations. In an early work he takes for granted that such a system is in operation when, in discussing recordkeeping and case assignment,

If it is a case to be handled by the detective division, he (the receiving clerk) assigns the detective regularly assigned to such crimes . . .³⁷

It must have been brought to his attention that investigative specialization did not enjoy widespread acceptance, for in later texts he was careful to spell out the concept and its advantages.

Specialization in detective assignment should be the invariable rule. This procedure assures the assignment of officers in accordance with their special interests and abilities; it enables the investigator to become expert in the investigation of certain classes of crimes and informed regarding the individual criminals and criminal types who specialize in these crimes, their methods of operation, associates, hang-outs, and methods for disposing of their loot. Specialization also fixes responsibility and enables a more accurate measure of accomplishment.³⁸

³⁷Orlando W. Wilson, Police Records (Chicago, Ill.: Public Administration Service, 1942), p. 55.

³⁸Orlando W. Wilson, Police Planning (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1952), p. 113.

This paragraph is an excellent summary of the advantages to be obtained by specialization in the assignment of investigations.

Elaborating on this topic in his most recent text, Police Administration, the views of Wilson may be set forth as follows:

1. As a general rule all cases of the same class should be investigated by the detective specializing in that type.
2. Specialization of assignment
 - a. fixes responsibility
 - b. simplifies training
 - c. permits selection of personnel for assignment on a basis of special interest and ability, and
 - d. provides a more accurate measure of the accomplishment of the individual detective.³⁹

The work of the follow-up investigator will be more efficient since frequent repetition of tasks will narrow the field of attention and increase his skills. Where the number of investigations become too numerous for one man to properly investigate additional investigators should be assigned, dividing the work on a logical basis. For example, if there developed an increase in burglary investigations which necessitated an increase in personnel to that specialty, the work could be divided by assigning all commercial burglaries to one investigator, and all residential burglaries to another. When there are too few reports of

³⁹Orlando W. Wilson, Police Administration, second edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), p. 291.

a type of crime, or they are infrequently reported, they should be assigned to the detective who specializes in a closely related crime--for example, a fraud case to the detective specializing in bad check investigations.⁴⁰

It is a safe assumption that the impact of Wilson's contributions to the law enforcement field has been substantial. Wilson was not the originator of many of the theories and procedures in his books. However it is the author's opinion that the field of police administration owes him a debt of gratitude for pointing out how business methods could improve police work and for presenting updated theories of operating which had rested in texts long out of print, lost to the present generation of police administrators. It is unfortunate that Wilson, having had the opportunity to test many of his theories during his tenure as superintendent of the Chicago Police Department, has not thus far published an account of his experiences.

The influence O. W. Wilson has had on those who presently administer police functions, and on those who conduct surveys of police departments calculated to improve their methods, is not measurable, but is substantial. One example of the influence on this latter group is the report prepared by Donald S. Leonard, a Consultant in Police Administration with offices in Detroit, Michigan, for the

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 292.

city manager of Little Rock, Arkansas. The report of the survey makes numerous recommendations, many tracable to Wilson's writings. Recommendation number seventy-three concerns the subject matter of this study. Prior to making the recommendation the writer stated:

Criminal investigation assignments are made on the basis of available officers on duty at the time the crime is committed or the assignment is made. Such an assignment in cases is not considered as conducive to the most thorough investigation and handling of a case. Naturally, type and degree of specialization among the various bureaus or units of a detective division is dependent on two factors, namely, the type and amount of crime investigated by the division and the personnel that is available for this purpose. . . . The advantages of specialized squads is quite apparent. Their members not only become expert in their particular line but because of investigation of like offenses, are in a better position to identify the criminal activity of particular groups or individuals. This simplifies the work and results in a more efficient investigation.⁴¹

Leonard then continued his analysis of the prevailing practices, and praised the efforts of the detective superior to assign investigations to a detective whose experience and background made him the logical one to investigate the case. This, however, was not always possible because of the workload and shift assignments. Accordingly, the recommendation was made that the detective division be organized into special units or bureaus, and that investigators be assigned cases in a manner conforming to the concept of specialization.⁴²

⁴¹Donald S. Leonard, A Survey of the Little Rock Police Department (printed privately, 1959), p. 169.

⁴²Ibid., p. 170.

CHAPTER III

THE DETECTIVE FUNCTION

A detective division is created for the purpose of assisting the patrol force to accomplish its mission and therefore the goals of the patrol force and the detective division are identical. However in order to carry out its work a detective division must have internal guidelines. The primary purpose or goal of a detective division is, by the conducting of investigation, to solve major crimes in order to identify, arrest and convict the perpretrators, and to recover stolen property. In order to accomplish this primary goal, the detective division must develop and accomplish the following sub-goals:

1. Develop expertise in the techniques essential to the accomplishment of their primary goal.

2. Assist and advise the Patrol Division; cooperate with other branches of the department.

3. Maintain accurate records regarding their work; update records as required; centralize records compiled by the entire department with free access to all branches, but maintained by the Detective Personnel; organized crime information should be separately filed.

4. Maintain cordial relationships with other departments and agencies; receive and reply to out-of-jurisdiction correspondence.

5. Effect arrests for other authorities where warrants are forwarded, conducting related extradition/rendition proceedings.

6. Development of plans to be used by investigative personnel in the event of a serious disorder, as compilation of vulnerable locations; places susceptible to burglary or sabotage.

7. Planning in relation to the protection of important visitors to the city.

8. Obtain a final disposition on those cases referred for investigation by the patrol force where their "preliminary investigation" did not succeed in apprehending the criminal.

9. Properly perform such other investigations as may be directed by higher authority.

Selection of Detectives

Views of early writers

Early writers did not have a high opinion of detectives, considering them to be beneath the uniformed patrolman but necessary for the accomplishment of the departmental goals. Fuld wrote:

The detective is a policeman who is detailed to duty in citizens' clothes for the purpose of discovering and arresting the criminal responsible for a particular crime. The work of the detective is essentially that of the spy and the class of men that are attracted to this work is such as one would naturally expect to find there. In the historical development of the police force the detectives were generally and almost invariably criminals who considered spying more profitable than the commission of felony.¹

In a discussion of the qualifications to be possessed by a detective to be effective he placed great importance on personal knowledge of the criminal class which could be obtained only by associating with them on intimate terms. But even Fuld had to admit, albeit grudgingly, that the detective's life is not easy. He allows that:

The detective's work is a combination of mystery and hard grind. Mystery is a valuable assistance to the detective in his work and besides is impressive; anything that is not understood is bound to be more or less impressive.²

Fuld is also the earliest writer to advocate that selection to the detective division should be on the basis of demonstrated ability only, and selected only by the police chief. He states that a written examination will not uncover the necessary qualities, and the experience gained while on uniformed patrol will prove invaluable in the discharge of his detective duties. He continues:

¹Fuld, op. cit., p. 171.

²Ibid., p. 172.

Furthermore the tenure of the detective should not be permanent. His tenure should be dependent on the pleasure of the chief . . . which . . . should mean . . . that the chief can reduce a detective to patrol duty whenever his work is inefficient.³

Much of the literature that is predominant today has been written by men who were greatly influenced by Fuld. However, despite the many contributions he has made to detective administration, Fuld could not mask his aversion for detectives in his writings. Perjorative statements concerning detectives occur repeatedly. For example:

Men who have made a careful study of the lives and methods of operation of professional criminals tell us unhesitatingly that the detectives in many of our larger cities share with these thieves the plunder which the latter succeed in obtaining.⁴

Fosdick, another early writer, suggested that the detective division be staffed by the selection of men from the uniform force or from outside the police department altogether.⁵ The former is the rule in most cities of the United States, however in some jurisdictions elected prosecutors maintain their own staff of civilian investigators rather than rely completely on information supplied by police detectives.⁶ Fosdick agrees that observation of a

³Ibid., p. 179.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Raymond B. Fosdick, op. cit., p. 328.

⁶Most notably would be the District Attorney's Office of King's County within the city of New York; an institution perennially at odds with the New York City Police Department.

patrolman's performance of his patrol duties is a valid indicator of success as a detective, and that no written examination can fairly test the peculiar qualifications of a successful detective. "Philadelphia experimented with detective selection through the use of written tests," reports Fosdick, "and the head of the detective bureau stated that 'Men are appointed detectives who might make good clerks or school teachers but they do not know how to catch crooks.'" ⁷

The new image of the detective is due in part to better selection and retention methods, and increased supervision which has reduced the corruption which was once prevalent. Today both the police profession and the public look upon the position of detective as one of the top glamour spots in police work.

Current practices

In order to achieve stated goals the personnel of the detective division must be carefully selected. One cannot disagree with the statement that the desirable characteristics of a detective differ in degree rather than in kind from those stipulated for members of the patrol force. ⁸

⁷Fosdick, op. cit., p. 329.

⁸Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, op. cit., p. 282.

No one has been able to isolate the factor or combination of factors which make a patrolman into a detective, or which makes a detective outstanding as compared with other detectives. One strong possibility is job satisfaction, but no research has been done. Some of the desirable traits of a detective can be learned by training or experience, others are innate and should be looked for in the selection process. A list of these would include a healthy skepticism, a wide range of interests indicative of an inquiring mind, a personality which enables him to get along with people, a retentive memory, and some interrogative skill.⁹ Wilson would add the following qualities: "an abundance of physical and nervous energy; considerably more-than-ordinary persistence; imagination and ingenuity, with the initiative and force to apply them; and a broad background of experience. . . ."¹⁰

Wilson, commenting on how best to uncover such exceptional individuals within the ranks of the patrol force, writes:

Psychological and physical tests may one day be developed to measure these qualities, but at present the most satisfactory basis for selection appears to be that of observation of individual patrolmen for the

⁹ Ibid., p. 282.

¹⁰ Wilson, op. cit., p. 289.

purpose of discovering evidence of their investigative ability. A written examination intended only to measure informational capacity is not the best method of selection.¹¹

Once selected, detectives should serve at the discretion of the police chief, and should not be frozen into their positions by civil service. W. Cleon Skousen, writing on this topic, stated:

No written tests will adequately reveal the best detective talent in a department. Assignments to the detective division should be kept on a highly competitive basis and the administrators of the department should have wide discretionary power in assigning personnel to this division.

After listing qualities desirable in a detective, Skousen continues:

And a chief soon discovers that even officers who possess these qualities can lose them. Detectives can wear out or burn out. A chief needs to be able to make quick shifts when this happens.¹²

The great weight of authority and practice is against granting civil service tenure to detectives, but the use of the written test as an aid in the selection process has gained favor in recent years. V. A. Leonard writes:

Extraordinary care must be used in recruiting detectives. . . . A deep interest on the part of the investigator is essential for this phase of police work, and this interest must be supplemented by an intimate knowledge of the arts and sciences. . . . Contrary to

¹¹Ibid., p. 289.

¹²W. Cleon Skousen, "Assign That Man to the Detective Division," Law and Order, March, 1968, p. 10.

popular impression, a criminal case . . . is seldom solved by miraculous sleuthing powers . . . but by persistent, intelligent hard work.¹³

After thus outlining the problem, Leonard admits that the experience of some police authorities with the written test as a prerequisite to assignment to detective duty has been disappointing and that indications are that formal tests cannot finally determine detective aptitude or capacity. Leonard counters this with his belief that some objective criteria is nevertheless necessary, and points out that:

No measuring device, whether written examinations or other forms of tests, should be overlooked in the effort to select men who are best qualified for this type of work.¹⁴

If promotional examinations possess validity at all, their use is certainly to be suggested in the attempt to identify men in the department who possess the qualities needed in successful detectives. The most recent attempt in this connection was made in Chicago in 1961. Prior to 1961, no standard procedure was used to select detectives in the Chicago Police Department, detective appointments were made based on the recommendations of commanding officers. It was recognized that a more valid method of selection was needed. When, in 1961, authorization was

¹³Leonard, op. cit., p. 218.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 218.

obtained for 200 additional detective positions, Superintendent O. W. Wilson was determined to fill them on as objective a basis as possible. Consistent with his previous writings, Wilson recognized that a written examination was an incomplete and imperfect tool, but because of limitations imposed by lack of time and the large number of candidates it seemed to provide the most fair and practical method of selection. It was understood that men appointed on the basis of this exam would retain their detective status only if they performed satisfactorily on the job. Not having civil service status in the detective division, if they did not meet performance standards they would be returned to their former rank of patrolman.¹⁵

A four hour, one-hundred and twenty question test was administered. An eligible list was compiled, from which a total of one hundred and ninety one men were appointed to the detective division. The performance ratings of these men, as given them by their superiors were carefully recorded. A validation study of the test was undertaken to determine whether this type of examination should be used in the future. The procedure was as follows: two lists of names were prepared, one listing by name the rank order as achieved on the test, the other listing in rank

¹⁵Anna Marie Gambol, N. Slowikowski, and Chet Doyle, "Detective Selection Gets New Twist in Chicago," Public Personnel Review, January, 1965, p. 40.

order the names of the men as rated by their superiors. Using the Spearman Rank Correlation Formula, the two rank orders were compared. The results indicated a lack of correlation between the two ratings. That is, grades received on the written examination were not related to job performance as measured by supervisor ratings.

Various possibilities were expressed to account for the lack of correlation:

- a. the test and/or the questionnaire was not a sensitive measurement;
- b. supervisor ratings may have been biased;
- c. supervisors performance rating form may not have been constructed to measure what was intended;
- d. the method of validation may not have been adequate; (the comparing)
- e. a test of aptitude and ability might have been more valid than a test of knowledge.¹⁶

After a study of these suggestions, a twelve week, one hundred sixty hour correspondence course was developed by the Training Division to be used to prepare men to take a new detective examination. This experiment has not yet been reported on, and being the most ambitious yet attempted must be closely observed by all police administrators.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 41.

Additional research in this area will be required, but the direction it will take is contingent upon the final report of this project.

There are many men now serving in the rank of detective who are completely unqualified for the job. Despite the best efforts of the chief of detectives unqualified men are appointed, either because of a promising patrol performance or via written test as in Chicago. What can the police administrator do to reduce the number of unqualified men in the detective division? Perhaps we had best stop concerning ourselves with the selectees past performance and place more emphasis on what he does when assigned to detective work. A more meaningful period of probation must be devised and applied to newly assigned detectives. There has been a failure to use the probationary device as a means to screen out those unable to do investigative work. Appointments to detective status should be for a six month self-terminating period. During this period he should be given close supervision and man-to-man instruction by his supervisor. Those for whom he worked should evaluate his performance, and the opinions of coworkers, so often overlooked in this area, should be actively solicited. The probationary period, as stated above, should be self-expiring; that is it will have the effect of returning the officer to the patrol force unless prior to the expiration date a positive request for his retention is received by

the chief of detectives. This "positive request" statement is contrary to current practice in most cities, but has several advantages. The rejected candidate cannot feel animosity towards any individual as is possible where a candidate is retained unless written rejection is forwarded. Also, the period of probation would not be treated in as cavalier a fashion as done presently, the candidate would realize that he must be accepted, not rejected. The probationary period of a candidate who has not been assigned tasks enabling him to demonstrate his ability could be extended for a reasonable time. This procedure would also be followed where doubt exists as to a candidate's qualifications. It is the author's opinion that if we agree with the statement that written examinations will not uncover those qualities we claim are essential in a detective, and agree further that patrol performance merely indicates aptitude for detective work, then the adaptation of a meaningful probationary period is essential if we are to preserve competence within the detective function.

Evaluation of the Detective Function

A survey of the Boston Police Department conducted several years ago revealed the following:

1. The "bureau of criminal investigation" was poorly organized, did not oversee all investigations of crime.

2. The ratio of the number of patrolmen to detectives was increasing while court appearances, an increase in the amount of cases to be investigated, and extended hours of coverage were further sapping efficiency.

3. Equipment provided was inadequate and poorly distributed.

4. There was too little supervision over detectives, and the amount there was depended on the inquisitiveness of the captain working.

5. Working hours were poorly used, wasted by hanging around offices, etc.

6. Records were poorly kept if at all; no written assignment of cases to investigate, detectives relied too much on memory, etc.

7. Coordination between uniformed officers and detectives was lacking, jealousy was thought to be beneficial as it "spurred good work," each branch had their own set of supervisors which had the effect of blocking free and easy contacts.¹⁷

The similarity between the findings above and those contained in recent surveys of police agencies gives some measure to the amount of inertia within the police field, and within the detective function in particular.

¹⁷L. V. Harrison, Police Administration in Boston (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1934).

One of the earliest attempts to evaluate the efficiency of the police function was done by Bellman.¹⁸ In the evaluation of the detective function he arrived at what was a ratable function, prepared lists of them assigning a value of two points to each. He stated that he "ventures to suggest a method that will accomplish a two fold purpose: the rating of a police organization according to certain standards, and the improvement of the service." His system was based on the then available literature, discussions with numerous police officials, and from the author's personal investigation of police departments in the United States. A "perfect score" for a detective function involving the follow-up investigation of crime was given as 376 points, which were earned as follows:

Detail (unit)	Number of Duties Listed	Total Possible Value
Pawnshop	20	40
Fugitive	15	30
Forgery	17	34
Narcotics	19	38
Burglary	15	30
Homicide	15	30
Arson	13	26
Robbery	12	24
Auto Theft	18	36
Bunco-Pickpocket	13	26
Missing Persons	15	30
Post Office	5	10
General duties of all investigators	11	22
	"Perfect" Score	<u>376</u>

¹⁸Arthur Bellman, "A Police Service Rating Scale,"
26 Journal Criminal Law and Criminology, 74-114, 1935.

Bellman's approach was to look inside the agency itself in order to determine efficiency. Less than a year later the work of Bellman came under attack. Writing in the same journal, Spencer D. Parratt questioned the system of assigning values to these duties.¹⁹ He asked "to what extent is the Bellman instrument analogous to a yardstick, a balance scale, or a thermometer as a measuring device?" Pointing out that a high score would not necessarily mean quality, he said "a modern police department is at least as complicated as vegetable soup." Soup can be rated as to quality only if every ingredient is listed, and using Bellman's instrument as a formula for qualitatively describing a complete department is obviously deficient since it is a highly selective classification. He further questioned what is "quality" in a police department? He pointed out that external forces which operate on a police organization were the real determinants of police quality, that even where a high score in an area is shown, this area may not be performing in a manner acceptable to the public, or other outside force. Parratt said the line of attack lies in isolating numbers of significant variables involved in police functioning and treating them separately. Once

¹⁹Spencer D. Parratt, "A Critique of the Bellman Police Service Rating Scale," 27 Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 895, 1936.

this is done, "a foundation will be laid for a superstructure balancing their relative importance."²⁰ Another problem, said Parratt, was the assigning proper weight to the various elements (Patrol, Traffic, Detective, etc.) in terms of the total instrument. Bellman had arbitrarily assigned Traffic control a weight of fifty-six, Vice - eighty-six, patrol only one hundred fifty six while the detective function was assigned a weight of three hundred seventy six.

Parratt was later to develop an instrument of his own, consisting of a group of three hundred forty-two questions grouped under eight headings, with which he attempted to overcome the errors of Bellman and obtain a more realistic measure of police effectiveness.²¹ No discussion of this effort will be attempted here. Suffice to say this instrument (a questionnaire) attempted to determine what the public judged to be approved and disapproved police practices and behaviors at a particular time.

The foregoing material has been set forth for the purpose of illustrating the difficulty of arriving at a method that can be molded into an instrument with which to evaluate an investigative function. The Uniform Crime

²⁰Ibid., p. 900.

²¹Spencer D. Parratt, "A Scale to Measure Effectiveness of Police Functioning," 28 Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 739, 1937.

Reports provide a modern method of evaluating effectiveness, subject of course to the cautions contained in Chapter I.²²

Evaluation of Investigators

Assessment of men involves the art of arriving at valid conclusions from insufficient data. The task of determining the value of an individual to an organization is always difficult. It is even more difficult when the individual to be evaluated is a detective. Wilson states that:

In no other branch may the accomplishments and abilities of individual officers be so accurately appraised as in the detective service, where percentage clearances by arrest and percentage property recoveries in one class of crime reflect rather closely the ability and effort of the investigating officers.²³

It must be noted that Wilson is presupposing that specialization in case assignment is departmental procedure, and the above was not applicable to generalist detectives.

Generalists--how evaluated

How, then, are generalists rated? Basically, they are evaluated on the total number of arrests they make. The knowledge that this is the department's practice has an impact on the detective's overall attitude and

²²Uniform Crime Reports, op. cit.,

²³Wilson, op. cit., p. 290.

day-to-day work practices. He will, on receiving a case, quickly evaluate it in terms of the possibilities it may offer for a prompt arrest. Any social or moral advantages which would result from its' solution is subordinated to this very real need to effect an arrest. This is one of the major disadvantages of the generalist concept. When the generalist is unable to cope with the volume of investigations that are assigned to him he becomes frustrated. In order to appear efficient he will close out many of his assigned cases with little or no investigation to gain time to investigate those cases which, on the surface at least, hold the promise of a quick solution by an arrest. He will ignore an armed robbery where the perpetrators have escaped in favor of a case involving a dishonest employee whose whereabouts are known. An investigation which requires little actual work to solve; where there is a complainant willing to prosecute, and a defendant who can be easily apprehended, is known colloquially as a "ground ball." It is but human nature for the generalist investigator to give a large part of his attention to such cases; he is evaluated on quantity, not quality.

The premature closing of cases which do not lend themselves to prompt solution is the defensive technique developed by the investigator to avoid being burdened with cases requiring too much attention. Prior to the reforms in reporting and recording crimes which was made necessary

by the Uniform Crime Reports, many of these crimes were not officially recorded at all, and were "canned" (thrown into the wastebasket) by the detective receiving the report. A former police commissioner of New York City, writing in 1918 about this problem, stated:

When a 'squeal' came in over the telephone the lieutenant at the desk wrote it down on a piece of paper and handed it to a detective. 'Here Bill,' he'd say, 'look that up.' Bill took the paper, put it in his pocket, and when the paper wore out, the case was closed.²⁴

It would be naive to believe that similar incidents do not happen even under today's stringent reporting procedures, however they are becoming increasingly rare in today's urban police departments. Police administrators, realizing the importance of obtaining accurate crime statistics, frequently revise reporting and recording methods to discourage "canning" of reported crimes. Typical of these efforts was an order issued to the New York City police department in March, 1966, by the newly appointed Chief Inspector Sanford Garelik. It explicitly directed that all crime was to be accurately recorded when received as reported by the complainant. To ensure compliance high ranking superiors attached to Garelik's office would conduct spot checks throughout the city.²⁵ Measures such as

²⁴Arthur Woods, Crime Prevention (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1918), p. 17.

²⁵General Order No. 10, March, 1966.

this are necessary because the police refuse to abandon the fallacy that they are somehow responsible for the amount of crime in the community. Striving to "look good," some departments will keep records in such a manner to reflect a favorable image, concealing, even from themselves, the true state of affairs.

Other demeaning practices

In his efforts to acquire the number of arrests required to assure his continuance as a detective, the generalist investigator is forced to adopt practices that are not in keeping with his status.²⁶ One very common practice in some departments is the arresting of vagrants, drunks, etc., by detectives who look upon these persons as "numbers" to be included on activity reports. The waste of departmental time and manpower caused by such arrests is immeasurable. Another practice is the acceptance of "handover" arrests from members of the uniform force. These are the situations in which an arrest is made by a uniformed member of the patrol force who has apprehended the defendant at the scene. Upon arrival at the precinct the uniformed officer, being unwilling to go to court

²⁶The actual number of arrests to be made annually is not actually stated, but the number is generally known to the detective, and is based on the volume of cases handled by his squad.

either because of a prior commitment or simple disinterest, "hands over" the defendant to the detective who then records the arrest as his own. It is small wonder then that active, efficient uniformed officers have little respect or regard for detectives, considering them to be "bum collectors" and scavengers.

A less common practice is to charge a defendant with a felony with full knowledge that it will be reduced to a misdemeanor at the first court hearing. Since the arrest is recorded as a felony arrest on the detective's arrest activity report, the temptation to follow this practice is strong.

It must be made clear that no condemnation of individual detectives is intended by the above, but that it is the system which fosters methods which are demoralizing to the man and detrimental to the department.

Specialists--how evaluated

Follow-up investigators who are assigned responsibility for a specific class of crime are not required to make a minimum number of arrests. They are evaluated more in accordance with the recommendations of Wilson that he be appraised on the basis of percentage of clearance and the amount of property recovered within one class of crime.²⁷

²⁷Wilson, op. cit., p. 29.

This basis of evaluation will encourage the detective to develop expertise, encourage him to make acquaintances and contacts which will aid him in his work, and foster all of the other principles previously discussed in Chapter II.

There is less reason to encourage the non-reporting of crimes, for the specialist will realize that this newly reported crime within his sphere of activity may contain a clue which will clear up several pending investigations. Also, realizing that he will receive credit only for arrests effected within his specialty there is little inclination to engage in the demeaning, self-preserving practices relied upon by the generalist.

Improving assessment of arrest activity

Arrests under both systems will continue to have more or less importance. Cognizant of this the author offers an arrest evaluation form (see Appendix A) which will hopefully provide a method allowing for more accurate assessment of detectives. This form, to be prepared by the supervisor, is an attempt to correct censurable practices by examining each step in the arrest and assigning a value to it. This form is not complete in that many other factors could be added, but it suffices to illustrate the concept. The value assigned as the level of investigative difficulty is admittedly subjective, but should be

based on the supervisor's own experience. A value is assigned where warrants are used to effect the arrest in an attempt to encourage the use of warrants in compliance with recent Supreme Court decisions. The factors which relate to post arrest developments are included as a measure of the investigator's proficiency at trial preparation, evidence gathering, etc. A space for the comments of the supervisor where the case is dismissed is provided. The officer should be interviewed when a case is dismissed. Possible training needs will be revealed, it provides an opportunity for helpful advice, and promotes the supervisor-supervised relationship. This form should be retained by the supervisor and used as one of the factors which aid him in evaluating the investigator semi-annually.

The values assigned are admittedly arbitrary, but can be adjusted as experience is gained. It can be prepared in a few minutes yet remains as a permanent record.

Written rating forms

The majority of police departments today prepare written forms which purport to evaluate their employees. The preparation and use of such ratings is necessary for the maintenance of an effective department, but is vital to brace standards within the detective division. The very fact that a large part of his work is performed out

of the sight and immediate control of his supervisor makes periodic ratings of individual detectives mandatory.

There are available many excellent formal rating systems but in police work, as in other fields, the raters are not sufficiently trained. Leniency is by far the most common rating error, and in a detective unit this often manifests itself by the senior men being rated highest. The supervisor's desire to retain friendship, to avoid unpleasant scenes, and the contradictory rationalization that "ratings do not really mean anything" are among the pressures which produce leniency.²⁸ The informality which characterizes much of the daily interplay between investigators and their supervisors makes objectivity more difficult. In a recent book, the writer--obviously never having been a detective--overstates both the type and extent of familiarity by stating:

Detectives are the upper class of police society and haughtily guard their special status and privileges. Their quarters are separate from those of the uniformed force. Within this private domain democratic camaraderie eliminates the social distance that ordinarily divides the various ranks of a bureaucratic hierarchy. A lower-ranking detective may call a detective captain by his first name without causing any surprise; he may walk arm-in-arm with a detective inspector (a very high superior officer), while discussing an important case.²⁹

²⁸Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, Supervisory Methods in Municipal Administration (Chicago: The International City Managers' Association, 1958), p. 202.

²⁹Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind The Shield (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967), p. 79.

While this may be dismissed as gross exaggeration it does point up the arduousness of the supervisor's task. The traits which should be included in the rating process should be closely related to the nature of the work performed. A detective should be evaluated with reference to the following traits:

1. Work attitude
2. Judgment
3. Initiative
4. Personal appearance
5. Contacts with the public
6. Quality of work
7. Knowledge of work
8. Loyalty
9. Punctuality

This list can be added to or otherwise modified to conform with the specialty being rated. For example, a detective who specializes in the apprehension of drug addicts would not be rated on his personal appearance since his contacts are not "jacket and tie" types.³⁰

Ratings once obtained should be utilized. If they are to be merely filed away and no attempt made to improve

³⁰Further information relative to categories and traits may be found in an article by George J. Dudycha: "Rating and Testing Policemen," Police, Vol. 1, No. 39, September-October, 1956.

the performance of the individual they should be discontinued. However the supervisor must keep in mind that the evaluation of the performance of the entire detective division is but an extension of the performance of each member; individual performance should be improved whenever possible.

Written records, readily available for reference, can be invaluable assistance to the detective administrator. By purusing an investigator's arrest record and his formal rating form an accurate evaluation of his value to the department may be obtained.

Supervision of Investigators

The nature of the work of investigators makes supervision difficult, but all the more necessary. Many observers have pointed out the problems encountered in attempting to oversee the activities of investigators. Westley outlines the work routine of a detective employed by the city he studied as follows:

The individual detective looks over his assignments as he comes on duty, and if he has any assignments he figures out how to work on them, and leaves the station to follow this course of action. If he has no assignments he will either hang around the bureau waiting for something to break, or will cruise about the town checking upon various things and waiting for an assignment to come over the radio. When he is working on a case, he may go to the scene of the crime, search out witnesses and talk to them or just drift about the town, in and out of bars and brothels, pool halls and gambling places, . . . Although the work frequently involves long hours, extra time in court, the detective can work at his own pace. He can loaf when he chooses,

without detection; he can spend a great deal of time over a leisurely drink in a bar, or a long dinner in a restaurant. He can always write these activities off as 'obtaining information.'³¹

There is little reason to believe that things have improved very much since these observations were made. Many feel that to attempt to supervise detectives is folly. Representative of this view is a quote from the Missouri Crime Survey:

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.³²

Probably the best way to supervise investigators is to eliminate the need to supervise them by originally selecting only those properly motivated. One research paper concluded that

Too much control can restrict an investigator in his duties and . . . too little invites disastrous results. The question comes down to how much control can be exerted and still achieve maximum performance. Consequently . . . 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.³³

³¹William A. Westley, *The Police; A Sociological Study of Law, Custom, and Morality* (University of Chicago: Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, 1951), pp. 68, 69.

³²Harry E. Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, *New Horizons in Criminology* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1945), p. 257.

³³John H. Faughn, "Administration of Investigative Activities," A Study of Factors Relating to Control of Investigators; unpublished Masters Thesis, Michigan State University, 1965.

He goes on to point out that the best way to control investigators is to select those men whose goals coincide with those of the organization and are able to integrate them into an overall common effort for mutual benefit.³⁴

Unfortunately we have no way of identifying this superior employee except to supervise him closely, relaxing our supervision and allowing more freedom only as the evidence warrants.

The failure to supervise investigators properly has led to a series of decisions of the United States Supreme Court severely restricting police activities in areas which were formerly left to their discretion. The rationale behind the decisions is clear, the court is disciplining the police, feeling that internal controls are inadequate. The action of follow-up investigators were reviewed and found deficient in the following cases: *Mapp v. Ohio*, *Escobedo v. Illinois*, *United States v. Miranda*, and the *United States v. Katz*. Each of these cases imposed severe restrictions on law enforcement personnel and their operating techniques. One can speculate that had these investigators been properly supervised at the time and place of these arrests the conduct upon which the Supreme Court based its decisions would not have occurred.

³⁴Ibid.

Supervision is a requirement that varies with individuals, but supervision should at all times be exercised in a police department, even if it is only knowing one's whereabouts, or knowing a telephone number over which supervision can be received or exercised.

Supervision by Formal Authority

Detective supervisors

Many departments obtain their detective supervisors from those promoted to sergeant who had been detectives. There are obvious advantages and disadvantages resulting from this practice. The detective supervisor is vested with the formal authority of his rank consistent with the department's organizational chart, but whether he exercises his authority to adequately supervise his subordinates is up to the individual.

Wilson remarks that the nature of investigative duties emphasizes the need for close and continuous supervision if satisfactory results are to be obtained. He advises 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 states that:

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

This may be accomplished with varying success by means of written records, to have a supervisor accompany each investigator would be impractical. Most authorities advocate close and continuous supervision over investigative personnel, but few suggest how this may be achieved. Some claim that success in investigative tasks is closely related to the degree of supervision afforded.

Murphy, a retired special agent-in-charge for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, states that one of the fundamental reasons for the success of the F.B.I. in investigative matters is the excellent and continuous supervision afforded personnel at all levels of responsibility.³⁶ Unfortunately, the police administrator cannot model his practices along F.B.I. procedures. The F.B.I. has limited jurisdiction which precludes heavy individual caseloads, has personnel who are well trained and well motivated, and has unlimited funds. Further, the municipal detective is a career police officer investigator, while the F.B.I.'s special agents are not. The F.B.I. also relies heavily on "surprise inspections"³⁷ and indoctrination designed to

³⁵Wilson, op. cit., p. 294.

³⁶Murphy, op. cit., pp. 18-22.

³⁷Norman Ollestad, Inside the F.B.I. (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1967), p. 276.

encourage agents to report one another's infractions of regulations.³⁸ This latter procedure has never succeeded in police departments. Internal investigation units, or "shoo fly" units themselves present problems of control and supervision.

By personal observation

Day-to-day observation of how a man does his work is a very effective supervisory technique, especially if the supervisor makes a note now and then, recording the employee's performance informally, saving the notation for use when preparing the semi annual evaluation.

By questioning

Another technique is for the supervisor to informally ask questions about new court decisions, departmental procedures, the progress of his cases, etc. Where a supervisor does this, even once a week, the men will be alert to this possibility, having the desirable consequence of keeping them on their toes.

Written records

The impracticality of close man-to-man supervision of investigators has led to the reliance on written forms,

³⁸Ibid., p. 58. This book also presents a contrasting view of the effects of the F.B.I.'s supervisory methods from that of W. Murphy.

activity reports, and similar devices. The ease with which these can be falsified makes their value questionable.

Wilson notes that attempts to control the activities of personnel in this manner have usually 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

Despite these drawbacks administrators must rely on written records, not all of which are susceptible to fraud. Examples of written controls which may be instituted by detective administrators in an effort to closely control investigators can be gathered into the following general categories.

Submitted reports

One of the most effective means of supervising investigators is by closely reading reports of investigations submitted by them. The supervisor who does this unfailingly, as a matter of policy, will invariably establish a large measure of control over his men. The experienced supervisor can quickly penetrate the jargon so often used to mask inept, unsatisfactory investigations. Reports reveal many things to the astute supervisor; who is

³⁹Wilson, op. cit., p. 117.

satisfactorily performing, and who is straying--needs training--or is incapable of continuing as an investigator. Reports received from other units, such as the property section complaining that a detective failed to return evidence after a court appearance, or from the superior officer assigned to a court stating that a detective reported to court late, are also supervisory aids to the detective's commanding officers.

By "location log"

The men assigned to duty should be required to report to the office at the beginning of their tour for instruction and to outline their day's work. This will not be required where court attendance or other police business interferes. On leaving the office for the first time the investigator should enter his destination, case number and the time on a "location log" maintained for this purpose. A column should be set aside for insertion of a telephone number at which he may be reached. The log should be kept chronologically by a civilian office clerk along with his other duties. As he leaves each location he should call the office to give his new destination, but not if less than two hours since his last report. To require, as suggests Wilson a call each hour would interfere with an investigator's functioning. A telephone without a dial for outgoing calls should be set aside for the receipt

of these location calls. The knowledge that a supervisor could "ring back" will usually serve to keep this log reasonably accurate, and serve as an effective control.

By radio contact

A more expensive but potentially very effective control over investigators is the use of small, rechargeable radio signal receivers. About the size of a matchbox it emits a sharp beeping sound when activated by a tone broadcast over its frequency, notifying the detective to contact his office. This device is cheaper and less conspicuous than the 2-way portable receivers. They can be recharged in the office overnight, and a small number can be acquired to serve each office since all members do not work at the same time; days off, court days, etc., vary the available force.

By obtaining a case-time estimate

Little if any research has been done to determine how long it takes to investigate a certain type of crime. At first glance it seems that it would be impossible to estimate. However, admitting that it would be difficult to say how long it takes to solve a crime, it is possible to estimate and set time limits on the investigation of crimes not solved. For example we can outline steps that

are always done when beginning the investigation of a Grand Larceny, and set an average time in minutes for accomplishing each step.

Ex.: Crime; Grand Larceny, property from a store

<u>Steps</u>	<u>average time to complete</u>
1. <u>Interview complainant</u>	15 minutes
a) how crime occurred	
b) description; serial number, etc.	
c) employee suspects?	
d) additional information not given at preliminary investigation	
2. <u>Attempts to trace property</u>	
a) check with property recovery unit	5 minutes
b) pawnshop canvass (telephone)	15 minutes
c) informers	15 minutes
3. <u>Preparation of reports</u>	
a) report closing case pending developments	5 minutes
b) submission of report to supervisor	
Unsolved larceny	55 minutes

Each crime will require separate research to determine optimum time allowances. Adjustments should be made where necessary. A supervisor who uses this tool can evaluate an investigator's workload, thoroughness, attention to duty and other factors. No attempt is made here to set time limits on the steps that need be taken where a "break"

in the case occurs, such as informer telling the investigator that "Joe Doe" was trying to sell the described property several hours after it was stolen. But the six-month evaluation period will have the effect of adjusting this since there will be a ratio of unsolved to solved with arrest cases. Methods to evaluate investigators will be discussed later under "Records." Research needs to be done in this area, the long held view that time estimates are not possible needs to be tested. Even partial success will be of great value when dealing with an unknown. The approach suggested is to state the problem negatively. "How much time should it take to not solve a crime"? and progress from there.

Limitations of time prevent extension of this chapter into the more specific areas of detective training, discipline, cooperation with other units, and similar areas which greatly affect investigative efficiency. However, these are contained within the perview of the selection, evaluation, and the supervision of investigators. The administrator who achieves even a small measure of accomplishment in these crucial areas, will have, by doing so, resolved other related problems.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INVESTIGATIVE FUNCTION IN FIVE POLICE DEPARTMENTS

This chapter consists of five case studies of the administration of the investigative branches in one precinct of New York City, and of the Michigan cities of Grand Rapids, Flint, Saginaw, and Kalamazoo. The study of the Michigan cities was accomplished by visiting each city and observing the practices that are followed which are within the scope of this study. The investigators were interviewed, forms and other materials were inspected, and typical crime reports were followed from time of receipt to final disposition, where possible.

The material presented on New York City is based on the author's own experience, most of it recent, and on personal communications with persons who are actively engaged in investigative work in New York City at the present time. A summary of the information obtained appears as Appendix B.

New York City--120th Police PrecinctIntroduction

Located in the Borough of Richmond, more popularly known as Staten Island, this precinct is the largest and most active of the three precincts which serve this part of the city. The borough is, as its name suggests, completely surrounded by water. Until recently Staten Island was accessible to other residents of the city only by ferry from Manhattan or Brooklyn. Its' isolated location made it relatively crime-free when compared with the rest of the city, and its population remained stable for over a decade. In 1962 construction began on a suspension bridge which was to span the lower part of New York Bay, connecting the northeastern tip of Staten Island with the west bank of the Borough of Brooklyn. Contrary to popular opinion, the bridge was not built to aid in the development of Staten Island, but was to forge the final link in a system of interstate highways stretching from Florida to Maine. The terminus at each end was an eight lane highway designed to carry commercial and passenger traffic through the State of New York to points north and south.

Understandably the development and growth of Staten Island was an attendant result, and population figures began to show an increase before the bridge was half completed. Opened to traffic in the Fall of 1964, the

population, according to United States Post Office statistics, increased at the rate of 1,200 families per month in the year following. The influx consisted mainly of middle-class, middle-income families from other parts of the city. Crime, particularly burglaries and thefts, began to rise almost immediately. The 120th precinct has jurisdiction over the western half of the bridge, and must cope with the traffic, criminals, and other problems of a police nature which progress has brought to Staten Island.

The present population of the 120th precinct is approximately 175,000 persons, about eighty-five percent being white, and mainly of Italian extraction. Despite the fact that a large number of residents commute to lower Manhattan each day, the precinct cannot be considered to be a "bedroom" community. A substantial number of people are employed within the precinct, which contains forty-five factories, twenty-two shipyards, and fourteen industrial complexes which dominate the shoreline. Further, a large number of workers commute to Staten Island from other parts of the city and from New Jersey, and are employed primarily in industrial pursuits. Therefore it would be accurate to characterize the 120th precinct as residential-industrial for the purposes of this study.

The patrol function

The physical location of the 120th precinct is one block from the ferry terminal which connects the island with lower Manhattan, and which serves thousands of commuters each day. The precinct is staffed by a total of two hundred ninety-six sworn officers and three civilian employees who serve in other than clerical positions. The precinct is divided into twenty-two motorized sectors encompassing one hundred ninety-nine miles of streets.

Crime reporting procedure

Reports of crime are made by telephone directly to the police, in person at the 120th precinct Station House, or to a uniformed officer on patrol. In the latter case the report will be telephoned into the precinct to a patrolman assigned to clerical duty. A serial number, obtained from a "Central Complaint" desk in Manhattan, is given to the report, as well as a local precinct serial number. The report is prepared in three copies, and is classified according to the details as reported by the complainant. The report is then handed to the desk officer, either a sergeant or a lieutenant, who checks for accuracy and completeness and signs all three copies. The desk officer retains one copy for the use of the patrol force, and forwards two copies to the detective office.

The investigative function

The detective division of the police department of the City of New York consists of a small number of specialized units which operate out of police headquarters in Manhattan, and seventy-nine decentralized detective squads which maintain offices in each of the seventy-nine patrol precincts. The operation and activities of the headquarters units is not the concern of this study, and was mentioned in Chapter II to illustrate that specialization does exist within the department, even if on a small scale. This study will be limited to a discussion of the procedures of the precinct or generalist squads.

The 120th Detective Squad is charged with the performance of follow-up investigations of crimes reported and not solved by the initial action of the patrol force. The preliminary investigation of crime by the patrol force is not a well developed concept in New York City, consequently much of the detective's time is spent obtaining basic information about the case. The squad is staffed by one lieutenant-supervisor, twenty-one detectives, and one patrolman assigned to clerical duties.

Selection

Detectives are selected from members of the patrol force at the discretion of the Police Commissioner. There

is no formal period of probation to be served, and few are returned to the patrol force once appointed. There are three pay grades for detectives; the lowest grade being the third grade detective who is paid a few hundred dollars more than a patrolman, the intermediate or second grade detective who receives the equivalent of a sergeant's salary, and the first grade detective who receives the equivalent of a lieutenant's salary. Promotions from one grade to the next highest grade are made by the Chief of Detectives, with, of course, the approval of the Police Commissioner. The basis upon which these promotions are made are obscure, and generally seniority is an important consideration. A certain number of advancements in grade are made in recognition of good arrests made after intensive investigation, however these are in the minority. Competition for advancement to a higher grade is keen, desired as much for alleged prestige as for the increased salary. Inasmuch as all detectives, without regard to their grade, perform identical work, there can be little justification for the notion that, somehow, a first grade designation carries with it the promise of superior investigative ability.

Under this system, the Chief of Detectives is under constant pressure to appoint unqualified or merely average investigators to a higher grade. Nor can the political implications of this procedure be overlooked. Three weeks after the Lindsay Administration took office, a top aide

of the mayor, Deputy Mayor Robert Price, requested Commissioner Vincent Broderick to "Hold six First Grade shields," the number of vacancies that then existed, at the disposal of the Mayor's office. Broderick refused, and made the request public. The resulting publicity created a public outcry of "interference with the internal affairs of the police department," etc., and caused the request to be withdrawn. It was all a "misunderstanding" was the embarrassed explanation, and the matter was, on the surface at least, closed.¹

Detectives have no command responsibilities, and no differentiation is made in the type of investigations assigned, that is to say the more difficult cases are not assigned to those of higher grade. This being so, there seems to be little justification for continuance of the system of grades. It might be beneficial to the department to replace this system with one in which all detectives receive the same base salary, adding longevity increases as his seniority accrues. The present system may be depriving the department of the services of capable leaders. There can be little doubt that many detectives are unwilling to compete in promotional examinations for reasons that can be directly attributed to the grading system.

¹New York Times, January 21, 1966, p. 1, col. 1; January 22, 1966, p. 1, col. 1; January 25, 1966, p. 1, col. 2.

Promotion for a second grade detective means a return to the patrol force in uniform with no increase in salary, while for a first grade detective promotion to sergeant is viewed as a disaster, bringing with it return to the patrol force with a substantial reduction in salary.

Assignment of investigations

There is no specialization in the assignment of investigations, nor has the lieutenant supervisor any control over assignments, as the following discussion will indicate. When the report of a crime has been received from the desk officer it is not the procedure that the detective lieutenant become involved in its' assignment because, in effect, it has already been assigned by the investigators themselves.

Detectives perform duty in accord with a duty chart that standardizes the working hours of the entire detective division. On the day they are scheduled to "day duty" in the office, the team of detectives so assigned agree among themselves to divide up the tour into hourly periods, each to be assigned to and responsible for all reports of crime received during this period. For example, if three detectives are performing a nine hour day tour, one would be responsible for all cases reported between 8 a.m. and 11 a.m., the second for those reported between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m., and the third for those reported between 2 p.m.

and 5 p.m. This procedure often results in unequal workloads, however no attempt is made towards equalization. The justification for non-allocation of cases in order to equalize the workload is that, over a period of time, chance will balance the number of cases each man becomes responsible for. The incredible thing about this is that mature, supposedly sophisticated investigators actually believe it!

Cases must be reported on within seventy-two hours. The typed reports are delivered to the detective supervisor with the results of the assigned detective's investigation. If the case has been inaccurately classified, the lieutenant may not correct it. He may only sign the reports and retain one for the office file, forwarding the remaining copy to the central records office in Manhattan, which makes any classification change which might be indicated by the report.

Evaluation

Detectives are evaluated on the basis of the number of felony arrests made, whether or not these were made as a result of investigations made in his assigned cases. Written evaluation forms are prepared semi-annually by the lieutenant assigned to supervise the unit. The men are then placed in "rank-order," placed tenth in a group of twenty-one, or fourth in a group of twenty-one, and so forth. In most texts on supervision this procedure is

presented solely for its' historical significance, being considered archaic. The forms are forwarded to Manhattan detective headquarters, along with a typed list of every case assigned to the investigator during the previous six months. No attempt is made to arrive at a clearance rate for each investigator. It is probable that these forms are filed, having no significance whatsoever.

Table 2 contains the clearance rate achieved by this generalist unit for the index crimes committed and reported during the year 1967.

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Introduction

Grand Rapids, Michigan, currently has a population of approximately 201,060 persons, of which ten percent is non-white. The city covers an area of 42.2 square miles, and is commonly recognized as the "furniture capitol of America." Although the city is primarily known for its' furniture manufacturing, its' metal trades industries have superseded furniture in employment, and the city has a list of industrial activities second only to Detroit in point of diversification. Among its products are auto bodies, parts and accessories, hardware, and a growing printing industry.

TABLE 2

CLEARANCE RATES OF THE INDEX CRIMES FOR
FIVE SELECTED JURISDICTIONS
FOR THE YEAR 1967

Index Crime	New York City 120th Pct. Generalist	Kalamazoo Generalist	Flint Spec.	Grand Rapids Spec.	Saginaw Spec.
Murder and non-negli- gent mans- laughter	(a) 133.3%	100 %	96%	85.8%	85.8%
Manslaugh- ter by negligence	(b)	50	100	50	100
Forcible rape	63.2	28.6	58	68.2	85
Robbery	24.6	32.1	31	15.4	36.2
Aggravated assault	56.0	60.9	83	72.5	86.5
Burglary	12.2	22.3	34	18.2	30.0
Grand larceny	(c) 3.8	(d) 12.3	X (d) 17.9	(d) 45.3	
Auto theft	9.0	44.8	16	22.4	50.5

(a) An arrest was made in 1967 for a murder reported in 1966, resulting in a clearance rate of over 100 percent.

(b) No cases in this category were reported in 1967; a ruling by the State Court of Appeals makes a conviction impossible, therefore reports are no longer received by the police.

(c) This figure is for larcenies of 100. or over only. No other figure could be obtained.

(d) Denotes the clearance rate for larcenies of over 50. dollars.

(X) Clearance rate not available for this crime.

The police department

The Grand Rapids Police Department employs two hundred seventy-nine sworn police officers, and is assisted by forty-three civilian employees who serve in clerical and related capacities. The city is divided into fifteen patrol districts which are patrolled twenty-four hours a day. Three shifts, 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., 4 p.m. to 12 midnight, and midnight to 8 a.m., are maintained. Additional patrol cars are available for use as the occasion demands. All reports of crimes are initially investigated by the members of the patrol force who conduct a preliminary investigation and record all pertinent information on a printed form, called a "work sheet," provided for this purpose.

Crime reporting procedure

When a report of a crime is received by the uniformed officer on patrol he conducts a preliminary investigation and prepares the work sheet provided. He then goes to the nearest public telephone, or a fire telephone if desired, and contacts a desk at headquarters which acts as a central receiving point. This desk is usually manned by a police cadet, but when none is available a regular patrolman is assigned. The cadet will take only the essential details, such as name of complainant, address, crime location, etc., and enter this on a control sheet. He then

assigns the case a serial number, relating this number to the reporting officer. The cadet then pushes a button which transfers the call to a tape recording device to which the calling officer relates complete details of the case. The recorder is voice-activated, and ceases to operate automatically twelve seconds after the officer hangs up the telephone. The cadet then types the report in four copies, using earphones connected to the recorder, and classifies the case based on the factors reported to the officer. The official report form is a pre-packaged, color coded packet, the carbon paper already attached. All four copies are delivered to the communications lieutenant who checks the report for accuracy and completeness, and, if all is in order, initials the original and retains the triplicate copy for the information of the higher ranking administrative officers. He then forwards the remaining three copies to the Detective Bureau administrative lieutenant. Where the report is made in person the procedure is the same, except that the report is typed directly onto the report form by the cadet.

The investigative function

The follow-up investigative branch of this department is called the "Detective Bureau," and is staffed by a total of twenty-one men, one detective inspector, one lieutenant, eight sergeants, and twelve patrolmen who are called

"detectives" while assigned to duty in the detective division. There is complete specialization of case assignment, and the bureau is divided into five specialized units, each under the supervision of a sergeant who is designated "sergeant-in-charge." The composition of these specialized units are as follows:

<u>Unit</u>	<u>Sergeant-in-charge</u>	<u>Sergeants</u>	<u>Detectives</u>
Burglary	1	1	4
Larceny-robbery	1	1	3
Assault	1	1	3
Checks-frauds	1		1
Automobile	1		1

Selection

Selection is made from the ranks of the uniformed patrol force by the Superintendent of Police, with the recommendation having been made by the Detective Inspector. There is no written test given, nor do the men assigned acquire a vested interest in continuation as detectives. No period of probation is required, but continuation depends upon the performance of acceptable work. It is the policy of the Detective Inspector to review the work of each unit every month giving particular attention to the clearance rate of the unit as a whole. Where a unit's performance appreciably declines, the inspector will require an explanation from the unit supervisor. If the problem

is traced to inferior performance of duty on the part of an investigator, this investigator is returned to the patrol force.² The term used in the official records of the department is "rotated," that is to say the entry would read that "Patrolman Doe is rotated to the detective bureau," or "rotated from the detective bureau." It is felt that the use of this term in preference to "assignment" or "appointment" lessens difficulties which could possibly arise when returning investigators to uniformed patrol.

Salaries for investigators are the same as those for regular patrolmen, however a modest clothing allowance is paid to compensate for the costs of maintaining civilian clothing. All investigators are of the same rank, there are no gradations. There is no special badge or shield issued to detectives, they retain the badge of the patrolman. Detective supervisors are chosen by the Superintendent from the patrol force, and they are also "rotated" into the detective bureau.

Assignment of investigations

The administrative detective lieutenant, having received three copies of the complaint report from the communications lieutenant, ascertains the crime

²Related by Inspector Walter A. Gilbert in a personal interview with the author, July, 1968.

classification, determines to which unit it should be assigned, and forwards all three copies to the sergeant in charge of that specialized unit. The sergeant then assigns the case to one of the investigators for investigation, taking into consideration the workloads, interests, and abilities of the investigators. Upon receipt of the case, the investigator initials the original copy and returns it to the Records Bureau as a receipt. The detective can proceed at his own pace, no preliminary report within a specified time being required. When his investigation is completed, the detective types his report on the remaining two copies, signs them, and submits them to his unit supervisor. If the investigation was properly done, the supervisor signs his name, files one copy in the files of the detective bureau, and forwards the last remaining form, the original, to the Records unit for terminal filing and preparation of index cards containing a summary of the case.

Evaluation

Detectives are rated by a formal written evaluation every six months, however there is no formal instruction provided to the raters, nor are the uses to be made of these ratings announced. The detectives are less concerned with the rating received on this form than with the more informal opinion of them held by their immediate supervisor. Monthly meetings between the unit supervisors and the

detective inspector at which the work, habits, attitude, and clearance rate of the individual detective is discussed is far more important in terms of retention as an investigator. It was the opinion of the detective lieutenant that the detectives were, in effect, supervised by their work, and the fact that they knew their efforts were evaluated frequently greatly aided the supervisors in maintaining control. The number of arrests made was not a meaningful factor in evaluating the performance of the detective, in fact several detectives expressed surprise when told that this was the practice followed in some departments.

Miscellaneous

Performance of duty above and beyond the norm may be rewarded by a "letter of commendation," which is accorded no formal weight on a promotion examination. Several detectives expressed the view that it might have some subjective influence on the members of the oral board before which prospective sergeants must appear, but doubted that it would greatly affect the mark received. Medals are not awarded.

The rank of "Detective Lieutenant" is being phased out, a local law to that effect having been passed nine years ago. There is presently one man remaining who holds this rank, and who was included in this study as a sergeant-in-charge of one of the specialized units, his actual duties

pending retirement. All supervisors of the detective bureau, during the past nine years, have been chosen from the patrol force, and receive no additional compensation.

Table 2 contains the clearance rates achieved by this department for the year 1967.

Kalamazoo, Michigan

Introduction

This city, situated midway between Chicago, Illinois, and Detroit, Michigan, had the smallest population of the cities included in this study. It has a population of approximately 90,000 persons, and is growing. Kalamazoo's industry is well diversified. Over three hundred fifty firms manufacture more than 1,500 products, including pharmaceuticals, musical instruments, taxicabs, auto bodies, and other nationally known products. There is a substantial number of paper and paper products plants located within the city. Its location has made the city an ideal base of operations for distributors and wholesalers, enabling them to provide extensive services to the southwest Michigan area as well as to neighboring cities and villages. The population of Kalamazoo is the most stable of the cities studied, over eighty percent being native born. The majority of its residents are employed within the city limits, however the number of persons commuting to the larger cities

to work is increasing. The city covers an area of twenty-five point two square miles. The non-white population of Kalamazoo is increasing as more and more persons are attracted from the south to industrial jobs in the midwest. The non-white population now is approximately six percent. The city of Kalamazoo may be characterized as a residential-industrial community.

The police department

The Kalamazoo Police Department is staffed by one hundred thirty-seven sworn employees and thirty-three civilian clerk-typists. During the year 1967, however, thirty-one new officers were employed, which is approximately twenty-four percent of the entire force, which undoubtedly affected departmental performance. The city is divided into nine districts for patrol purposes and patrol is maintained on a twenty-four hour basis, with 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., 4 p.m. to 12 midnight, and midnight to 8 a.m. being the assigned shifts. The patrol force performs the preliminary investigations required for all reports of crime. The details are telephoned into the headquarters office of the lieutenant who functions as a shift commander. The lieutenant classifies the case as being a certain type of crime based on the details as originally reported, and has the report typed in quadruplicate by a civilian typist assigned to the office for this purpose.

A serial number is then assigned to the case, and after checking by the lieutenant, the copies are distributed into mail slots located behind the desk. The original is routed to the Records Bureau, the duplicate to the Captain of Patrol, the remaining two copies are forwarded to the Captain of Detectives who assigns the case to an investigator for investigation and report. However, observations made by the author of the recording of several crime reports revealed that in no case did the reports get any further than the mail slots. It was up to the intended recipients to check these boxes.

The investigative function

Designated the "Detective Bureau," the authorized strength of this unit is twelve men, however for the past year it has operated with a shortage of one man. The method of case assignment is basically generalist, the only specialization being in the assignment of all crimes involving bad checks to two men, resulting in a caseload in 1967 of 448 investigations for each man, and one detective who specializes in vice investigations. This detective is aided by two patrolmen assigned from the patrol force. All other investigations are assigned without regard to the special qualities or interests of the investigators, said assignment being the task of the Captain of Detectives, the only supervisor within the Detective Bureau.

Selection

Detectives are selected from the ranks of the patrol force by means of a written examination, given periodically. This test is open to all members of the patrol force who are of the rank of patrolman. Appointments are made in accordance with the candidate's numerical standing on the resultant list, and accords civil service status to those appointed. Therefore, removal of a detective whose performance of duty is below acceptable standards requires a formal hearing. Charges and specifications must be prepared and served on the detective, who is entitled to the assistance of an attorney as well as a full hearing. The administration of the department is most dissatisfied with this method of selecting investigators, and the consequent obstacles to the removal of incompetents. Remedial legislation which has the support of the city manager is now pending before the local governmental body, and its passage is virtually assured.³ It will remove the written examination for the position of detective, and allow the Chief of Police to designate qualified members of the patrol force to the position of detective. An officer so designated will serve as long as he performs acceptable work. This

³Personal interview with Chief of Police Dean Fox, July, 1968.

law will provide that those now serving as detectives would be permitted to remain, being replaced by appointees as they leave the service.

Under the present system there is a one year probationary period which must be satisfactorily completed before civil service tenure attaches. It is contemplated that this requirement will remain under the appointive, or discretionary selection procedure. There are no grades of detectives, and all receive the same salary, and this will also continue under the revised selection method.

Assignment of investigations

The Captain of Detectives, having obtained from the mail slot two copies of the crime report assigns the case to a generalist investigator, based on the workload of the investigators. However, all cases which involve checks or vice are assigned to the men who specialize in these crimes, as previously explained. One copy of the report is given to the investigator, the other is retained by the captain. The investigator must file a report, preliminary or otherwise, with the captain within five days. The captain, upon receipt of the completed investigation, checks it for completeness and signs it. It is then filed within the office of the Detective bureau.

There being only one supervisor of detectives, the patrol force is expected to provide supervision over detectives during the periods when the captain is off or is otherwise unavailable. A measure of the degree of success this arrangement achieves may be obtained by considering that the desk lieutenant attempted to contact the detectives by radio, in the author's presence, for over two hours without ever receiving a response. Not once during this period did they telephone out of interest, to see what was happening while they were performing "routine patrol." The impression obtained was that this was normal, that the detectives seldom, if ever, submitted themselves to the supervision of the patrol supervisor.

Evaluation

Detectives are evaluated on a semi annual basis, by means of a written form. The civil service status of the investigator severely limits the use these ratings serve. The form is prepared by the Captain in charge of the Bureau, and the ratee is informed of the ratings received. An opportunity exists to contest any rating. Since specialization in case assignment is not followed an investigator's clearance rate is meaningless, therefore the question was asked whether investigators were rated on the number of arrests he made. This was denied, and the statement made that the small number of investigators made it

possible to know each man well, and that the ratings were accurate. It is the opinion of the author that the virtual impossibility of removing an incompetent investigator under the present system makes any discussion concerning evaluation academic.

Table 2 contains the clearance rates achieved by this department for the year 1967.

Flint, Michigan

Introduction

Flint, Michigan, presently has a population of approximately 203,000 persons. It is a highly specialized center for the automobile industry, being one of the largest automobile assembly complexes in the world. The General Motors Corporation assembles Chevrolet and Buick automobiles in thirteen large plants located in this city. Other manufactures include auto accessories, structural steel, flour, cotton textiles, paints, varnishes, cement blocks, furniture, chemicals, dental supplies, and beer. Comprising thirty-two point eight square miles in area, the city may be characterized as industrial in nature.

Flint's population includes a non-white population of approximately eighteen percent, which represents an eight percent increase since the census of 1960. The industrial character of the community attracts many families

from the south who seek a better life, and who feel that the higher paying jobs in the automobile industry will help them achieve their goal.

The police department

The Flint Police Department consists of three hundred thirty-five sworn police officers and one hundred ninety-two civilians. This department utilized civilian personnel to a much greater extent than any other city visited during this study. The police are responsible for patrolling five hundred thirty-four point forty-five miles of streets, which includes one hundred thirty-four miles of streets considered to be business area consisting of stores, banking establishments, and similar places. The patrol coverage varies according to the tour. Fifteen patrol sectors are in operation from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m.; twenty-two sectors are in operation from 3 p.m. to 11 p.m., and from 11 p.m. to 7 a.m. In addition there is an overlapping shift which operates six additional patrol cars during the hours between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m.

Crime reporting procedure

All complaints of crime, whether reported in the first instance to a uniformed officer on patrol, or made in person or by telephone direct to police headquarters are recorded in triplicate by a civilian clerk. The receiving

clerk also places a serial number on the report, and classifies the crime based on the information related by the complainant. The assignment of these tasks to civilian personnel reduces appreciably any possibility that a report will fail to be recorded, or "canned." Another advantage is that the initial classification tends to be more accurately made, ensuring prompt attention by the specialized unit concerned. After retaining one copy for the files of the Records Unit, the clerk forwards two copies to the specialized investigation unit charged with the responsibility in cases of this type.

The investigative function

The responsibility for conducting follow-up investigations rests with the Flint "Detective Bureau." It is staffed by a total of fifty employees; one captain, seven lieutenants, fourteen sergeants, twenty-five detectives, one patrolman, and two civilian clerk-stenographers. Specialization in case assignment is the rule. The Detective Bureau is divided into eleven specialized units, called "details," as follows:

<u>Detail</u>	<u>Lieutenants</u>	<u>Sergeants</u>	<u>Detectives</u>
Homicide	1	1	5
Vice	1	1	1
Fraud	1	1	2
Night vice	1		1

<u>Detail</u>	<u>Lieutenants</u>	<u>Sergeants</u>	<u>Detectives</u>
Night coverage		2	3
Burglary	1	2	4
Automobile	1	1	4
Desk & license		2	1
Narcotics		1	1
Hit & run			1
Intelligence, general investigation & pros- ecutor's office	1	3	4

Selection of investigators

Investigators are selected by means of a written examination. Any member of the patrol force who has been employed as a patrolman for three years is eligible to compete. Once appointed, detectives acquire civil service tenure, and may not be removed except by the filing and proving of charges. The impression was gathered that this rarely occurs. There is no probationary period to be served in the position of detective. Detectives are assigned to teams, and do not work alone.

Newly appointed detectives are rotated for short periods among the various specialized details in order that his abilities and interests be determined. He is then assigned to a specialty on a permanent basis. Such assignment is not irrevocable however, it can be changed if he requests, but subject of course to the requirements of the department.

Detectives are all of the same rank, and except for longevity increments based on seniority, receive the same salaries.

Assignment of investigations

The Records Unit delivers to the office of the specialized unit concerned two copies of the crime report. The unit supervisor then assigns the case to one of the investigators in the unit, taking into consideration the nature of the particular case, and the caseload of the men.

If, after an initial investigation, it appears that the case has been improperly classified it is transferred to the proper specialized unit after notification to the Records Unit. After an investigation has been completed the investigator types the report in duplicate, signs it and submits it to his unit supervisor. The supervisor may return the case for further investigation, or may sign both copies after checking for accuracy and completeness, signifying approval. One copy is then returned to the Records Unit to be filed with the original report, and the remaining copy is retained for filing in the office of the specialized unit concerned.

Evaluation

An investigator is not rated on the number of arrests he makes; there is no "norm." It is recognized that

the nature of certain investigations precludes evaluation in terms of arrest figures. Narcotics investigations are an example of this type of case; long investigations, few arrests. The clearance rate, the number of cases an investigator solves in relation to the number he is assigned, is given a great deal of weight. Another factor considered in evaluating an individual detective is the amount of stolen property he recovers.

A formal written evaluation report is prepared six times each year by the investigator's immediate superior. This was by far the most frequent and exhaustive evaluation of investigators undertaken by any department studied. The police department evaluates its' personnel every three months, and in addition a separate evaluation report is required by law to be prepared every six months and forwarded to the Flint Civil Service Commission. This latter form, where favorable, can aid the ratee achieve promotion to higher rank. This is possible since it has been known to impress the members of the oral board which is part of the promotional system. A series of high ratings over a period of time will impel the board to grant the candidate a higher mark on the oral portion of the test which will result in a higher overall average. For this reason low ratings are often contested.

Miscellaneous

Medals are awarded for meritorious performance of duty, but are not accorded any weight on promotional examinations. Table 2 contains the clearance rate achieved by this department for the year 1967.

Saginaw, MichiganIntroduction

This city of 100,000 called by its' Chamber of Commerce the "City of Opportunities" is the industrial and agricultural center of northeast Michigan. It was founded in 1890 by the consolidation of Saginaw City and East Saginaw, located on opposite sides of the Saginaw River. Many of those interviewed characterized the city as industrial in character, and most residents are employed within the metropolitan area in one of the many factories located in this city. Economically, the city is dependant upon the production of automobile parts. There are twelve major General Motors plants in the city. Other industry includes a large boiler factory, steel processing plants, and plants which produce and process iron, lumber, sugar, and diversified products.

The population of Saginaw is twenty-four percent non-white, the majority of whom were born in Saginaw. The crime rate has stabilized during the past several years,

and in 1966 it declined three point four percent while the state and nation figure increased over ten percent.

The police department

The Saginaw Police Department consists of one hundred eighty-six sworn officers, responsible for the policing of two hundred sixty-eight point thirty-seven miles of streets. The city, which is divided down the center by the Saginaw River, consists of thirty-two patrol sectors. These sectors are designed to minimize the problems created by the division of the city by the Saginaw River. There are six bridges spanning the river, however patrol officers admitted that at times some difficulty in responding to calls on the other side of the river is encountered. These would be emergency calls however, because patrol sectors are on one or the other side of the river, eliminating the necessity to use the bridges except in emergency calls.

Civilians are used in a limited number of clerical and secretarial positions, but there is a well developed Auxiliary Police program which encourages civilian involvement in law enforcement activities.

Crime reporting procedure

Reports of crimes are received at the police headquarters building in person or by telephone, or can be reported to an officer on patrol. All reports are typed

in triplicate by a sworn officer, assigned a serial number, and are verified as correct by the sergeant on the desk. The crime is classified initially by the sergeant, being based on the details as reported. One copy is retained, and the remaining copies forwarded to the lieutenant in charge of the Investigative Division.

The investigative function

Follow-up investigations are the responsibility of the departments' "Investigative Division," which is staffed by a total of seventeen men; one lieutenant, two sergeants, and fourteen detectives. Complete specialization in the assignment of investigations is followed. The Investigative Division is subdivided into the following units to facilitate the specialized assignments:

<u>Unit</u>	<u>Sergeants</u>	<u>Detectives</u>	
Burglary, Residence		2	
Commercial		1	
Auto theft		1	
Sex offenses		1	
Commercial vice	2		
Robbery, armed		1	(given assistance
other		1	when required)
All other crimes		2	
Vice		4	
Checks & frauds		1	

The detectives are assigned to tours in the office, and receive reports directly from citizens in person or over the telephone. When a case is received in this manner it is the detective's responsibility to obtain a serial number for the case from the desk officer. In the opinion of the author this is a weakness in the procedure, giving ample opportunity for the case to remain unreported or otherwise tampered with.

Selection

Detectives are selected from the members of the patrol force, and are appointed to perform investigative duties by an administrative order of the Chief of Police. A probationary period of one year is required. Detectives acquire no civil service status by this appointment, and can be returned to uniformed patrol at any time. There are no grades of detective, and all receive the same basic salary plus the longevity pay, which is based on seniority and differs with each man. Investigators work alone except when an apprehension is to be made. Four investigators were interviewed, and on this point all stated that they preferred to work alone.

Assignment of investigations

Upon receipt of the crime report from the desk officer, the lieutenant in charge of the investigative division assigns the investigation to the unit which specializes in that class of crime, specifying the individual who will be responsible for its investigation. The nature of the particular offense and the existing workload are considered in making this assignment.

The investigator is required to submit a report, preliminary or otherwise, within seven days. When a report is submitted, the lieutenant checks the report for accuracy and completeness, and checks to see if the classification is correct. If the investigator's report discloses that the crime is improperly classified, the lieutenant may reclassify the case, notifying the desk officer who originally received the case so that entry on patrol records can be made. If the report is acceptable, the lieutenant signs both copies, retains one for the files of the investigative division, and returns the remaining copy to the patrol force. The patrol force initials the report and forwards it to the Records Unit.

Evaluation

There is no formal evaluation of investigators. Records are kept on the individual detective's workload, clearance rate, and amount of property recovered. These

records are used in an informal manner by the supervisor to evaluate the investigators' value to the department. The number of arrests made by the investigator is not a primary indicator of his value or ability as a detective. The view was expressed that incompetency could not go undiscovered in so small a group because it would necessitate shifting the workload to other investigators. Where this occurs a replacement is quickly requested from the Chief of Police.

Miscellaneous

Meritorious service is rewarded by the award of a medal at an annual Police Memorial Day, however these medals do not entitle the recipient to additional points on promotional examinations. These awards are distributed sparingly, and consequently are highly regarded.

Table 2 contains the clearance rates achieved by this department for the year 1967.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter contains two sections, the first will review the information obtained from the literature and from the field studies, and a summary of the clearance rates achieved by the departments studied. The second section will contain the conclusions arrived at based on this study, and recommendations for further research.

I. Summary

Summary of the literature on specialization

In reviewing the available literature concerning the concept of specialization, several fields or professions were examined. Among these were the practices of medicine and law, the business world, the Federal Government, law enforcement agencies, and municipal police departments. No support for the generalist concept could be found as it related to these pursuits. The advantages of specialization were presented as benefiting both the employer and the employee, or in the case of the professions, the practitioner and the client.

Although no literature could be located which assumed a position in opposition to specialization, the majority of writers who advocated the concept admitted that one of the dangers inherent in the use of specialization was a tendency towards its' over-use. Over-specialization within an agency leads to a condition which has been termed "compartmentalization."

Compartmentalization is the tendency for employees to neglect to perform essential tasks that they consider to be outside of their specialty. This leads to inefficiency caused by non-performance of necessary tasks.

The literature suggests that periodic review of specialized tasks, and a policy of assigning all work that does not require special skill to generalist employees would be an effective preventative procedure. Applied to a municipal police agency this would mean that all tasks that can be performed efficiently by the members of the uniformed patrol force and which does not interfere with their primary function of patrol should be performed by them.

Investigative branches of government should assign investigations strictly in conformance with the concept of specialization in order to fix responsibility, develop expertise, and take advantage of the interests and skills of the investigator. The literature provided examples where

this procedure has proven successful, citing the Federal Bureau of Investigations' enviable record of outstanding performance.

The organizational structure which makes specialization within an investigative function most effective is one in which there is a moderate degree of centralization. Where an organization is large, such as in New York City, detective units should operate on a district or borough level. Each district or borough should have its own set of specialized units; a robbery unit, a burglary unit, a sex crime unit, and additional units as required.

Analysis of the field data

This study illustrates the wide variety in investigative practices which are followed within police agencies, even by those located in the same general area. The table prepared, and which appears as Appendix B, provides information on many aspects of investigative control and working conditions that could not be included in the main body of this study due to limitations of time.

All of the departments in Michigan were attempting to model their follow-up investigation branches along the lines advocated by the experts. Most had not been completely successful however. They presented a mixed picture of efficiency in the recordkeeping areas, and an almost complete lack of progress in areas pertaining to the control

over the detectives. For example, all four Michigan departments kept records on the clearance rate achieved by each investigator, and all required them to sign a call sheet prior to each tour. However no department required the investigators to call the office during the tour, nor to file a plan or itinerary report for each day's work. Once out of the office they were beyond the control of their supervisors.

Four of the five departments studied required that the investigator file a report within a specified time after he receives a case for investigation, but in only two departments was any follow-up made by the supervisor on the court disposition of the investigator's arrests.

In only one department, Grand Rapids, Michigan, is a detective supervisor performing duty at times during which detectives are also performing duty. Experience has shown that detectives do not respond nor do they readily submit to supervision by patrol supervisors. This is clearly an internal discipline problem.

Surprisingly, all departments allow the investigators to hold outside employment. Regulations, however, do attempt to restrict both the type of job held and the number of hours per week it may be pursued. The practice of additional employment may be fairly questioned as to the effect it may have on the quality of investigations done by detectives who hold outside jobs.

Selection

Lateral entry into the rank of detective was not permitted by any of the departments included in this study. This is an area where research might profitably be done, considering the success the Federal agencies have had with the training of men with no prior patrol experience. It might be that the patrol experience valued so highly by municipal departments and by some experts may actually be detrimental to investigators by providing too narrow a frame of reference.

In no department, except New York City, were detectives graded. This practice, with deep roots in precedent, must be re-evaluated in the light of modern day police procedure.

All departments selected their investigators from the ranks of the patrol force, and only two conducted written examinations in the selection process. The literature on this point clearly illustrates that the latter method is an undesirable procedure. One of these cities, Kalamazoo, is awaiting the passage of legislation which will enable this practice to be discontinued.

Evaluation

Four of the five cities studied required some form of formal written evaluation of the investigators. The period varied from every three months to every six months.

Only two departments provided a formal training program for the raters, and only two departments informed the subordinates of the uses to be made of the ratings. All, however, provided an opportunity for the subordinate to discuss a rating he felt to be incorrect.

Departmental clearance rates

It was the purpose of this study to compare the clearance rates achieved by the cities studied for the year 1967 for the crimes listed in the Uniform Crime Reports as "Index Crimes." It was hypothesized that those cities which followed the practice of specialization in the assignment of investigations would achieve a higher clearance rate than did those cities which adhered to the generalist procedure. A high clearance rate was equated with efficiency.

Crimes against the person

Table 2 summarizes the clearance rates for the five cities studied for the year 1967. The clearance rates for the crimes of murder and non-negligent manslaughter show little difference in any of the cities studied. The probable explanation for this is that when this type of crime is committed it receives intensive investigation, all other investigations becoming subordinated to it. Investigators are temporarily assigned to the case in order that it be

quickly solved before the stability of the community becomes jeopardized. In effect then, all police departments specialize in their efforts to solve murder and non-negligent homicide investigations.

Investigations concerning deaths which result from the negligence of a person are not really criminal investigations at all. They are more in the nature of an inquest to determine the actions of the accused and the actions of the deceased. In these cases the perpetrator is generally known, and has made no attempt to escape. By definition this crime is committed without malice, and without an intent to inflict injury. The rates which appear in this category of crime reflect the percentage of cases in which a successful prosecution has been mounted against the defendant, rather than a successful investigation which led to the identification, apprehension, and conviction of the person charged. Further, this category is set aside for those persons who cause the death of another while doing a lawful act, but who do so recklessly. It is only made criminal by statute, not being malum in se. Some states, as in New York, do not accept these cases for prosecution due to rulings by the states' highest court that make a conviction impossible, particularly in the cases where death was caused by reckless operation of a motor vehicle.

In the investigation of the crime of forcible rape, the generalist city of Kalamazoo achieved the lowest clearance rate, solving only four out of a total of fourteen reported in 1967. At the other end of the scale, Saginaw, which specializes in the assignment of sex crimes, achieved success in eighty-five percent of their investigations into this crime. These rates do not reflect the number of cases in which the victim and the perpetrator were known to one another, nor state the number of cases in which the female was attacked by an unknown assailant. The latter cases are of course much more difficult to clear. As promulgated the rate of clearance is of limited value in attempting to evaluate efficiency.

In the investigations into the crime of robbery there was no significant difference in the rate of clearance achieved by the generalist and the specialist departments. The national average clearance rate for cities of this size for the crime of robbery is a little over thirty-three percent. The performance of the Grand Rapids Police Department is therefore well below this figure with fifteen point four percent. This fact was well publicized in the monthly publication of that department, and was mentioned in every one of the 1967 monthly issues, along with suggestions to the members of the patrol force on how to reduce the incidents of this crime.

Aggravated assault is a crime that, nationally, can be solved or cleared in almost three out of four instances. In this type of crime as well as in all of these crimes against the person, there are usually witnesses who can later identify the defendant. In many cases, the victim and the perpetrator are known to one another, greatly simplifying the investigation. In this category, the generalists fell far behind in the rate of clearances, while the specialist cities achieved great success in this area.

Crimes against property

In these categories of crime the investigator is not ordinarily aided by witnesses, therefore where a specialist is able to devote all of his time to these cases he should be able to clear more cases than does a generalist. Unfortunately this proposition may not be proven by reference to the clearance statistics provided by the Uniform Crime Reports. Over the past several years the clearance rate for the crime of burglary has been approximately twenty percent nationally. Table 2 illustrates that in the five cities studied, the generalist cities achieved this figure in one case, and New York City was lowest with twelve point two percent. Flint was able to report that it had cleared thirty-four percent of its' burglaries. Specialization would seem to have achieved its' purpose in this crime classification.

Larceny is a crime that is defined differently in many jurisdictions, and consequently the clearance rates differ between various states. The Federal Bureau of Investigation supplies a handbook to all jurisdictions which submit crime statistics in an attempt to standardize the classifications. In this it is only partially successful. New York, for example, considers a larceny serious only where the amount taken is 100. or over. Statistics on the number of cases solved which involved amounts under this amount were not available to the author. Table 2 reflects this deficiency. The city of Flint was unable to supply figures on this crime and this is also stated in Table 2. For the remaining three cities the table shows that the city of Kalamazoo (generalist) achieved a clearance rate of twelve point three percent for crimes of larceny of over 50.00, and in this same category the city of Grand Rapids (specialist) achieved a rate of seventeen point nine percent. These are relatively close denoting some little advantage in specialized case assignment. However, the clearance rate submitted by the city of Saginaw, forty-five point three percent seems incredible, in view of the fact that the national average in this category is approximately eighteen percent. Saginaw reports that its' specialized unit solved one hundred forty-seven cases of larceny out of three hundred twenty-four reported. Until more information can be obtained this figure must be viewed with suspicion.

The theft of automobiles is on the increase nationwide. In response to consumer demand it has been reported that the 1969 models of certain manufacturers will contain a device, which is optional, that will lock the steering mechanism when the ignition key is removed. Studies have shown that all but a small number of stolen automobiles are recovered within a few days, and that it is typically a crime of youth. It is the opinion of the author that the clearance rates shown in Table 2 are accurate, but that the high rate of clearance shown by the smaller cities of Kalamazoo and Saginaw are not due to the method of assigning investigations but are due rather to the size of the cities. It is much more difficult to escape notice while joyriding in a smaller city. Further the author's experience has been that most of the apprehensions for this crime are made by members of the uniformed force who apprehend the perpetrator in possession of the automobile, and not by members of the detective division after an investigation.

Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have had an effect greatly decreasing the possibility of a conviction for this type of crime without actually apprehending the defendant in the vehicle. Therefore the usefulness of a specialized Auto Detail is subject to question. Possibly the entire investigation ought to be the responsibility of the patrol force.

II. Conclusions and Recommendations

The summary of the clearance rates, observations made during on-site observations, and numerous interviews made with investigators in the field lead to the following conclusions:

1. Clearance rates, alone, will not indicate the efficiency of an investigative function.

The comparison of the clearance rates which were achieved by the departments studied did not reflect conclusively the superiority of either method of case assignment. It is possible that specialization in the assignment of investigations may not provide any advantage, and that the method of case assignment does not materially affect the efficiency of an investigative function. However it is the opinion of the author that the measuring instrument, the clearance rate, remains a valid indicator of efficiency when utilized with relevant data. The data used in this study consisted of statistics which were achieved by a department's total effort. This is to say that a clearance rate reported by a department for use in the Uniform Crime Reports represents the clearances achieved by both the patrol and investigative functions. Separate records are not maintained which will indicate the percentage of cases solved solely through successful investigation and those cleared by on-the-scene apprehension by the patrol force.

For example, a burglar is apprehended in the act by a member of the patrol force and he admits to several other unsolved burglaries. This will be included in the overall clearance rate of the department, reflecting credit on the investigative function which in reality may be most ineffective. Conversely, where an investigative unit is performing superior work, the clearance rate may be kept low due to inferior patrol practices. The maintenance of separate clearance rates which would more accurately assess the contribution made by these branches would provide better evidence upon which the instrument could be tested. A valid judgment concerning the efficiency of a detective unit may not be made unless the collected data is refined to indicate what it has achieved based solely on its' own efforts.

There is also a need for greater control over the category titled "cleared, no arrest" provided for in the Uniform Crime Reports. The practice of reducing the charge against a defendant in return for his admissions to unsolved crimes committed within the jurisdiction is generally acknowledged. Where this is commonly practiced it is evident that the clearance rates would be a somewhat suspect method of judging the competence of an individual, a division of a department, or of a department as a whole.

2. More effective control is maintained over investigators who are specialists.

The evidence uncovered during this study showed that there existed more control instruments, a closer relationship between the supervisor and the supervised, and a more professional outlook on the part of the detectives in those cities which specialized in case assignment. There were many indications that the workload, the cases themselves, "supervised" the specialist investigators. The monthly assignment sheet was a valuable control device that did not exist under the generalist system. The span of control of the specialist supervisor was small, permitting a closer relationship between he and his men. Many detectives expressed surprise when told that under the generalist system investigators are rated primarily on the number of arrests. The practice of "locking up numbers" was looked upon as degrading, and lacking in self-satisfaction.

3. The development of expertise, and its' relationship to the method of case assignment, could not be determined.

Although it would seem that the repetition of a task, the daily familiarity with an undertaking would lead to the development of a high degree of job knowledge and expertise, this could not be proven by the methodology of this study. Many supervisors stated that they would assign a case of unusual importance to an investigator whom they

considered to be the best available. When questioned as to the reason why, replies were vague. The quality of expertise was not specifically mentioned, but enthusiasm and persistence were.

It may be possible to determine the degree of expertise possessed by an investigator by means of a written examination which would pose a hypothetical criminal problem and require it be answered by an essay. However the varied situations a detective encounters would seem to frustrate the formulation of a proper methodological approach. Until these problems are overcome, we of necessity must rely on the opinions of the supervisors as to the degree of expertise possessed by individual investigators. This area is in need of research.

Recommendations

1. It is recommended that further research be conducted in this area in one of the following ways.

- a. That in a city which does not now specialize in the assignment of cases a specialized robbery unit be created. Investigations of reports of robberies would be assigned to specialists. Separate statistics would be maintained to show the percentage cleared by the patrol force and the percentage cleared by the investigative efforts of the specialized robbery unit. At the end of one year,

or other appropriate interval, a comparison would be made of the clearance rates achieved during the period of specialization and during the prior non-specialized period.

b. That specialization be adopted in a non-specialized city for the investigation of all index crimes within that city, under the conditions mentioned in "a" above, and a comparison made of the clearance rates achieved under each system.

2. It is recommended that research be undertaken to determine the validity of the entire concept of the clearance rate as an effective measurement of police efficiency. It may be that the crime rate, which affects the clearance rate as an indicator of efficiency, rises and falls irrespective of any actions taken by law enforcement agencies.

3. It is recommended that research be undertaken to determine the optimum caseload within the various classes of crime in order to provide the detective administrators with information which can be utilized in developing more meaningful controls over the investigators. Perhaps the reasons for the success of the control measures used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation might be profitably explored within the scope of this research project.

This study reveals that much more information concerning the activities and administration of an investigative function needs to be uncovered. The police administrator is still a long way from meaningful control over those on whom he must rely so heavily, the detectives.

APPENDIX A

ARREST EVALUATION--DETECTIVE ARREST

	<u>Officer:</u>
	<u>Date:</u>
Complaint No.	<u>Charge:</u>
Det. Investigation No.	<u>Defendant:</u>
	<u> </u>
I.	Fel. Misd. Total

A. Assigned Investigation Base Value	30	10
Arrest		

<u>Factors</u>	Max. Value
Level of Investigative difficulty	20
Information used	10
Arrest warrant used	5
Search warrant used	5

B. Pickup Arrest

Reported stolen property recovered	10	20	5
Other stolen property recovered	5		
Indictment/Information issued in this case	5		
Other crimes cleared by this arrest	20		
Conviction for crime charged	10		
Conviction for lesser crime	5		
Special circumstances; explain			

	Fel.	Misd.	Total
	Base Value		
	Max. Value		
C. Offenses; arrest for	5		
D. Arrests for other authorities	5		
II. Comments concerning this arrest			Total for this Arrest _____
III. Instructions, or training needs of Arresting Officer			
IV. "Dismissed charge" Interview, Reasons for dismissal			
	Evaluator's Signature _____		
	Full Title _____		
	Date _____		

APPENDIX B

A SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATIVE ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES FOR FIVE SELECTED CITIES

	NYC	Flint	Saginaw	Kalamazoo	Grand Rapids
Is there lateral entry for the position of detective?	No	No	No	No	No
Is a written examination given for the position of detective?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Do detectives have Civil Service tenure?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Is there a period of probation in the position of detective?	No	No	1 year	1 year	No
Are detectives all one rank, that is, not graded?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Are detective assignments specialized?	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Do detectives ordinarily work alone?	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Can detectives be removed without the filing of formal charges?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Are "handover" arrests prohibited by departmental regulations?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

	NYC	Flint	Saginaw	Kalamazoo	Grand Rapids
Are detectives rated primarily on the number of arrests they make?	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Is a suitable call or sign in sheet maintained to record the working hours of each detective?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Are detectives required to call in every hour when out on investigations?	No	No	No	No	No
Do detectives type their own reports?	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Are itinerary reports used to show where each detective may be reached at all times when away from the office?	No	No	No	No	No
Are monthly assignment sheets maintained for each detective to show cases assigned and those cleared by arrest, and property recovered?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Must a preliminary report be made within a stated period after a case has been assigned?	72 hrs	10 days	7 days	5 days	No

	NYC	Flint	Saginaw	Kalamazoo	Grand Rapids
Other than the Re- cords Units' check, does the detective unit supervisor fol- low-up on the dispo- sition of cases filed in court?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Does the detective unit tabulate the percentage of con- victions according to the types of crime?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is a detective supervisor always on duty and working, available whenever detectives are on duty?	No	No	No	No	Yes
Does the patrol force conduct the preliminary inves- tigation?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is there a formal procedure allowing detectives to keep patrolman informed as to the activities of local criminals, characters, etc.?	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Are detectives rated by a formal written evaluation proce- dure?	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Are the uses to be made of these evalua- tion reports clearly stated?	No	Yes	not appl.	Yes	No

	NYC	Flint	Saginaw	Kalamazoo	Grand Rapids
Is there a formal training program for the raters?	No	Yes	not appl.	Yes	No
Is there an opportunity for the detective to discuss the rating received?	Yes	Yes	not appl.	Yes	Yes
Are medals awarded for meritorious performance of duty?	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
If so, are these medals given any formal weight on future promotional examinations?	Yes	not appl.	No	not appl.	not appl.
Do departmental rules permit the detectives to hold outside jobs (moon-lighting)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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