# A STUDY OF THE MOTIVATIONAL FORCES LEADING TO A POLICE CAREER AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO JOB PERFORMANCE

Thesis for the Degree of M. S. MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY ALBERT GERALD ISAAC 1972

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# A STUDY OF THE MOTIVATIONAL FORCES LEADING TO A POLICE CAREER AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO JOB PERFORMANCE

Ву

Albert Gerald Isaac

### AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

School of Criminal Justice

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#### ABSTRACT

## A STUDY OF THE MOTIVATIONAL FORCES LEADING TO A POLICE CAREER AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO JOB PERFORMANCE

Bv

#### Albert Gerald Isaac

# Purpose

Today's policeman has, at best, an image that is not as good as it could and should be. Some of the criticism is leveled at police departments because of the actions of "unsuitable" police personnel. The recruitment and selection process is undergoing constant scrutiny for methods of getting more "suitable" people involved in police jobs. The purpose of this research is to approach the selection process from a fresh angle with an aim at aiding recruitment in a positive way.

# Methodology

This research used a questionnaire approach. The hypothesis posed was that an important facet of a policeman's effectiveness was his motivation for being one and that some common characteristic of motivation might be found among successful policemen and isolated for use in the future by recruiters.

A two-phase study was initiated. Phase one researched police department recruiters throughout the United States as to their views on motivation and phase two probed the views of individual policemen of all ranks in those departments for individual view of motivation to be a policeman.

# Results

The results showed mainly that there may well be room for seeking motivation characteristics in recruitment on a multi-faceted approach. One approach might stress ALTRUISM and aim at selecting long term officers interested in public contact service while another might stress PERSONAL GAIN and point toward selecting the police department managers of the future.

# Limitations

The study was simplistic and, possibly presumptive, but it does point the way to research of police departments through the use of success criteria instead of failure data.

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Dedicated to my wife Virginia, who knows why I did this.

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#### CHAPTER I

#### THE PROBLEM

# Statement of the Problem

Many of the criticisms directed at policemen and their methods are based on research of police failures. The resulting suggestions of raising recruitment requirements tend to use the opposite of those failures as standards of excellence. None seem to note that there may be found among policemen the solution to failure, namely, the traits and characteristics of successful policemen.

The problem of recruiting excellent personnel into police departments with the hope of producing excellent policemen may be aggravated by the use of standards of excellence that are not really related to job performance and are actually imposed on the recruiter by research based on characteristics that are largely disconnected from those actually needed and which often reflect the needs or norms of the researcher.

Most requirements are based on presupposed standards of what it takes to make a good policeman. However, little research has been undertaken to analyze the successful

policeman or the "proper" policeman to determine whether there are traits or characteristics common to success and determine whether it might not be feasible to include such traits or characteristics in the recruiting and selection process.

# Historical Aspect of the Problem

the present day, there is much data available concerning the attitudes of communities toward policemen. These attitudes cover the entire spectrum of feelings from love to hate. And the very ambivalence of community attitudes is reflected in the dual value role imposed on policemen by the society which creates him, and then requires him to be both friend and oppressor at the same time.

Some of the criticism of the profession was, at least partly, caused by its very method of growing. During the early history of policing communities in England, there are references to the Watch and Ward, which was a system of safeguarding communities by legally requiring citizens to take their turn at being policemen. But, inevitably, as now, what was everyone's business and concern, was no one's duty and paid replacements began to appear. They were ill-rewarded and in keeping, were usually unlearned, unable and

over-aged. This type of administration and recruiting was obviously not aimed at consideration of policing as a community profession to be respected.

Various other attempts to form organizations to protect communities against the lawless were initiated, tried, and discarded. The Merchant Police, hired by merchants on a private basis to safeguard their shops, and investigate crimes against them were joined later by the Parochial Police, made up of parish constables throughout the cities.<sup>2</sup> These and many other methods of crime fighting were tried, including escalation of the severity of punishment.

However, during these years, the crime rate rose steadily and in 1829, Sir Robert Peel, the British Home Secretary, introduced into Parliament "an Act for Improving the Police In and Near the Metropolis."

The Act blamed much of the social unrest on the poor quality and divided responsibility of the police services then existing (Merchant Police, Parochial Police and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The Police Task Force Report on the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1967).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>A. C. Germann, Frank D. Day, and Robert R. J. Gallati, Introduction to Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (10th printing; Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1969), pp. 50-55.

the useless Watch and Ward) and put forth fundamentals of community policing which are still applicable today.

Sir Robert Peel suggested such reforms as:

- Stable, efficient, quasi-military police organization.
- Governmental control of police.
- Development of police strength by time and area need (records).
- Central headquarters.
- Securing and training of proper personnel.
- Probation periods for new policemen.<sup>3</sup>

These fundamentals have been adopted and carried out through the following years by police administrators without much problem except the one which stated, "police should secure and train proper personnel." As the police departments faced a slowly rising tide of criticism, much attention was focused on recruitment, selection and training of "proper personnel."

In the early days of America, the attempts at law enforcement paralleled those of the mother country. The time-honored, or dishonored, Watch and Ward method was tried and discarded. Even worse for the profession, misdemeanants were sometimes sentenced to serve on the Watch and Ward as payment for their crime. Many rules and regulations of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

day were aimed at keeping watchmen awake and moving while on duty.4

In 1833 the city of Philadelphia passed an ordinance providing for paid, daytime policemen. New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Baltimore and Providence followed suit in the next few decades and in 1856 New York City led the way to another innovation by adopting full police uniforms. <sup>5</sup>

Police services in those times were entirely at the mercy of political manipulation and, of course, offered a grade of police service consistent with the quality of politics under which it served in each instance. Attempts to abandon the political yoke even embraced efforts at electing policemen, but these results were worse than dismal. <sup>6</sup>

In 1881 the assassination of President James

Garfield by a disgruntled office seeker brought forth the

Pendleton Act, providing for Civil Service in federal government employment. This, in turn, led to the establishment
of civil service processes throughout local and state governments and gradually some departments were freed from constant political interference, at least on a daily basis.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 58-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

But the profession suffered through many other image-shattering ordeals, which saw charges ranging from gross inefficiency through murder raised against members of police departments. These charges included as few as one policeman, and as many as, virtually, hundreds or entire departments. From the trial and subsequent execution of a police lieutenant of a large metropolitan department for complicity in a gang murder, to the trial of two patrolmen of a large city for a riot murder, there are many stories of police failures, which, true or untrue, accurate or exaggerated, are attitude-forming facets of societal relationship in one's community.

It has been a relatively short time from the date of the Peelian reform to the present day, but even so, it has only been in the latter stages of that period that police training began to be structured and formalized to train men for police use in their own community. And, probably, the whole theory turns on the word "properly." One historian remarks that in the early 1900's "for the most part the average American city depends almost entirely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Vina Delmar, The Becker Scandal (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1968).

John Hersey, The Algiers Motel Incident (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968). See also Detroit News and Detroit Free Press, February 27, 1970.

for the training of its police recruits upon such casual instruction as older officials may be able and willing to give." But by 1966, a survey by the International Association of Chiefs of Police revealed that 97 percent of 269 surveyed police departments had formal training programs ranging from one to twelve weeks. 11

It is notable and probably to be expected, that early police training curricula, even in places where the units were regarded as highly successful, were largely attuned to the repression of crime and the physical mechanics of the duty. Little thought, if any, was given to preparing policemen for the oddly paradoxical duty of dealing with vicious criminals and irate and overwrought citizens on the same day. Such suggestions as that of creating a position of Police Community Service Officer to handle non-line functions are a bright vision on tomorrow's police horizon, 12 but will probably be resisted and delayed by many protectors of the status quo.

<sup>10</sup> Elmer D. Graper, American Police Administration (New York: McMillan Co., 1921), pp. 109-110.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Police Task Force Report, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

# Philosophical Aspect of the Problem

Police recruit training programs, in general, are better than have existed in the past but are still "a fragmented, sporadic and rather inadequate response to the training needs of the field in a day when police are confronted with some of the most perplexing social and behavioral problems we have ever known." And it can be noted now that the social situation has worsened since that assessment was made. Note, for instance, the description of feelings toward police in a black community by a leading Negro spokesman:

the only way to police a ghetto is to be oppressive. None . . . have any way of understanding the lives led by the people they swagger about in two's and three's controlling. Their very presence is an insult, and it would be, even if they spent their entire day feeding gumdrops to the children. 14

It is important to realize that sponsoring a police athletic league or passing out baskets at Thanksgiving or Christmas will not serve as a year long panacea for ailments that arise as the result of poor communication and clashing attitudes. These elements of people treatment that will be useful must be based on more than a public relations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>James Baldwin, "Fifth Avenue Uptown," from Man Alone, ed. by Eric and Mary Josephson (New York: Dell, 1963), p. 152.

gimmickry approach. This brings about the realization that communities will react to police in accord with the general treatment afforded them by the police. People in the community who are suspicious of, or alienated from, the police are far less likely to cooperate in many ways. This can, and does, interfere with the ability of a police department to function "properly." It tends to cause officers to react hastily or emotionally, or not at all, in situations where their reaction is critical. Unfriendliness, hostility, and even hate may be generated in both directions as the result of failure in communication at this juncture.

Though it must be noted and remembered that much of the hostility, malevolence, anger and subsequent violence directed at police is unrelated to police treatment of the community, and that many confrontations are carried out by anti-social types, it is also to be kept in mind that a police officer is generally not puzzled or upset to discern that criminals fear or hate him. It is when he encounters these attitudes among segments of the community which he thinks he is trying to help that a shock wave of reaction arises in the policeman.

It also seems important to note that while the crime rates continue to soar and crime becomes a regular and virtually monotonous campaign issue, the greatest source of criticism toward police departments arises not from their

apparent failure to stem the crime rate, but from the way they treat people.

It has been said that "on the whole, the less education people have, the more likely they are to be intolerant of those who differ from themselves, whether in opinions, modes of culturally and morally relevant behavior, religion, ethnic background or race." Any additional education then, aimed at broadening policemen's knowledge of the human aspects of beliefs and attitude formation would seem to be doubly helpful.

The reality of the present day situation is that most police officers do not have college degrees when entering police service, and that most of them are, after entry, being trained by older versions of themselves. For the purpose of training men in the physical aspects of a career, this would seem sufficient, but it is wholly inadequate to expect that police recruits will learn the important facts of psychological and sociological attitude recognition and management from instructors who are unaware of these problems. One of the very reasons why there has been so little change in much of the area of police training is the fact that most departments train themselves. While this is admittedly efficient in some respects, it is absolutely worthless in others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Seymour M. Lipset, "Why Cops Hate Liberals and Vice Versa," *The Atlantic Monthly*, CCIII, No. 3 (March, 1969), 76.

Though agreement is not universal as to the value of educating law enforcement people, the principle has made a slow, constant advancement. Some departments are granting pay, promotion privileges and benefits directly tied to educational background. Other departments are requiring at least two years of college education as a hiring requirement of and there is discussion about the future requirement of a four year college degree to enter into the police field. The position of chief administrator has been opened to outside applicants in such large cities as Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, New York, Baltimore and Syracuse. 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Donald E. Clark and Samuel G. Chapman, A Forward Step: Educational Backgrounds for Policemen (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1966), p. 21. This includes at least two California departments requiring from one to four years of college prior to recruitment.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Police Task Force Report, op. cit.. p. 126.
"The ultimate goal is that all personnel with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

#### CHAPTER II

#### RECRUITING

# The Philosophy of Recruiting

The recruitment process breaks down into two parts, actually, which are designed for the purpose of providing the aforementioned "proper" personnel. The first of these parts is recruitment and the second is selection. In both of these, the determinants of excellence are set by the administrator's goals, whether they are his own ideals, demands set by locality and community, or professional standards in general use. It is standard opinion that recruitment is: "that process through which suitable candidates are induced to compete for appointments in the public service."

Compared to private enterprise, it can be noted that the methods used in recruiting employees into public service seem to differ in the area of motivation. The person who seeks to achieve large measures of materialistic gain, or

<sup>1&</sup>quot;Recruiting Applicants for the Public Service,"
Report submitted to the CSA by a Committee on Recruiting
Applicants for the Civil Service, Donald Kingsley, Chairman (Chicago: CSA of the U.S. and Canada, 1942), p. 1.

whose outlook is for a life based on the possibility of striking it rich, will find little to attract him to public service. Nevertheless, public service recruiters do tend to stress the security benefits on the basis of long term steadiness of employment in public service.

But largely, a stress must be placed in public service recruitment on the benefits of bringing help to one's fellowman, and such attractions as adventure and the eventual great authority that accompanies steady rises in rank in the service.

As a result of this, it has been the practice of recruiters to use various tests throughout the recruitment and selection process which are designed to facilitate the selection of the "suitable" person for the job. When used in connection with recruitment and selection it can be pointed out that the words "suitable" and "proper" have virtually unlimited flexibility. In some instances the variety of shadings applied to these two words will enable a recruiter to fit almost any peg into any hole.

But, since the recruitment and selection are actually aimed at more specific goals and use specific standards, the process actually involves the use of methods geared to induce particular kinds of people to apply for, meet the tests and standards of, and accept, certain types of jobs.

A recent study<sup>2</sup> of college seniors, graduate students and faculty members in various colleges to determine why college students do not apply for government service in science and engineering showed a strong preference for private industrial employment. Only 13 percent were favorably inclined towards government employment. Those selecting private industry cited as reasons such items as higher pay for like work, more stress on ability as a criterion for promotion, greater incentive, and greater managerial talent in private industry.

Those who preferred government employment noted the absence of pressure in jobs, good experience for later private use, job security provisions and benefits, and less likelihood of discrimination.

The study points up to recruiters the necessity of gearing their approach to the applicant toward those job characteristics which are more likely to appeal to the prospective applicant and which may or may not serve as the first basic step in the elimination process of selection.

Scant research has been done on the career leaning of individuals and their characteristics and job performance in public agencies. One investigation studied employees of a federal agency doing research on a national defense

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>College Seniors and Federal Employment (Washington, D.C.: The American University, January, 1953).

project.<sup>3</sup> All were professional or administrative and all were asked as part of an interview whether they considered themselves career military, career federal civil service or primarily professionals in law or science.

Those who chose military or federal career service were designated "institutionalists" and those who classified themselves as professionals were called "specialists" while those who said they were part both were named "hybrids."

The "institutionalists," almost unanimously, intended to work out their careers in government service and expected to be executives, mostly. The "specialists" looked forward to non-executive careers and were unconcerned if it was public or private enterprise.

The "hybrids," although their educational requirements and job experience was very like the specialist, also looked forward to careers in government service and largely as executives.

The entire point of this research insofar as it is directed to a recruiter should lead to a heightened realization that there is a point above and beyond the monetary lures where defining and describing the job assumes great significance and importance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Dwaine Marvic, Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954), Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, pp. 31, 122-23.

Another study of attitudes held by scientists and engineers about their former government employment, revealed that most considered that private industry offered the best prospect of satisfying career work. The most frequently mentioned advantages of government employment were job security and desirable fringe benefits such as leave policies, while the leading advantage of private industry was pay scale.

The most often cited disadvantage of public employment were pay, promotion, and opportunities for professional development. The top disadvantage of private employment was cited as job security. The general impression of the three studies just noted would seem to indicate that people who prefer government work tend to be those who are interested in a comparatively well ordered and secure life.

However, this need not be so in light of the cited research of Marvick which pointed out that there may be a definite relationship between recruiting and personnel results in conjunction with the career intent of individuals, much of which might hinge on the description or definition of the job. This view is strengthened by the Stromsen-Dreese study of National Institute of Public Administration internes which showed that these federal

<sup>&</sup>quot;Attitudes of Scientists and Engineers About Their Government Employment (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University, The Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, July, 1950), Vol. I.

employ internes were most frequently impressed by the possibility of satisfaction in promoting the public welfare and secondly by the challenge of playing a part in urgent, national affairs as described by recruiters. 5

The general problem in selective recruiting is, of course, probably best considered as qualitative and not quantitative. What is necessary in a useful recruiting situation is a prime group of potential employees from whom the best may be selected. The inducement effort aimed at getting large numbers of persons to apply overlooks the very real fact that pinpoint recruiting can do the job more readily given the "proper" inducements which are designed to draw "proper" and "suitable" applicants by appeals to those traits which have proven to be success traits in the past, coupled with job definitions to attract those individuals who have the particular traits identified.

Some of the problem lies in this area of trait identification. Those facets of job pursuit which are tied to motivation must be isolated and identified and made part of the recruiting process. And determinants of motivation must not be defined by pre-employment investigation but by thorough past hiring studies which are correlated to success patterns in job performance. There is, at present a lack of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Karl Stromsem and Mitchell Dreese, "Attitudes of NIPA Internes Toward a Career in the Federal Service," *Public Administration Review*, X (1950), 256-57.

empirical research along these lines. One noted personnel
expert says:

New testing devices and new methods of judgment about people will have to be explored. I wonder sometimes about our antiquated attitudes about applicants as evidenced in our application forms. Instead of many of the questions that we ask, I don't see why we shouldn't ask some like these:

- What do you like most to do?
- In what endeavor do you think you have achieved most?
- What do you dislike?
- Where have you failed?

We still base too much personnel policy and practice on trial and error, or intuition. More intensive and deliberate examination of the impact of the policies we espouse and establish, more evaluation on a continuing basis, is essential. 6

ments, or tests, as descriptive and not necessarily predictive. A watch, a ruler, an odometer are all describing how things are now. It is in the relationship of these measurements to other factors that brings one into the area of prediction. A watch tells us it is three o'clock in the afternoon and when we correlate this fact with the knowledge that it is forty-five miles to home and our car's odometer notifies us that we are traveling forty-five miles per hour, we can reasonably predict that we will be home in one hour, but then only if conditions remain constant as at the time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>D. Glenn Stahl, "Tomorrow's Generation of Personnel Managers," Public Personnel Association, Personnel Report, No. 681, p. 45.

of measurement. Thus, we realize that a measurement is dependent for validity on what can be related to it.

# The Mechanics of Recruiting

Police recruitment and selection processes are based on some very worthy measurement techniques which have a seemingly permanent relationship with certain facets of job performance, such as the requirement of sterling character. Others may not be relatable factors at all. A look at the more common of those shows these recurring requirements:

# Age

The age requirement is generally set between 21 and 35. The minimum age may now be restrictive, in view of the new age of majority laws, and the upper limit of 35 has also been faulted. The International Association of Chiefs of Police recommended the maximum age be reduced to 29 and reported:

The upper age limit of 35 is considered to be too high. There are many advantages in lowering the upper limit. It assists in reducing turnover because young men, not having established themselves in a trade or occupation, are less likely than others to leave the force during periods of economic prosperity. . . . Younger men can also be expected to fulfill their maximum working years with greater endurance for the tremendous physical exertions required of the working officer. In addition, younger men present easier training subjects and are probably more readily amenable

to the discipline necessary in a police operation.

Another source suggests a reason for recruiting younger men is because it is easier for a man in his twenties to return to college to resume his studies for a new career than it is for a man approaching forty.

While all the foregoing reasons may have some validity for auditors and accountants who worry themselves about pension and insurance costs, and may have some considered validity if the job of policeman is truly a depression job, they have no really solid empirical validity in relationship with task performance as an officer. An older officer may not be able to wrestle as well as a younger man, but he may conceivably design a way to avoid the violent confrontation and still get the job done. Beyond this, it may be a question of personal courage, and there is no empirical proof that younger officers are more courageous than older ones.

# Height

The height requirement is generally between 6'7" and 5'7". It is noted that one researcher calls height

<sup>7</sup>I.A.C.P., A Survey of Police Services in Metropolitan Dade County, Florida (Washington, D.C.: I.A.C.P., 1963), p. 39.

Thomas F. Adams, Law Enforcement (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 19.

part of the "charisma" of an officer which enables him to hold the respect of people he deals with, especially the belligerent or uncooperative. This, coupled with the requirement of perfect 20/20 vision is now being recognized as unrealistic and not always related. The Federal Aviation Agency will license a commercial pilot with 20/100 vision as long as it is correctable, and many police departments are changing their regulations regarding height and vision to conform with the belief that competent medical examination by qualified physicians are more reliable as to physical fitness than a set of department rule standards. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement recommended that all departments should eliminate inflexible physical requirements as not being related to job performance. 11

# Residency

Many police departments have pre-service residency requirements from six months to five years but these have been recognized as a deterrent to recruiting. The history of such a requirement hearkens back to the depression day

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Federal Aviation Agency, Regulations: Part 57, Medical Standards and Certification (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, November 23, 1965).

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Police Task Force Report, op. cit., p. 130.

premise of saving jobs for local residents. It is now widely accepted that a department should recruit men anywhere excellence can be located. Pre-service residency requirements are rapidly being acknowledged as not related to job performance.

# Education

Generally, a high school education is required although some departments accept less. A 1961 survey showed that 24 percent of 300 police departments had no minimum education requirement, while less than 1 percent required any level of college preparation. Becent information, however, indicates that education is assuming greater importance. In Detroit, for instance, in 1971 there were nearly 500 officers enrolled in degree courses at Wayne State University, a figure which is increasing by about 10 percent per year. 14

It has been previously noted that one research study source recommended that the ultimate goal be a

<sup>12 &</sup>quot;Minimum Standards for Police Recruit Qualifications and Selection: American Bar Association Project on Minimum Standards for Criminal Justice," Committee on the Police Function, September 8, 1966, Sec. II, p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>George W. O'Connor, Survey of Selection Methods (Washington, D.C.: I.A.C.P., 1962).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Interview with Inspector Clifford Ryan, Commanding Officer, Detroit Police Academy, November, 1971.

college degree for all officers. <sup>15</sup> The realization that higher education is directly related to job performance is becoming a widespread belief among police recruiters and administrators.

# Personal Qualifications

Most police applicants are subjected to a searching exploration of their backgrounds. The qualities of emotional stability, common sense and integrity are undoubtedly in direct relationship to job performance but beyond that the measurement gets a bit difficult. It is quite true that persons who have publicly or openly exhibited traits of instability or are discovered to have done such things not so openly are more than likely poor police candidates. And it is axiomatic that police must face a good deal of temptation in line of duty. Some of these temptations require only that the officer "look the other way" once in a while. Some offer monetary rewards and some offer advancement, but surely an officer must have the integrity to resist all such lures, and basically, it is virtually impossible to measure this factor by any valid test.

In attempts to screen out candidates who may fail as policemen later in their career because of some defect of personality, many police administrators insist that

<sup>15</sup> The Police Task Force Report, op. cit., p. 126.

prospective policemen should be examined for such defects before hiring. 16 The ability to remain objective under conditions of extreme stress is an important characteristic of a complete policeman. He must be able to see sights that are virtually sickening, hear sounds that are terrifying in intensity and listen to language directed at him that would fluster an angel and remain at all times sufficiently cool to carry out his duties efficiently. If a personality defect exists, it will more than likely be brought to the surface by some emergency situation and cause serious damage in a community through officer failure or error.

But even if the character check that the prospect is subjected to is thorough and searching and eliminates quite a few potential misfits, there is always the latent and not easily detected personality flaw that can escape this type of search.

Because of this many departments use psychological and psychiatric tests and examinations. In 1961, a survey revealed that over 50 departments out of 300 were using such pre-entry testing techniques. 17

The examinations vary to a considerable degree city by city. 18 Kansas City has a clinical psychologist

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Thomas W. Oglesby, "The Use of Emotional Screening in the Selection of Police Applicants," *Police*, January-February, 1958, p. 49.

<sup>170&#</sup>x27;Connor, op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> The Police Task Force Report, op. cit., p. 129.

interview and evaluates all applicants while Philadelphia has applicants interviewed by a psychiatrist. Los Angeles, California police candidates are also interviewed by a psychiatrist who also conducts two tests of each candidate. These tests, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and the Group Rorschach, are primarily intended to detect neurotic or psychotic leanings in future policemen.

The problem that arises over such tests is generally concerned with their validity. But whether or not they screen out an occasional candidate who might have had a successful law-enforcement career, they have also undoubtedly eliminated many misfits with a potential for great damage to the community. The most frequent criticism of this type of testing occurs when one of the applicants who successfully met every test, turns out to have an undetected flaw. The fact that this condition could have arisen after the tests is seldom mentioned in such cases.

However, since there is a direct relationship between a man's mental make-up and his job performance it follows that this phase of the selection process should be expanded. Many departments are relying on oral interview examinations by boards of officers or civilians or both to weed out applicants. This method, if used by itself, is highly unreliable as an indicator of "suitability" because,

<sup>19</sup> O'Connor, op. cit.

while it may enable a judgment to form concerning performance under stress, it depends too greatly on subjective individual whim of decision. This interview method of screening should never be the sole method of disqualification or acceptance. Such interviews should be in conjunction with the background investigation and psychological testing.<sup>20</sup>

Police Commissioner Michael Murphy, of New York, was quoted as saying, "Today's policeman is younger, better trained, and more carefully screened than ever before. We investigate candidates from the time they were in kindergarten to their entrance in the department." At the same place, the same author relates how a boy was barred from a police appointment by a misstep he made at age thirteen. He had to petition the court to cause the police department to overlook this youthful error. 21

A point to be made at this juncture is that the police are very jealously guarding their ranks against entry by the unworthy, which is wholly understandable if unworthy is well defined. It might somehow be stated that many who were found unworthy of service in some of the departments of the United States were excluded because of attitudes which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>A. C. Germann, Police Personnel Management (Spring-field, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1963), pp. 51-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. 34.

might in reality have been useful to this service. This is illustrative of the fact that police departments are reluctant to change some of their own attitudes but are rather seeking to preserve and even regenerate them in the recruitment process.

It has also been suggested that some research be undertaken to add knowledge to what is known about police value patterns and associated attitudes and for further determination whether or not these value patterns and attitudes differ from other significant groups in our society. These findings could then become part of the selection procedure and serve to aid police recruiters in their search for "suitability."

The background investigation. -- The background investigation of prospective police candidates is important and, of course, has a relationship to job performance. It is possible that the background investigation of an applicant could reveal evidences of personality flaws which might fail to come to light in oral and psychiatric testing. Additionally, identification records can be checked at local, state and federal echelons of information and character references followed up and interviewed. No person should be admitted into a service which polices communities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Milton Rokeach, Martin Miller, and John A. Snyder, "The Value Gap Between Police and Policed" (unpublished paper, Michigan State University, Department of Psychology, 1968).

until that person has been thoroughly investigated.

Fingerprints should be taken and checked. School, neighborhood, past and present as well as employers past and present should be looked into thoroughly. It has been suggested that, since background investigations are the most costly part of recruitment and selection, this procedure should be left until all other tests have been passed successfully by the applicant. <sup>23</sup> As a further check, use of the polygraph can frequently cap the background check. <sup>24</sup> And, just incidentally, this is probably the only stage in a police investigation when the use of the polygraph for testing personnel of departments is not tinged with controversy.

## The Relationship of Recruiting to The Role of a Policeman

In review, one might state that the initial look at police recruitment and selection sees that both are supposed to be closely related to the product sought, which is probably correct as far as it theorizes. The weak point in the line running from recruitment through selection to policeman, is that there is so little in the way of empirical data to relate the efforts of recruiters, and the tests of selectors, to the job performance of the end product. Suggestions are

<sup>23</sup> The Police Task Force Report, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Adams, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

made that public service employees are either security minded or altruistic beyond belief and these traits ought to be sought and appealed to in the recruitment process.

There is much evidence that of all the testing procedures used in the application procedure, only character and education are truly related to job performance. Those requirements involving age, height, weight, vision, hearing, and residence, have no real basis for inclusion as requirements for selected police personnel.

A very basic description of the police goals is made by Germann, Day and Gallati:

- 1. The prevention of crime and disorder and the preservation of peace (for community security).
- 2. The protection of life and property and personal liberty (for individual security). 25

But, even though most police agencies subscribe to these goals, there is a great variety of methods to achieve them in present day use and a great many interpretations of their meanings and nuances, resulting in a wide variety of role descriptions.

## An Outside View of the Policeman's Role

Yinger defines role as a unit of culture referring to the rights and duties, or normatively approved patterns

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Germann, Day, and Gallati, op. cit., p. 25.

of behavior for the occupants of a given position.<sup>26</sup>
Assuming the view as valid, gives rise to the presumption that the role of a policeman could well vary from place to place and time to time. Which leads to a further presumption that the tendency to stereotype police begins with role definitions that may not be exactly correct.

Nor is the problem of role definition unique to the police. Biddle and Thomas say:

Perhaps the most common definition is that role is the set of prescriptions defining what the behavior of a position member should be. But this much agreement is at best but an oasis in a desert of diverging opinion. A careful review of the definitions reveals, however, that there is one nearly universal common denominator, namely that the concept pertains to the behavior of particular persons.<sup>27</sup>

The policeman represents many things to many people and while it is fairly simple to state what a policeman's goals are or ought to be and list a number of functions that are part and parcel of goal achievement, it is equally difficult to define his role, and to specify the minutiae of application standards of those goals and functions.

Police systems specialist Bruce Smith, in discussing the role of the policeman says of him:

<sup>26</sup> J. Milton Yinger, Toward a Field Theory of Behavior (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), p. 99.

Parace J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 29.

The policeman's art consists of applying and enforcing a multitude of laws and ordinances in such degree or proportion that the greatest degree of protection will be secured. The degree of enforcement and the method of application will vary with each neighborhood and community. There are no set rules, nor even general guides, to the policy to be applied. Each patrolman must, in a sense, determine the standard to set in the area for which he is responsible. . . . Thus he is a policy-forming police administrator in miniature. 28

This definition of the police role, though not universally agreed with in all its concepts, does point out the very real difference in degrees of enforcement and methods of application from community to community.

Skolnick identifies and defines distinctive cognitive tendencies which policemen share with other occupations. He notes that a policeman's exposure to danger likens him to a soldier. His authority problems are akin to those faced by schoolteachers and pressure to prove his ability is similar to those of an industrial worker. But, says Skolnick, only a policeman has all three problems.<sup>29</sup>

Skolnick also notes that:

. . . the character of the policeman's work makes him less desirable as a friend, since norms of friendship implicate others in his work. Accordingly, the element of danger

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Bruce Smith, Police Systems in the United States, (Rev. ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., second printing, 1967), p. 42.

isolates the policeman socially from that segment of the citizenry which he regards as symbolically dangerous and also from the conventional citizenry with whom he identifies.<sup>30</sup>

But Skolnick goes on to add, in an explanatory footnote:

By no means does such an analysis suggest there are no individual or group differences among police. On the contrary, most of this study emphasizes differences, endeavoring to relate these to occupation specialties in police departments. This chapter, however, explores similarities rather than differences attempting to account for the policeman's general disposition to perceive and to behave in certain ways. 31

So, even though there is some disagreement concerning police goals and functions, there seems to be a recognition that his role is ambiguous, at least. The sources which play a part in forming that role in each community are diverse and contradictory.

To some people a policeman is a friend, a helper for children and a protector against criminals. This view probably represents the majority view in America. But to many, the police are viewed as oppressors. One recent study reported that police officers tended to initiate investigations of suspected crimes with abusive language and that a clear case of physical abuse occurred once every

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, footnote 3, p. 44.

forty-eight hours of patrols. 32 The study further found that the abuse was directed at poor whites as often as poor blacks. This statistic might suggest a reason for considering that the poor people have a different view of the policeman's role than persons in higher socioeconomic strata of the community, whether these poor are white, black, or Spanish-speaking citizens.

The view of police as oppressors, however, may not necessarily affect the better view of his role in the community. For instance, a 1966 Louis Harris poll<sup>33</sup> in Washington found that Negroes as well as whites considered crime and law enforcement the greatest community problem. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission on "Police-Community Relations," Cleveland, Ohio, reported that the Negro citizens' most frequent complaint was permissive law enforcement and inadequate protection for areas peopled by Negroes.<sup>34</sup> This complaint was also made by Negroes in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of New York.<sup>35</sup>

Donald J. Black and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Patterns of Behavior in Police and Citizen Transactions," in Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, ed. by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., President's Commission on Law Enforcement, Field Survey III (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 182.

<sup>38</sup> Louis Harris, "Crime Is Top Problem in District, Area's Negroes and Whites Agree," The Washington Post, October 2, 1966, Sec. A., p. 1, col. 1.

<sup>\*</sup>Police Task Force Report, op. cit., p. 148.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

The view, then, of policemen as oppressors may not necessarily render invalid their being looked at as protectors. This is part of the shift of police role by time periods. One may conceivably be glad to have a policeman for protection against an assaulter and at the same time feel a twinge of sympathy for the arrested one because of certainty of belief that he will be mistreated by the police.

Many Americans look on policemen as crime investigators and, perhaps because of mass media and literature depictions, picture them in violent confrontations with felons, including running gun battles. Even policemen tend to view themselves "on the firing line against crime" as stated by O. W. Wilson, former superintendent of police in Chicago, Illinois. To Does a police officer use his gun or his pencil most often? Is he typically depicted in a pose charging from his black and white police car with drawn gun, or returning a lost child to a grateful mother? What percentage of police action is violent or dangerous? How much requires deductive brilliance?

One study of this facet of police activity was conducted in a city of about 400,000 people and revealed at the outset that the patrol division comprised only 43 percent of

Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, LXI, No. 1 (1970), 94.

the 900 authorized personnel strength and only 41 percent of the budget. 37 It was also found that nearly 64 percent of all patrol assignees was spent in administration and social service activities with 50.19 percent dedicated to administrative work which involved lunches, reports, errands and technical services. Slightly under 10 percent of the time the patrol people were engaged in traffic activities and the remainder of the time, about 27 percent, was used in crimes against persons (3 percent), crimes against property (15 percent), and on-view activity (9 percent). In short, these patrol officers spent very little time on activity involving violence or potential violence.

One phase of the report notes that the patrol force was dispatched to 2,917 robberies, a figure which represents one-half of 1 percent of the total number of dispatches. Burglary runs were dispatched over 28,000 times but only 9,122 actual offenses of burglary were reported and police experience in virtually all cities show 90 percent of burglar alarms are false.

The net result of such research is to present a picture of the policeman in pursuits that are more community service oriented than violent. However, it must be borne in mind that much police citizen contact can never be shown in patrol or response statistics and it is here that some of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-100.

the role expectation arises both in the minds of the citizens and the police.

## An Inside View of the Policeman's Role

The policeman's view of his own role is subject to the same variety of coloration. He is resentful of generalizations, or stereotypes that define his role expectation on the basis of findings concerning another city's patrol officers. And whether studies show it or not, the individual officer is just that and resists occupational groupings which do not involve studies within his own community and even then he may refuse to surrender his full individuality. His role expectations are differently reflected by the public, his superior, his adversaries, and his peers.

Yinger notes that these role conflicts fit four categories:

- 1. Internal role conflict occurs when an individual has internalized a role that includes contradictory expectations or when he occupies two or more positions that carry incompatible role expectations.
- External role conflict occurs when an individual is confronted with incompatible expectations from two or more persons in his position network or networks.
- 3. Intrarole conflict occurs when an individual perceives that others hold different expectations for him as the incumbent of a single position.
- 4. Interrole conflict occurs when an individual perceives that others hold

different expectations of him as the incumbent of two or more positions. (In any of these conflict situations they may or may not be perceived or recognized by the individual.) 38

The policeman may be a father, husband, college graduate, church deacon and regular hobbyist. To generalize him or stereotype his actions by using words such as "brutal," "prejudiced," "cynical," "authoritarian" and the like, as descriptive of police behavior may fail to note that individuality. Yinger adds:

To understand the influence of a position or behavior, we need to relate it not only to the personalities of the occupants and to the network of reciprocal positions with which it is connected, but also to the larger community and society structures within which it operates.<sup>39</sup>

Police operate within community and peer group norms and as Blumer points out:

As human beings we act singly, collectively, and societally on the basis of the meanings which things have for us. Our world consists of innumerable objects--home, church, job, college education, a political election, a friend, an enemy nation, a tooth brush, or what not--each of which has a meaning on the basis of which we act toward it. In our activities we wend our way by recognizing an object to be such and such, by defining the situations with which we are presented, by attaching a meaning to this or that event, and where need be, by devising a new meaning to cover something new or different. This is done by the individual in his personal actions, it is done by a group of individuals

<sup>38</sup> Yinger, op. cit., pp. 115, 116.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

acting together in concert, it is done in each of the manifold activities which together constitute an institution in operation, and it is done in each of the diversified acts which fit into and make up the patterned activity of a social structure or society. 40

When asked about their problems one group of police officers cited not crime but lack of respect for police, lack of cooperation in enforcement of law and lack of understanding of police problems. In this same study one officer said:

As a policeman my most serious problem is impressing on the general public just how difficult and necessary police service is to all. There seems to be an attitude of "law is important, but it applies to my neighbor--not to me." 41

Another policeman says that the citizen should:

Take an interest in the policeman and his family, his tensions, his fears, his standing in the community, and his future and you'll be buying yourself the best insurance policy. 42

Policemen have claimed social isolation and attributed it to the fact of their occupation. 43 Others

Variable, "American Sociological Review, December, 1956, p. 686.

<sup>41</sup> Skolnick, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>&</sup>quot;What Makes a Policeman Go Wrong?" The Ambivalent Force ed. by Arthur Niederhoffer and Abraham S. Blumberg (Waltham, Mass.: Xerox Publishing, 1970), p. 129.

<sup>43</sup> Skolnick, op. cit., p. 51.

have even stated that they keep their own families isolated from contact with them as policemen including their wives. 44

Los Angeles Chief William Parker said,

. . . individuals pursue their own ends with little regard for public morality, and the policeman sees the ugly underside of outwardly respectable households and businesses. Small wonder then, that many American policemen are cynics. 45

And a female store detective writing of her experiences with the public remarked:

I am convinced that we are turning into a nation of thieves. I have sadly concluded that nine out of ten persons are dishonest. 46

Others express hopeful views. In an interview with two veteran detectives of a large city police force and three patrol officers of the same department including two who were black, it was possible to isolate the following beliefs:

 There are bad, prejudiced and corrupt police but they are in the minority and the increasing tendency is toward exposure of the bad ones by their fellow officers.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45 &</sup>quot;The Police: An Interview," by Donald McDonald with William H. Parker, Chief of Police of Los Angeles (Santa Barbara: Center for Study of Democratic Institutions, 1962), p. 169.

Fivening Post, CCXXXIV (February 4, 1961), 21, 78.

- There are lots of bad, evil, immoral and corrupt people but there are many, many more decent God fearing members of the community.
- Officers do want to help their community. 47

<sup>47</sup> Personal interview of five Detroit officers in January, 1972. The discussions lasted over one hour and the two points were a consensus. Other problems were not discussed at this time because the interviewer was seeking the officers' view of the public and himself on three points only. One white officer dissented, in part, saying an officer still would not expose department corruption.

#### CHAPTER III

#### THE SEARCH FOR A COMMON DENOMINATOR

## Identifying Policemen's Personal Traits

The variety of duties which presently belong to police officers ranges from community service, through traffic law enforcement and education, and multicause crowd control, to armed battle with antisocial criminals. Can one even imagine the spectrum of attitudes to be faced during such duty? Can one even dream that an officer should recognize and categorize such attitudes with an automatic response which was brought about by some occupational magic which causes all police uniform wearers to react in the same way because of belonging to a "class" of people Stereotypes and generalizations may be answers to statistical summarizations but they will, in the resentful eyes of policemen, be untrue and inaccurate. They will cause policemen to ask, "How do you know how I feel about my job?"

Bayley and Mendelsohn have concluded that 89 percent of the policemen feel their own job is more important than others. In the Preiss and Ehrlich study of state police

David H. Bayley and H. Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police: Confrontations in America (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 36.

they found attitudes stressing departmental loyalty, self-sacrifice and unquestioning acceptance of orders.<sup>2</sup>
Goldman's research pointed out that officers perceive the juvenile court as unfair to the police and too easy on criminals,<sup>3</sup> while Reiss discovered that the majority of policemen who were studied in Chicago, Boston and Washington thought jurists were unfair, judges overly lenient and probation officers were performing poorly.<sup>4</sup>

Again, negative attitudes in policemen toward correctional agencies, probation officers, and juvenile court judges have been brought to light in research by Piliavin and Briar. Additionally, Bayley and Mendelsohn, Goldman, and Reiss, in separate studies, noted that policemen generally have negative attitudes toward youth because of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Jack J. Preiss and Howard J. Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory: The Case of the State Police (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Nathan Goldman, The Differential Selection of Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance (New York: National Research and Information Center, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1963), pp. 101-103.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Career Orientations, Job Satisfaction, and the Assessment of Law Enforcement Problems by Police Officers," in Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement, Vol. II, Sec. II, A Report to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," American Journal of Sociology, LXX, No. 2 (1964), 206-214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Bayley and Mendelsohn, op. cit., p. 45; Goldman, op. cit., pp. 101-103; and Reiss, op. cit., p. 11.

youth's defiance, rebelliousness and disrespect for keeping rules.

In these papers, both Goldman and Reiss conclude that police are generally critical of the public because of their failure to cooperate or display interest in good law enforcement.

Other researchers have found different traits in policemen. Skolnick and Dodd discovered they were suspicious, 8 and both Westley and Toch uncovered cynicism9 as did Niederhoffer, who had been practitioner as well as a researcher-author. 10 Clark and Gibbs have reported research that showed policemen to be isolated from personal friends and the public. 11

Included in research on policemen's feelings and attitudes are revelations by Becker, Pfiffner, Reiss, and Wilson which indicate that policemen suffer from feelings

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Goldman, op. cit., p. 118; and Reiss, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>H. Skolnick, op. cit., p. 44; and J. Dodd, "Police Mentality and Behavior," Issues in Criminology, III, No. 1 (1967), 42-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>William A. Westley, "Violence and the Police,"

American Journal of Sociology, LIX, No. 1 (July, 1953), 35;

and Hans H. Toch, "Psychological Consequences of the Police

Role," Police, X (September-October, 1965), 24.

<sup>10</sup> Arthur S. Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1967), p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander L. Clark and Jack P. Gibbs, "Social Control: A Reformation," Social Problems, XII, No. 4 (Spring, 1965), 411.

of low self-esteem and are heavily oriented toward the theory of all importance to "respect for the rule of law." 12 Chwast defines one of the policemen's problems as a feeling of powerlessness and self-hate. 13

Many researchers find policemen have a conservative political ideology which one researcher, Skolnick, after a study of policemen, called a "Goldwater type of conservatism." Bayley and Mendelsohn found the policemen in their study to be more conservative and more Republican than the community at large. They also found that age was unrelated to political ideology and concluded that the selection process was the cause of the conservatism more than socialization after joining the force. This view is partly shared by Rokeach, who finds that policemen are expected to be recruited, or recruit themselves, into law enforcement from politically conservative strata of society and, within such strata, from among those predisposed to gain special

<sup>12</sup> Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 158-161; John M. Pfiffner, "The Function of the Police in a Democratic Society" (Los Angeles: Civic Center Campus, Center for Training and Career Development, University of Southern California, 1967), p. 16; Reiss, op. cit., p. 12; and James Q. Wilson, "The Police and Their Problems: A Theory," Public Policy, XII (1963), 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Jacob Chwast, "Value Conflicts in Law Enforcement," Crime and Delinquency, XI, No. 2 (April, 1965), 160.

<sup>14</sup> Skolnick, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Bayley and Mendelsohn, op. cit., p. 29.

satisfaction from police work. Rokeach, however, expects the socialization to increase the conservatism.

Lipset says that: "The police, who are recruited from the conservative, less-educated groups, reflect the background from which they came. . . . "17 And Westley believes, as a result of his studies that the typical policeman, ". . . regards the public as his enemy, feels his occupation to be in conflict with the community. . . . "18 Further, Westley reported, as a conclusion based on his study of city police that policemen believe that certain groups of persons will respond only to fear and rough treatment and they place both Negroes and slum dwellers in this category. 19

A former Indiana State policeman opined that:

Numerous contacts with antisocial persons are likely to cause policemen to assume a veneer of hardness. They often entertain the erroneous belief that courteous treatment of law violators by a policeman is an indication of weakness, of cringing or servility. They

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Milton Rokeach, Martin G. Miller and John A. Snyder, "The Value Gap Between Police and Policed" (unpublished paper, Michigan State University, Department of Psychology, 1968), pp. 1-2.

<sup>17</sup> Seymour M. Lipset, "Why Cops Hate Liberals--and Vice Versa," The Atlantic Monthly, CCXXIII, No. 3 (March, 1969), 78.

<sup>18</sup> Westley, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

will say that criminals are not entitled to the treatment accorded to gentlemen. 20

And Toch sees a policeman viewing society as a vicious dog-eat-dog jungle in which only force can insure peace and harmony. <sup>21</sup> Toch finds it not surprising that professional law enforcement groups lobby for the death penalty, for long-term imprisonment of drug addicts, and for other laws reflecting punishment for social ills.

Stoddard isolated a police "code" which described a type of "brotherhood" of evil among policemen who practiced illegalities ranging from mooching, chiseling, and favoritism in enforcement, through extortion, perjury, and premeditated theft. 22 This brotherhood was revealed by a former policeman who had been a police officer for three and one-half years before becoming involved in robbery and grand larceny charges. The information was passed on to the researcher in interviews about three years after the ex-policeman's release from jail.

To approach any further study of even a small facet of the complex police body with only these views might tend

<sup>20</sup> Don L. Kooken, Ethics in Police Service (Spring-field: Charles C. Thomas, 1959), p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Toch, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ellwyn Stoddard, "The Informal 'Code' of Police Deviance: A Group Approach to Blue Coat Crime," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, LIX, No. 2 (June, 1968), 201-213.

to steer research to some self-fulfilling prophesies. In fact, this may be already at least partly fact. Stoddard mentions that he was aware that his data did not begin to meet the stringent scientific criteria of reliability for the purpose of applying the conclusions from his case research to police agencies in general but he decided to report his indictment of policemen for the purpose of "enriching" the literature.<sup>23</sup>

But other researchers found evidence in their studies that led to a larger conclusion that a research can sometimes find almost any statement about policemen is either true or false, depending on who asks the question, who answers it, and when, where, and how it is asked and answered.

Contrary to popular belief, Niederhoffer discovered in tests of New York policemen that they were no more authoritarian or dogmatic than other groups with similar education levels. Bayley and Mendelsohn found these same results as well as Smith, Locke and Walker, and findings which gave contrary evidence to the accepted belief that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Niederhoffer, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bayley and Mendelsohn, op. cit., pp. 17-18; and Alexander Smith, Bernard Locke, and William F. Walker, "Authoritarianism in College and Non-College Oriented Police," Journal of Criminal Law, Crimonology and Police Science, LVIII, No. 1 (March, 1967), 132.

police are high in punitiveness has been reported by McNamara and Marshall. 26

Statements about the efficiency of police departments anywhere are subject to a certain amount of suspicion when one considers that a department which is trying to avoid the image of repressiveness may experience a sudden rise in certain types of statistical measurement normally attributed as indicators of efficient police service.

Fewer arrests, fewer raids, fewer confrontations may bring on charges of lax law enforcement.

Cumming et al. reports that poor, uneducated people appear to use the police in the way that middle-class people use family doctors and clergymen; that is, as first port of call in time of trouble.<sup>27</sup> Policemen are enforcing laws that are not popular with poor people that are regularly violated by the affluent and the policeman knows this and because he is recruited from the class of people most often seeking his help, the policeman relates to them. The dichotomy of ideals involved in professionalizing policemen and thus removing them from relationship with the lower socioeconomic class is mentioned here too.

The Relevance of Police Recruits' Background and Training," in The Police: Six Sociological Essays, ed. by David Bordua (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), pp. 234-236; and James Marshall, Law and Psychology in Conflict (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966), p. 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Elaine Cumming, Ian Cumming, and Laura Edell, "Policeman as Philosopher, Guide and Friend," *Social Problems*, XII, No. 3 (Winter, 1965), 276-286.

Cumming et al. also notes that policemen have a concern for children, old people and the disturbed and ill. <sup>28</sup>

Trojanowicz researched the attitudes of social workers as compared to policemen and concluded that:

Two of the scales had particularly interesting results when policemen and social workers were compared. There was no significant difference between the two groups on the Move Against Aggressor and Identifies with Authority scales. Furthermore, the Identifies with Authority scale showed the least amount of difference of any of the thirty-four scales. These scales are mentioned not only because they were expected to be significant but because these are two of the areas where policemen receive much criticism. 29

Rhead, as a result of psychiatric assessment of Chicago police candidates over an 18 month period, noted that mild suspiciousness and freedom from suggestion may be useful occupational traits since they appear regularly in personality profiles of successful officers.<sup>30</sup>

Martin Symonds, M.D., former policeman in New York and later psychiatric consultant to that department for seven years notes that police screening searched for persons who had kept fairly close to the goal of upward striving

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 285.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Robert C. Trojanowicz, "A Comparison of the Behavioral Styles of Policemen and Social Workers" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Social Science, Michigan State University, 1969), p. 165.

<sup>30</sup> Clifford Rhead et al., "The Psychological Assessment of Police Candidates," American Journal of Psychology, CXXIV, No. 11 (May, 1968), 1580.

without deviation, and that such persons are idealistic and have preserved an attitude toward authority that is one of respect, awe and even reverence. 31 Symonds rejects a suggestion that men with predisposition to violence are attracted to police work.

And it is also noteworthy that a New York newspaper reporter, perhaps more from native whimsy than any empirical data, says the policeman has one outstanding desire, his pension; and one outstanding trait, he will lay down his life for you. 32

This partial review of the literature concerning police beliefs and attitudes reveals the presence of a goodly number of occupational and personal traits, some positive, some negative. It would seem reasonable to suggest that some combination of absence of the negative traits and presence of the positive traits exists in the successful policeman.

We note that policemen are discovered by researchers to be resentful; chauvinistic; suspicious; authoritarian; and prejudiced against judges, probation officers, youth and the public in general, and minorities and the poor in particular. We also note that policemen are found to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Martin Symonds, "Emotional Hazards of Police Work," in *Ambivalent Force*, ed. by Niederhoffer and Blumberg, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

<sup>32</sup> Jimmy Breslin, "The Policeman," in Ambivalent Force, ibid., p. 121.

cynical, conservative, predisposed to violence, punitive, dishonest, and burdened with feelings of powerlessness and self-hate.

Other research shows policemen to be sympathetic to the uneducated, aged, poor, and those suffering from illness of all kinds, including mental illness. They have been said to have a concern for children and their own pensions and to be no more authoritarian than other occupations in public service, including social workers. Policemen are said to be so carefully screened that only those with a lifelong goal of upward striving can make it to the status of policemen. And it has been remarked that a policeman will lay down his life for you.

So, while it may be reasonable to suggest that some combination of the presence or absence of these positive and negative traits is inevitably present in every successful policeman, finding the correct combination may be a task so gigantic that it stuns the mind of a researcher. The large and impressive battery of selection and rejection tests in use now by recruiters has been in the forefront of the effort to find the answers to part of this question. While it is not generally denied that such tests are useful, and indeed necessary to the selection process, it is also not universally agreed that the answers to the problem of finding and choosing "suitable" policemen lie in these tests.

## Identifying the Successful Policeman

It is the intent of this study to demonstrate that a logical location to search for indication of success is among the successful. Much of the literature is demonstrative of police failures. Many researchers point out the community-wide evidences of police failures. Others note that policemen are recruited from a stratum of society that is resentful of those above, fearful of those below, and ignorant of being part of the stratum from which they sprang.

Suggestions are made to raise standards of recruitment, including the educational requirements, and still
others suggest additional specifics of testing procedures
to identify and reject those who are not "suitable" to be
policemen. In spite of these efforts, the researchers continue to note recurring examples of police "unsuitability"
and the recruiters are given more guidelines and newer tests.

The first step in the search for the characteristics of excellence is to identify or define, a successful policeman. If we are to judge by present standards mentioned in the literature, the ideal policeman will have none of, or will have the opposite of, the negative traits, and all of the positive traits. While this may be an actuality somewhere, discovery and subsequent implementation may take an incredibly long time.

The proposal to identify a successful policeman is therefore done more simplistically. A policeman has two readily recognizable indicators of success. These are rank and tenure. Both of these indicators can be a measure of proficiency in performance ranging from satisfactory to excellent. It is intended in this study to make use of this measurement factor in probing for a common denominator of success for two salient reasons:

- These indicators are present in almost all police departments.
- These indicators are post employment characteristics actually present in the occupation and are not sought or wished for items of pre-employment conditions.

While no claim is made here that all policemen who manage to hold on to their jobs over a period of years are successful per se or even that all who are promoted to higher rank in police service are to be considered as successes in the occupation, it must be accepted as indicative of a pattern of success throughout the police communities.

Certainly it is acknowledged that some who are unsuitable are retained and some who are not successful are promoted because of political manipulation or circuitous happenstance but in any occupation these instances are the exception. In every field of endeavor known to man, tenure

and rank have these same generally acceptable characteristics of denoting varying degrees of capability and success. The specifics of performance which relate to one's ability to carry out a job and even to perform so excellently as to be promoted may be individually recognizable in certain instances but the conditions of holding tenure and being promoted in any job are generally indicative of success to be measured by the degree of tenure and status of promotion.

Scholars have a tendency to downgrade the importance of tenure and length of service, and frequently imply that highly educated personnel are ready and able to step in and replace those uneducated workers with the problem of depending on experience to do their job.

One source points out that police promotions were subject to political abuse in the early years of the century but civil service procedures were initiated to base promotions upon written examination, length of service and existing rank. This did away with the abuses to a great extent but further puzzled some police planners by freezing rank entry to this method. In fact, it is suggested, paradoxically, in this same report that in order to encourage interchange of personnel among departments, current civil service rules ought to be revised. This suggestion, of

<sup>33</sup> The Police Task Force Report, op. cit., p. 141. The report fails to mention evaluation of past performance which is included in many promotion requirements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

course, must be based on some method of assurance that the evils of political favoritism in police promotions will not be revived, but the report does not say what the method is to be. This report also mentions that selections of personnel for positions of greater responsibility cannot find those qualities by measuring tenure and experience alone. But the Kerner report, commenting on the importance of discipline in a police department says, "Discipline . . . depends on the leadership of seasoned commanders. . . ." 36

## Identifying the Common Denominator

This study, then, adopts the premise that tenure and rank are useful indicators of success and selects this area of the occupation to search for a common denominator, that is, a trait so common to successful policemen that it can be used as a leading factor in the recruiting and selection process.

There is, as noted, considerable data concerning the search for police personnel who are "suitable." Much of this research shows the elaborate search for certain qualifying abilities and the efforts to identify certain disqualifying disabilities. It has also been said of those who are recruited that often they are the future managers

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., 1968), p. 329.

of the organization which recruits them and recruiters must recognize the following:

- Effectiveness in any organization is a human developmental process.
- A distinct difference exists between ability and motivation to be effective.<sup>37</sup>

And it would seem to be true, especially of a policeman that if we are given all the candidates who pass the many selection and rejection tests, the final judgment of his effectiveness as a policeman will lie in his motivation. That is to say that, although not all of the men who successfully pass these tests will reach a plateau of the occupation where they have either the tenure of degrees of suitability or the promotion in rank to indicate a higher degree of success, those who do will be differentiated from those who were able but didn't, by motivation.

Here motivation is used in the sense of describing one's reason for taking certain action or the incentive underlying a course of action taken by a person. In the context of policemen's motivation it was decided that his primary motivation was that which caused him to choose police work as a career and all later actions taken would be in furtherance of that motive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Edward C. Gallas, "Early Identification of Managerial Talent," Personnel Report #703, Public Personnel Association, 1970, p. 13.

One researcher points out that a basic assumption of law enforcement recruiting can be inferred from the techniques used and says that the three things which stand out are dedication, prestige and security. 38 I think these classifications are truly basic and correct but I believe they fit many other occupations than police work. I classify these motivations as ALTRUISTIC (dedication), AUTHORITATIVE (prestige), and PERSONAL GAIN (security). All motivations to join the police service can be categorized inside these three compartments, however the policeman may word his reason for choosing police work as a career.

Scott and Garett, in a research sampling nationwide police opinions about various beliefs held by members of law enforcement groups asked also why each joined the police service and received the following categorical answers:

	( <u>&amp;</u> )
• Security	68
• Civic pride	20
• Adventure	16
• Prestige	10
• Liked police work	6
• Family tradition	4
• A job	2.6
• Depression job	2
• Desire to help others	2
• Interest in field	2
<ul> <li>To pay their way through school</li> </ul>	2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Richard Post, "Current Recruitment Factors Which Necessitates the Establishment of a National Clearinghouse for Recruiting Public Safety Personnel" (unpublished Master's thesis, School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University, 1967), p. 7.

(%)

			( <u> </u>
•	TO attend college		1.4
•	Right spot at right ti	ime	1
•	Childhood ambition		1

(The numbers indicate the percentage of respondents who placed these reasons in this rank order of importance.) Single write-ins were as follows:

- Interest in people
- Challenging
- Interesting
- More pay
- Liked the work
- To protect and help people
- Satisfaction of doing a necessary job
- Career
- Advancement
- To be of service
- Feeling of doing good
- Trained for it in service
- The will to help
- Liked MP Duty
- To support that which is right
- To be able to help people
- To help the unfortunate
- To assist others
- To make my city a better place
- Doing good to others
- Joining a good team
- Companionship of real people
- Liked the policemen I knew
- Respect for law and order
- A chance to be both kind and hard
- The chance to serve mankind
- A desire to serve
- To eat regular. 39

Each of these motivations, as shown in Table 1, fit the three basic motivational categories described as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Clifford L. Scott and Bill Garett, Leadership For the Police Supervisor (Springfield: Chas. C. Thomas, 1960), pp. 147-148.

TABLE 1

THE BASIC CATEGORIES OF MOTIVATION TO ENTER. POLICE WORK

AUTHORITARIAN	PERSONAL GAIN
Adventure Liked police work Interest in field Childhood ambition Challenging Career Advancement To support that which is right Respect for law and order A chance to be both kind and hard Family tradition	Security A job Depression job Pay way through school To attend college Right spot at right time More pay To eat regular Joining a good team
	ce work in field ambition ng t t t that which is right or law and order to be both kind and hard adition

ALTRUISTIC, AUTHORITARIAN, and for PERSONAL GAIN. I have made some categorical delineation decisions in the chart. For instance, certain motivations such as family tradition, liked police work, and childhood ambition were placed in the AUTHORITARIAN category even though they might also be considered ALTRUISTIC by some. They were placed in the AUTHORITARIAN category because they fail to connect the motivation to people or community. The categorical divisions can be handled more clearly and concisely by a tighter definition of each category during the inquiry process.

The research in this paper would use motivation as the common denominator to be sought for among the previously defined successful policemen. If one of these three categories of motivation is present in successful policemen in significant degree, it would then be in order to suggest that the pre-hiring period methods be subjected to a reappraisal and that recruiting researchers initiate the development tests to locate these factors of motivation and scales to measure them. They may hold the missing ingredient in the complex mixture required in a "suitable" policeman.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### MOTIVATION TO BECOME A POLICEMAN

# The Methodology of Search for Motivation

Several cities in the United States were selected as test areas. These were chosen with a view to providing insight into all sections of the country and to provide for the ability to test against variables that might appear due to sectional differences. The selection procedure also attempted to sample both large and small departments and so at least one large and one small department was chosen in each section of the country with the realization that some sectional or size imbalance could result if certain departments failed to respond to research efforts. Numerical size of department was not specifically used. Size was gauged by U.S. population rank order of each city. Table 2 depicts the originally selected group of test cities.

It was also determined that motivation should be examined from two viewpoints:

 The viewpoint of the recruiter; that is, what recruiters considered the most important of the three categories of motivation.

TABLE 2

SIZE AND AREA OF CITIES POLLED IN PHASE 1

City	Section	Population (in 1,000's)	City	Section	Populationa (in 1,000's)
*Altoona, Pennsylvania	MA	70	Montgomery, Alabama	ESC	133
Atlanta, Georgia	SA	497	*Montpelier, Vermont	NE	6
Augusta, Maine	NE	22	*Muncie, Indiana	ENC	70
Billings, Montana	TM	53	New Orleans, Louisiana	WSC	593
Boise, Idaho	MT	35	New York, New York	MA	7,895
*Boston, Massachusetts	NE	641	*Ogden, Utah	TW	72
Chicago, Illinois	ENC	3,367	Portland, Oregon	PAC	383
Cleveland, Ohio	ENC	751	Providence, Rhode Island	NE	179
Dallas, Texas	WSD	844	*Racine, Wisconsin	ENC	93
Davenport, Iowa	WSC	89	Richmond, Virginia	SA	250
*Dayton, Ohio	ENC	244	*Roswell, New Mexico	MT	41
Denver, Colorado	TW	515	St. Louis, Missouri	WNC	622
*Detroit, Michigan	ENC	1,511	*St. Paul, Minnesota	WINC	310
Fort Smith, Arkansas	WSC	54	San Francisco, California	PAC	716
*Gadsden, Alabama	ESC	59	Seattle, Washington	PAC	531
Grand Rapids, Michigan	ENC	198	Tacoma, Washington	PAC	155
Lincoln, Nebraska	WINC	150	Tampa, Florida	SA	278
Los Angeles, California	PAC	2,814	Traverse City, Michigam	ENC	20
Lubbock, Texas	WSC	149	Tuscon, Arizona	MT	263
Manchester, New Hampshire	NE	06	Tulsa, Oklahoma	WSC	332
Memphis, Tennessee	ESC	624	*Wichita, Kansas	WNC	277
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	ENC	717	Wilmington, Delaware	SA	86

\*Indicates no response.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Statistical Abstract of United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 19-22.

SA = South Atlantic, ESC = East South Central, WSC = West South Central, MT = Mountain, PAC = Pacific. DNE = New England, MA = Middle Atlantic, ENC = East North Central, WNC = West North Central,

 The viewpoint of the working policeman; or what police officers felt gave them the incentive to be a policeman.

# The Recruiter's View of Motivation

A letter was sent to each department which explained the purpose of the research, offered a biographical resume of the researcher and additionally requested the following items of information:

- Physical qualification data
- Mental qualification data
- Salary and pension data
- Fringe benefit data
- Departmental recruiting brochures
- Advertising copy
- Labor organization data.

Each department was also advised that this was the first of a three phase research program which would

- Probe enlistment motivation from the recruitment viewpoint
- Probe enlistment motivation from the policeman's viewpoint at all time and rank levels
- Coordinate and evaluate accumulated data with a view to providing recruiters with criteria of success to seek in looking for candidates.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See Appendix A.

Fourty-four police agencies were probed in the first phase of the research, which concerned the view of the recruiter about police motivation. Thirty-two police departments, or 73 percent of those contacted, answered the request for information about recruitment practices. These letters of request were sent to two sources in each department, generally to the office of recruitment and to the chief officer of the department. Table 2 also includes population area and rank order of each city where the police department was involved in the research.

Classification of the recruiting view of motivation was made in accordance with the appeal accent of the enlistment literature in the three categories of motivation.

These were done by visual analysis with emphasis placed on the type of brochure which is obviously designed to interest the reader in a job and hence stresses that aspect of the job which the recruiter sees as the most attractive to the prospective candidate. The feature that was emphasized in the recruitment brochures was the key to classification.

Those departments in this research which use the positive style of recruiting were fairly simple to classify because of sharp and eye catching descriptions of job features and the definite and heavy emphasis on those features. For example, one city featured a passout with large block letters on its front cover bearing the exhortation "SERVE WITH PRIDE" and inside the brochure the first paragraph

asked if the applicant had a desire to help people. Another had a passout which defined policework as being "all about people" and suggested that if the candidate wanted to "be part of a social force, join one." These were called ALTRUISTIC.

Likewise, when the first appeal was accented by photographs of the adventurous activities of the occupation and depicted scenes of police action or descriptions of crime fighting activities it was relatively easy to classify as AUTHORITARIAN. Here in one case, a department brochure front paged an officer at a call box while inside views were of various police activities and weaponry, dogs, and helicopters.

Those appealing to PERSONAL GAIN motivation were also relatively simple to classify because of initial and continuing heavy emphasis on salary, job security, fringe benefits and other items of financial appeal such as pension rights and options. Included here were those departments who responded only with financial information and qualification requirements.

Thus the three classes of motivation were briefly classified:

When first sight appeal was to "get involved," "help your community" or such phrases as "serve with pride" were used on brochure headings, the recruitment was classified as ALTRUISTIC.

- Where the emphasis was on photos of policemen and equipment, and featured crime fighting or the adventurous aspect it was designated AUTHORITARIAN.
- 3. In cases where the recruiting handouts stressed pay, pension, promotions and fringe benefits, the classification was PERSONAL GAIN. This category also includes departments whose response notes no recruiting brochures or ads and whose literature stressed financial aspects.

It should be further noted that, in general, recruiting of the positive type will differ from static recruiting mostly in outreach effort. That is to say positive recruiting operates under a supposition of qualitative search through quantitative efforts. The candidates to be attracted are defined by the recruiter according to his ideal of the "suitable" policeman. There can be recruiting for all three categories of motivation in either positive or static recruiting. The difference is in the approach to the candidate. In the positive approach there is more outreach to the candidate while the static approach is to a select group of candidates who are perceived as already interested in the job. In this light it should be remembered that recruiting efforts are not totally controlling insofar as the final product is concerned and there may well be some area and city size factors to be determined in searching for the ideals of recruitment.

It should also be noted that response to research may be a reflection of the versatility of a department with the assumption that increased size brings added versatility. Thus, Table 4 illustrates that of 15 cities with populations over 500,000, (4 over 1,000,000 and 11 between 500,000 and 1,000,000) only two cities failed to respond to the researcher in Phase I, while in 14 cities in the categories between 100,000 and 500,000 (8 between 200,000 and 500,000 and 6 between 100,000 and 200,000) only three failed to respond. Conversely, in the cities under 100,000 (10 between 50,000 and 100,000 and 5 under 50,000) seven failed to respond to queries about recruitment. Added to this is the natural assumption that the less personnel used the less recruited and the lower the effort to recruit.

As regards to motivation ascertained by recruiters when considered in conjunction with city size (see Table 6), the most significant item to be noted is that the recruiters in all cities lean toward the PERSONAL GAIN approach. The only exception is in cities in the 500,000 to 1,000,000 category where a leaning toward the ALTRUISTIC approach is indicated when four out of ten recruiters used that avenue of attraction to candidates.

As to recruiting efforts when related to areas, again there are no unusual characteristics, which indicate (see Table 7) that the most frequently used approach, PERSONAL GAIN, is in general use in all areas except East

South Central. This area had only two responses and both were in the AUTHORITARIAN category. One fact that may be coincidental but is nevertheless of some interest is that the AUTHORITARIAN approach was not used at all in the Middle Atlantic, New England, or South Atlantic areas, which make up the entire eastern seaboard of the United States.

And so, if any conclusion is to be reached by examining the recruiter's view of motivation it is mainly that recruiters everywhere tend to feel that PERSONAL GAIN is the main reason for seeking a job as a policeman. Further, a conclusion arises that those departments with the largest number of jobs to fill are taking the most positive recruiting approach regardless of how they view motivation.

One final and important conclusion to be made about the research concerning a recruiter's view of motivation is that there is no evidence in the recruiting methods or in the literature to indicate that recruiting efforts have ever used any specifically proven traits of successful policemen as models in their search for "suitable" candidates.

TABLE 3

AREA DISTRIBUTION OF POLLED CITIES

Area	City	Total
	Augusta, Maine	
	*Boston, Massachusetts	
New England	Manchester, New Hampshire	5
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	*Montpelier, Vermont	_
	Providence, Rhode Island	
	*Altoona, Pennsylvania	
Middle Atlantic	New York, New York	2
	Atlanta, Georgia	
	Richmond, Virginia	
South Atlantic	Tampa, Florida	4
	Wilmington, Delaware	
	Chicago, Illinois	
	Cleveland, Ohio	
	*Dayton, Ohio	
	*Detroit, Michigan	
East North Central	Grand Rapids, Michigan	9
	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	
	*Muncie, Indiana	
	*Racine, Wisconsin	
	Traverse City, Michigan	
	Davenport, Iowa	
	Lincoln, Nebraska	
West North Central	St. Louis, Missouri	5
	*St. Paul, Minnesota	
	*Wichita, Kansas	
	*Gadsden, Alabama	
East South Central	Memphis, Tennessee	3
	Montgomery, Alabama	
	Dallas, Texas	<del> </del>
	Ft. Smith, Arkansas	
West South Central	Lubbock, Texas	5
	New Orleans, Louisiana	
	Tulsa, Oklahoma	
	Billings, Montana	<del></del>
	Boise, Idaho	
	Denver, Colorado	
Mountain	*Ogden, Utah	6
	*Roswell, New Mexico	
	Tuscon, Arizona	
	Los Angeles, California	
	Portland, Oregon	
Pacific	San Francisco, California	5
<del></del>	Seattle, Washington	•
	Tacoma, Washington	

<sup>\*</sup>Indicates no response to research.

TABLE 4
POPULATION GROUPINGS OF POLLED CITIES

Population	City	Response Total
	Augusta, Maine	
	Boise, Idaho	
Under 50,000	*Montpelier, Vermont	3
	*Roswell, New Mexico	
	Traverse City, Michigan	
	*Altoona, Pennsylvania	<del> </del>
	Billings, Montana	
	Davenport, Iowa	
	Fort Smith, Arkansas	
	*Gadsden, Alabama	_
50,000 to 100,000	Manchester, New Hampshire	5
	*Muncie, Indiana	
	*Ogden, Utah	
	*Racine, Wisconsin	
	Wilmington, Delaware	
	Grand Rapids, Michigan	<del></del>
	Lincoln, Nebraska	
	Lubbock, Texas	
100,000 to 200,000	Montgomery, Alabama	6
	Providence, Rhode Island	
	Tacoma, Washington	
	Atlanta, Georgia	
	*Dayton, Ohio	
	Portland, Oregon	
	*St. Paul, Minnesota	_
200,000 to 500,000	Tampa, Florida	5
	Tuscon, Arizona	
	Tulsa, Oklahoma	
	*Wichita, Kansas	
	*Boston, Massachusetts	<del></del>
	Cleveland, Ohio	
	Dallas, Texas	
	Denver, Colorado	
	Memphis, Tennessee	
500,000 to 1,000,000	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	10
,	New Orleans, Louisiana	
	Richmond, Virginia	
	St. Louis, Missouri	
	San Francisco, California	
	Seattle, Washington	
	Chicago, Illinois	
	*Detroit, Michigan	
Over 1,000,000	Los Angeles, California	3
	New York, New York	

<sup>\*</sup>Indicates no response to research.

TABLE 5

MOTIVATION STRESSED BY RECRUITERS IN CITIES POLLED

ALTRUISTIC	PERSONAL GAIN	AUTHORITARIAN
Angueta Maine	Atlanta Goorgia	Roice Idaho
מתאחם כם / נוסדווכ	uctanical constan	
Cleveland, Ohio	Billings, Montana	Fort Smith, Arkansas
Dallas, Texas	Chicago, Illinois	Grand Rapids, Michigan
Denver, Colorado	Davenport, Iowa	Lincoln, Nebraska
Los Angeles, California	Lubbock, Texas	Memphis, Tennessee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Manchester, New Hampshire	Montgomery, Alabama
Tucson, Arizona	New Orleans, Louisiana	St. Louis, Missouri
Tulsa, Oklahoma	New York, New York	Seattle, Washington
Wilmington, Delaware	Portland, Oregon	
	Providence, Rhode Island	
	Richmond, Virginia	
	San Francisco, California	
	Tacoma, Washington	
	Tampa, Florida	
	Traverse City, Michigan	

TABLE 6

MOTIVATION CLASSIFICATIONS BY POPULATION GROUPS

Population	ALTRUISTIC	PERSONAL GAIN	AUTHORITARIAN	No Response
Under 50,000	1	1	1	7
50,000 to 100,000	1	м	1	S
100,000 to 200,000	0	к	ю	0
200,000 to 500,000	7	м	0	ĸ
500,000 to 1,000,000	4	Е	٣	1
Over 1,000,000	<b>-1</b>	5	이	-
Totals	თ	15	ω	12

TABLE 7

MOTIVATION GROUPINGS BY AREA OF UNITED STATES

Sections	ALTRUISTIC	PERSONAL GAIN	AUTHORITARIAN	No Response
New England	П	8	0	7
Middle Atlantic	0	1	0	ч
South Atlantic	1	ĸ	0	0
East North Central	7	2	1	4
West North Central	0	η	2	7
East South Central	0	0	2	1
West South Central	7	2	П	0
Mountain	7	1	1	7
Pacific	٦	۳Į	ᄀ	이
Totals	6	15	ω	12

# Motivation from the Viewpoint of the Policeman

The second phase of research concerning motivation was aimed at the beliefs of policemen themselves and the reasons why they decided on a policeman's career. We have already looked at a sampling of random reasons for enlistment as mentioned by Scott,<sup>2</sup> and demonstrated how these random reasons can all fit into any one of three categories of motivation.

It was decided to probe all rank levels of the departments queried in order that the research would embrace both tenure and rank. Consequently, a questionnaire was designed which would make a direct approach to the question of motivation. The three categories of motivation were isolated and explained. The respondent was asked to choose only one of the categories as a primary reason for entry into service. Additionally, information as to rank, date of entry into service, and age, was asked for but no identification of respondent was involved. The questionnaires were labeled as directed to three strata of each department:

- Patrolmen (including corporals and policewomen)
- 2. Middle Management (captains, lieutenants and sergeants)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Scott, op. cit., pp. 147-148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>See Appendix B.

3. Upper Management (including chiefs, deputy chiefs, commanders, district inspectors and inspectors).

Also included was an explanation which made it clear that the researcher was placing no special value on any one of the motivation categories.

The questionnaires were part of a research package which again included a letter explaining the project and reminding the receivers that this was the second phase of a research task in which they were already taking part because of having responded to Phase I. The researcher's biographical data was again included in the package.

The questionnaires were directed to the departments in three rank groups with the amount of each determined, in a general way, by size of department.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;See Appendix B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See Appendix B.

#### CHAPTER V

#### ANALYSIS

It is to be noted that the category of AUTHORITARIAN was designated on the Phase II Questionnaire as Authoritative. This was used as a substitute for a word that has begun to carry a stigma in police circles, in the hope that it would be more acceptable to policemen as a term describing one of the characteristics of motivation. It carries the same general connotations and, except for extremely discriminating semanticists, bears largely the same meanings. It probably made little difference anyway as the results of the research will reveal. It may be that it is an unimportant characteristic, or that the stigma is so prevalent that the whole occupation refuses to acknowledge it as a factor.

One of the most readily reached conclusions of the study is that policemen do not regard AUTHORITARIANISM, or authoritative reasons as an important factor of motivation to become an officer. This is true of all ranks, ages, seniority groups and areas of service. The theories advanced by some researchers tending to show that the police are recruited from AUTHORITARIAN oriented groups

of individuals is denied by policemen themselves. Note that on Tables 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 of Phase II, there is minimum recognition of this characteristic. The police recruiters give AUTHORITARIANISM more validity as a factor than do the people they are attempting to recruit. But even with the recruiter, this characteristic lags behind ALTRUISM and PERSONAL GAIN as perceived motivation.

Additionally, even those departments which recruit with emphasis on AUTHORITARIANISM as shown in Table 5 do not reveal any significant leanings toward this factor of motivation in the individual primary choices of motivation.

It is further interesting to note that one city,

Grand Rapids, recruits with material aimed at the AUTHOR
ITARIAN person (see Table 5) but the personnel of the

Grand Rapids police view themselves as motivated heavily

by ALTRUISTIC principles (see Table 9). This is also true,

to a lesser degree, of Seattle and Fort Smith (Tables 5

and 9).

These data may be an indication that policemen have selected this career for reasons of their own, with motivation attuned to their own beliefs and not steered by the recruiters' particular lures, when it is considered that ALTRUISM and AUTHORITARIANISM might be viewed in positions fairly far removed from one another on a motivation continuum.

TABLE 8

POLICE RESPONSE TO INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH

City	Sent	Upper Management	Middle Management	Patrolmar
Atlanta, Ga.	30	8	10	10
Augusta, Me.	3	0	0	0
Billings, Mont.	12	2	4	4
Boise, Idaho	6	2	2	2
Chicago, Ill.	75	0	0	0
Cleveland, Ohio	36	0	0	0
Dallas, Texas	36	12	13	10
Davenport, Iowa	12	4	4	4
Denver, Colo.	36	4	20	12
Fort Smith, Ark.	12	4	4	4
Grand Rapids, Mich.	30	4	13	8
Lincoln, Nebr.	15	2	5	5
Los Angeles, Calif.	75	0	0	0
Lubbock, Texas	30	0	0	0
Manchester, N.H.	12	2	2	4
Memphis, Tenn.	36	6	8	15
Milwaukee, Wis.	36	0	0	0
Montgomery, Ala.	18	4	5	6
New Orleans, La.	36	0	0	0
New York, N.Y.	120	17	22	12
Portland, Ore.	18	0	0	0
Providence, R.I.	18	3	6	6
Richmond, Va.	12	4	4	4
St. Louis, Mo.	36	0	12	12
San Francisco, Calif.	36	0	12	1
Seattle, Wash.	36	5	14	9
Tacoma, Wash.	18	0	0	0
Tampa, Fla.	18	0	0	0
Traverse City, Mich.	9	1	3	3
Tucson, Ariz.	24	3	8	8
Tulsa, Okla.	24	2	11	7
Wilmington, Del.	15	0	0	0

TABLE 9

MOTIVATION CHARACTERISTICS BY CITY

Atlanta, Ga.         Allen.         P. GalN         AUTHU.         P. GalN         P. GalN <th< th=""><th></th><th>Upper</th><th>r Management</th><th>ent</th><th>Middle</th><th>le Management</th><th>ment</th><th><u>Д</u></th><th>Partolman</th><th></th></th<>		Upper	r Management	ent	Middle	le Management	ment	<u>Д</u>	Partolman	
sta, Mat.  e, Idaho  syo, Mut.  f, Idaho  syo, Ill.  e, Idaho  syo, Ill.  e, Idaho  syo, Ill.  e, Idaho  syo, Ill.  e, Idaho  syo, Ill.  f, Idaho  syo, Ill.  f, Idaho  syo, Ill.  gyor, Indaho  syo, Ill.  gyor, Ill.	City	ALTRU.		AUTH.	ALTRU.		AUTH.		P. GAIN	AUTH.
sta, Me.  sta, Me.  sta, Me.  stan, Mort.  stand, Onio  ago, III.  ago, III.  ago, III.  by Jayash, Mort.  and Jayash, Mort.  land, Ore.  stand, Onio  ago, III.  by Jayash, Mort.  cock, Texas  hester, N.H.  auke, Mis.  auke, Mis.  by Jayash, Mort.  auke, Mis.  by Fla.  by Jayash, Mort.  auke, Mis.  by Fla.  by Jayash, Mort.  auke, Mis.  by Fla.  by Jayash, Mort.  auke, Mis.		2	9	0	2	8	0	4	3	8
ings, Mont.  i. ings, Mont.  i		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
e, Idaho ago, Ili. ago, Ili. ago, Ili. by ag	Billings, Mont.	1	н	0	က	-	0	m	7	0
ago, III.  ago, III.  as, Taxas  as, Taxas  angerer, N.H.  aukee, Wis.  Louis, Wo.  Louis, Wo.  as, Fla.  as, Fla.  aso, Taxas  by Taxas	Boise, Idaho	0	-г	<b>-</b> 1	-	1	0	7	0	0
eland, Ohio eland, Ohio agar Texas agar Texas agar Texas agar Texas best Texas cock, Texas animh, Ark. best Texas cock, Texas animh, Ark. coll. animh, Ark. animh,	Chicago, Ill.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
as, Texas  as, Texas  as, Texas  by Texas  ar, Texas  ar, Texas  ar, Texas  ar, Texas  by Texas  by Texas  cock, Texas  co		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
nport, Iowa         4         9         3         1         0         1         3           Per, Colo.         2         2         4         17         0         5         7           Smith, Ark.         2         2         0         4         17         0         5         7           Smith, Ark.         2         2         0         4         17         0         5         7           Coll, Nebr.         0         2         0         4         1         4         1           Angeles, Mich.         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           Angeles, Calif.         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           Ack. Teans         0         <	Dallas, Texas	7	6	н	m	6	٦	7	7	Н
er, Colo.         0         2         2         4         17         0         5         7           Smith, Ark.         2         2         2         4         17         0         5         7           Smith, Ark.         2         2         0         3         1         0         3         1           Col, Nebr.         0         2         0         0         0         0         7         1           Col, Texas         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           cock, Texas         0	Davenport, Iowa	0	4	0	m	٦	0	٦	m	0
Smith, Ark.         2         2         0         3         1         0         3         0           d Rapids, Mich.         2         2         0         3         1         0         3         0           Oll, Nebr.         2         2         0         0         0         4         1         4         1           Angeles, Calif.         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           ock, Texas         0         2         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           ock, Texas         0         2         0	Denver, Colo.	0	7	7	4	17	0	S	7	0
d Rapids, Mich.     2     2     0     8     5     0     7     1       coln, Nebr.     Angeles, Calif.     0     0     4     1     4     1       Angeles, Calif.     0     0     0     0     0     0       cock, Texas     0     0     0     0     0     0       cock, Texas     0     2     0     0     0     0       cock, Texas     0     2     0     0     0     0       cock, Texas     0     0     0     0     0     0       hist, Tenn.     3     1     2     3     5     0     0       contest, Wis.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       corleans, La.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       corleans, La.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       corleans, La.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       corleans, La.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       corleans, La.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0	Fort Smith, Ark.	7	7	0	ĸ	н	0	m	0	-
oll, Nebr.         0         2         0         4         1         4         1           Angeles, Calif.         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           ock, Texas         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           ock, Texas         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           his, Texas         0         2         0         0         0         0         0           auke, Mis, Texas         0         3         1         2         3         5         0         0           gomery, Ala.         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           cycle, Wis.         1         2         3         1         6         0         0         0           Orleans, La.         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0           Orleans, La.         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0         0	Grand Rapids, Mich.	7	7	0	œ	Ω	0	7	Н	0
Angeles, Calif.         0	Lincoln, Nebr.	0	7	0	0	4	Н	4	7	0
ock, Texas         0	Los Angeles, Calif.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
hester, N.H.         0         2         0         2         2         2         2         2         2         4 <t< td=""><td>Lubbock, Texas</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></t<>	Lubbock, Texas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
his, Tenn.     3     1     2     3     5     0     10     4       aukee, Wis.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       gomery, Ala.     0     3     1     0     5     0     0     0       Orleans, La.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       Orleans, La.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       Arch, N.Y.     5     4     8     5     14     3     3     7       Land, Oxe.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       idence, R.I.     0     3     0     6     0     0     0     0       idence, R.I.     0     4     7     1     3     7       Louis, Mo.     0     4     7     1     4     5       Francisco, Calif.     0     0     4     7     1     4     5       ma, Wash.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0       a, Fla.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0     0	Manchester, N.H.	0	7	0	0	7	0	7	7	0
aukee, Wis.       0        0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0        0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0        0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0        0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0	Memphis, Tenn.	ю	н	7	n	S.	0	10	4	٦
gomery, Ala.       0       3       1       0       5       0       0       6         Orleans, La.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         Vork, N.Y.       5       4       8       5       14       3       3       7         Jand, Ore.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         idence, R.I.       0       3       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         idence, R.I.       0       4       0       2       2       2       3       7         mond, Va.       0       4        0       2       2       2       2       2       2         Francisco, Calif.       0       0       4       7       1       3       7         tle, Wash.       3       1       1       3       10       1       4       5         ma, Wash.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         erse City, Mich.       1       0       0       0       0       0 <td>Milwaukee, Wis.</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td>	Milwaukee, Wis.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Orleans, La.       O.		0	Э	1	0	ß	0	0	9	0
York, N.Y.       5       4       8       5       14       3       3       7         Land, Ore.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         idence, R.I.       0       3       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         idence, R.I.       0       4       0       2       2       0       2       2       3         Louis, Mo.       0       0       4       7       1       3       7         Louis, Mo.       0       0       4       7       1       3       7         tle, Wash.       3       1       1       3       10       1       4       5         a, Fla.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         a, Fla.       0        0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         on, Ariz.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         ington, Del.       0       0       0       0       0       0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Land, Ore.       0       2       2       3       3       1       1       3       7       1       3       7       2       2       2       2       2       2       2       3       7       1       3       7       1       3       7       1       3       7       1       3       7       1       0	New York, N.Y.	S	4	ω	2	14	က	m	7	7
idence, R.I. 0 3 0 0 6 0 2 3 3 4 6 6 00 2 2 2 2 0 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	Portland, Ore.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
mond, Va.       0       4       0       2       3       3       3       3       3       3       3       3       3       3       3       3       4       5       3       4       5       4       5       4       5       4       5       4       5       4       5       4       5       4       5       4       5       4       5       4       5       8       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9       9	Providence, R.I.	0	m	0	0	9	0	7	m	-
Louis, Mo.       0       0       0       4       7       1       3       7         Francisco, Calif.       0       0       0       1       11       0       1       0         tle, Wash.       3       1       1       3       10       1       4       5         ma, Wash.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         a, Fla.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         erse City, Mich.       1       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         on, Ariz.       0       3       0       3       0       7       1         ington, Del.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0	Richmond, Va.	0	4	0	7	7	0	7	7	0
Francisco, Calif.       0       0       1       11       0       1       0         tle, Wash.       3       1       1       3       10       1       4       5         ma, Wash.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         a, Fla.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         erse City, Mich.       1       0       0       2       1       0       0       0         on, Ariz.       0       3       0       3       5       0       7       1         ington, Del.       0       0       0       0       0       0       0	St. Louis, Mo.	0	0	0	4	7	н	m	7	7
3       1       1       3       10       1       4       5         0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         1       0       0       0       0       3       0       0       0       0       0       0       0         1       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0       0	Francisco,	0	0	0	٦	11	0	٦	0	0
Mich. 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Seattle, Wash.	ო	Н	г	m	10	ч	4	2	0
Mich. 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mich.     1     0     0     2     1     0     3     0       0     3     0     3     5     0     7     1       1.     0     0     0     0     0     0     0	Tampa, Fla.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0 3 0 3 5 0 7 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0		-1	0	0	7	ч	0	m	0	0
	Tucson, Ariz.	0	m	0	m	S	0	7	٦	0
	Wilmington, Del.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 10

MOTIVATION CHARACTERISTICS BY CITY SIZE

	addn .	Upper Management	ent	Midd	Middle Management	ment	P	Patrolman	
Population	ALTRU.	P. GAIN	AUTH.	ALTRU.	P. GAIN	AUTH.	ALTRU.	P. GAIN	AUTH.
Under 50,000	7	٦	1	ĸ	7	0	ro	0	0
50,000 to 100,000	m	Ø	0	D	Ŋ	0	თ	ø	٦
100,000 to 200,000	7	10	1	ω	20	1	13	11	н
200,000 to 500,000	8	11	0	9	22	1	14	ω	м
500,000 to 1,000,000	ω	17	v	20	61	ĸ	27	31	4
Over 1,000,000	Ŋ	4	ω	ß	14	က	က	7	7

TABLE 11

MOTIVATION CHARACTERISTICS BY AREA

	Upper	r Management	ent	Midd	Middle Management	ment	В	Patrolman	
Section	ALTRU.	P. GAIN	AUTH.	ALTRU.	P. GAIN	AUTH.	ALTRU.	P. GAIN	AUTH.
New England	0	2	0	0	ω	0	4	ß	-
Middle Atlantic	ß	4	ω	ъ	14	ю	ю	7	7
South Atlantic	7	10	0	4	10	0	9	ιΩ	m
East North Central	м	7	0	10	9	0	10	1	0
West North Central	0	9	0	7	12	8	ω	11	8
East South Central	м	4	m	ĸ	10	0	10	10	н
West South Central	4	13	н	7	19	8	ω	10	7
Mountain	г	7	ო	11	15	0	17	თ	0
Pacific	ო	н	1	4	21	П	Ŋ	വ	0

TABLE 12

MOTIVATION CHARACTERISTICS BY RANK

	ALTRUISTIC	PERSONAL GAIN	AUTHORITARIAN
Upper Management:			
Chief	2	3	1
Asst. Chief*	5	23	8
Inspector or			
Major	<u>15</u> 22	28	7
Total	22	54	16
Middle Management:			
Captain	15	41	2
Lieutenant	13	35	1
Sergeant	<u>20</u> 48	45	<u>_5</u> 8
Total	48	121	8
Patrolman:			
Corporal	1	3	0
Detective	9	9	0
Patrolwoman	1	3	0
Patrolman	57	_50	$\frac{11}{11}$
Total	68	65	11

<sup>\*</sup>Includes deputy chiefs and other seconds in command.

TABLE 13

MOTIVATION CHARACTERISTICS BY LENGTH OF SERVICE

	ALTRUISTIC	PERSONAL GAIN	AUTHORITARIAN
Less than 5 years	30	13	12
5-10 years	19	22	4
10-15 years	25	52	3
15-20 years	22	52	2
20-25 years	18	54	6
More than 25 yrs.	20	42	5

TABLE 14

MOTIVATION CHARACTERISTICS BY AGE

Age	ALTRUISTIC	PERSONAL GAIN	AUTHORITARIAN
Under 25	13	2	2
25-30 years	21	16	4
30-35 years	25	26	4
35-40 years	20	34	o
40-45 years	19	53	8
45-50 years	20	45	7
Over 50 years	29	44	12

Further weight may be lent to this idea when one considers that the other cities who recruited AUTHORITARIANS (see Table 5) show most policemen having motives they attribute to PERSONAL GAIN desires.

Generally, the data reveal that most policemen, when viewed city by city (see Table 9), and area by area (Table 11), profess to being motivated by PERSONAL GAIN.

This is supported, in a negative way by the former Superintendent of the Chicago Police Department, O. W. Wilson, who said, when discussing recruitment:

To be qualified to deal with the many complex problems that will frequently and unexpectedly confront him, he must have a high order of intelligence, which assures ability to learn, to observe, to retain, to reason rapidly and accurately, and to adapt quickly and satisfactorily to new situations. The patrolman works with people, and to be successful, he must like people and be able to deal with them; he must be emotionally stable and temperamentally equipped for police work and have a broad social concept and a lack of prejudice. should have a forceful personality and a high level of social intelligence; he should be poised and have well-developed powers of selfexpression. The temptations that confront a policeman and the critical attitude of the public make good character and reputation essential. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, he must be loyal.

Success in obtaining recruits having the above-described qualities is dependent on (1) a group of candidates of which more than the needed number have desired qualities and (2) the selection of the best from the group.

The quality of applicants is partially dependent on the conditions of service. Consequently the pay, hours of work-week, relief and vacation time, pensions, insurance, sick leave, and sick, death and other benefits for

the officer and his family should compare favorably with those available in competing employment opportunities. Otherwise, excellent potential candidates, as well as men recruited into the service, will seek more attractive employment in other fields.

More important than these material advantages in attracting and holding qualified men, however, is the intangible but nonetheless real spirit or atmosphere of the department reflecting the morale and true character of the force. A high esprit de corps is based on the interest, enthusiasm, love of work, and respect and confidence of members of the force in their superior officers. But most important of all in attracting competent men is the prestige of the service, which is public recognition of superior service.

Note that, although Superintendent Wilson says that the intangible spirit of the department including prestige, is the most important factor of recruitment, he, nevertheless, lists all the PERSONAL GAIN descriptives first.

In the data pertaining to city size (Table 10), it is noticeable that there is a greater percentage of ALTRUISM in motivation as perceived by policemen themselves in cities with populations under 200,000 than in cities of larger size. It is within the realm of possibility that further research along these lines alone might reveal some empirical information which relates motivation to select a police career to the size of the city chosen.

It was also discovered that the ALTRUISTIC motivation appeared in a larger degree in two areas of

<sup>10.</sup> W. Wilson, Police Administration (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), pp. 335-336.

the country, East North Central which embraces the Great Lakes area mainly and the Mountain area, which includes those cities just East of the Pacific area. These data may be indicative of area relationships to the job of policing and further research may indicate the presence of traditional educational and legal norms in differing areas of the nation.

that ALTRUISM as motivation is more prevalent to perception by those in lower ranks. The patrolman level is weighted in favor of choosing a police career for ALTRUISTIC reasons. Those in middle management positions swing to PERSONAL GAIN, while upper managers are heavily disposed to identify PERSONAL GAIN as their prime motivation. Here may lie some verification of the claims of those recruiters who aim at PERSONAL GAIN orientation. Or it may be a further justification of the beliefs held by some researchers that socialization of workers tends to change their original aims to fit new purposes perceived as the result of the socialization and job experiences.

Other data secured, indicate that as a function of length of service one is more likely to locate claims of ALTRUISTIC motives in those groups with less than 15 years service (Table 13). PERSONAL GAIN as a motive is found in the ascendancy in the groups having over 15 years of service. It is not inconceivable, however, that a policeman with over

15 years service begins to consider future security more than during his earlier years on the job and permits these feelings to influence his choice of a motivation characteristic.

In relation to actual age, the data secured takes a slight turn and although PERSONAL GAIN is the leading motivation chosen, ALTRUISM is nearly as frequently selected. A correlation of Tables 12 (rank), 13 (length of service), and 14 (age), reveals that most of the long career ALTRUISM is concentrated in the lower ranks at the patrolman level. This could give rise to suppositions that rank and tenure, though both indicative of degrees of success, arise from differing motivations.

#### CHAPTER VI

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### The Problem

The problem centered around the selection of personnel as "suitable" policemen and posed the possibility that the selection process, including recruiting, qualification and rejection, might be subjected to a complete redirection of effort. In spite of heavy recruitment campaigns, new and more sophisticated selection criteria and testing procedures and increased rigidity of standards, the police image continued to suffer and slip.

# The Hypothesis

In view of the many suggestions for improving the selection process, most of which are based on ideological idealism or point at police characteristic failures, it was proposed to seek an image of success among policemen who might be categorized as successful either by virtue of tenure or rank or a combination of each.

As remarked earlier, although not all who passed the recruiting and selection tests will reach those plateaus of either tenure, to indicate certain degrees

of success in "suitability" or promotion in rank which indicates a higher degree of success, it is important to note that those who do reach these plateaus will be differentiated from those who were able but didn't reach them, mainly by motivation. This study then selected motivation as the most important measure of effectiveness to success.

It was therefore decided not only to seek motivation to join police service but to seek it among those
probably defined as successful policemen. Motivation was
refined to the three categories of ALTRUISM, AUTHORITATIVENESS and PERSONAL GAIN, and questionnaires were mailed
to police recruiters in police departments throughout the
country to ascertain what the recruiter perceived as
motivation for choosing a police career.

A second phase of the research sent questionnaires to individual policemen in all ranks of these same departments asking, simply, whether motivation to become a policeman arose from ALTRUISM, AUTHORITATIVENESS or PERSONAL GAIN.

# Findings and Conclusions

1. As a result of the data gathered from the recruiters it was discovered that most police recruiters are convinced that PERSONAL GAIN is the most important characteristic of motivation. AUTHORITARIANISM was the least important, and in one section of the country, the entire Eastern seaboard, the AUTHORITARIAN approach was

not used by any recruiter. Additionally, in three cities which used the AUTHORITARIAN approach to recruiting, the personnel who were working, largely saw themselves as motivated by ALTRUISM.

- 2. Policemen in cities with populations under 200,000 see themselves as mostly motivated by ALTRUISM.
- 3. Policemen in large cities mostly claim to be motivated by PERSONAL GAIN.
- 4. High rank personnel tend largely to see themselves as motivated by PERSONAL GAIN.
- 5. Those policemen with less time in service chose ALTRUISM as motivation oftener than those with greater seniority.
- 6. Those policemen with lower ranks chose ALTRUISM more often than higher ranks, regardless of age or length of service.

# <u>Implications</u>

The research opens a door on the view that men who chose police work as a career with motives of PERSONAL GAIN may be the successful managers of police departments, while those who select this career with motives that are ALTRU-ISTIC may well be the successful police functionary who handles the great bulk of police-citizen contact.

This may well lead to a conclusion that perhaps recruitment should be geared in just such a way. Instead of recruiting each candidate as a potential Chief of Police, which is unrealistic at best, perhaps the recruiter should, by use of testing methods aimed at such motivation determination, try to select personnel to fit public service niches within each department. The improvement factor could then be partially arranged by each department through encouragement of career improvement techniques involving encouragement and aid to continuing higher education coupled with viable, sophisticated in-service training.

# Limitations of Research

This study dealt only with motivation to select a police career and confined motivation to three basic categories. The recruiter questionnaire was interpreted in a manner which may create some contrary discussion but, if viewed objectively, effects no changes of stature in the overall results even if viewed differently or categorized in another way.

The study also confined personnel research to a choice of only one of three characteristics of motivation to be a policeman and in its very simplicity leaves many questions unanswered, and leads to the inevitable conclusion that much further and more sophisticated research in this area is necessary and indicated.

But the study does make one extremely important point, which has been stressed repeatedly throughout the study, and that point is that more future research must come, not from police failures, or ex-policemen who were really just thieves or sadists missed in the selection testing, but from policemen who are successful, however that success is gauged. This research should probe the successful policeman totally so that the recruiter of the future can recruit with a working model of success as a guide to his quest.

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# APPENDIX A

FIRST RESEARCH LETTER TO POLICE RECRUITING
DEPARTMENTS IN PHASE I

#### APPENDIX A

#### FIRST RESEARCH LETTER TO POLICE RECRUITING

#### DEPARTMENTS IN PHASE I

Police Department Recruiting Division

#### Dear Sir:

I am conducting a survey of various police departments in the United States as part of my graduate program at Michigan State University, in an attempt to identify the motivating forces that lead young men to careers in law enforcement.

I have enclosed a brief biographical resume so that you may be aided in realizing that my motives are concerned only with the effort to determine why we become officers. I seek no definitive information for purposes of embarrassment or criticism of any department.

I need the following items of information from your division:

- 1. Physical qualification data
- 2. Mental qualification data
- Salary and pension data
- 4. Fringe benefit data
- 5. Departmental recruiting brochures
- 6. Advertising copy
- 7. Labor organization data (if any).

A number of police departments in all areas of the United States will be polled (list attached) during the first stage of the survey. An attempt will be made to evaluate the recruitment inducement level.

The second phase of this survey will follow later in the year and will consist of individual questionnaires for answer by samplings of personnel in all ranks of the polled departments.

The final phase will be evaluation of the poll and questionnaire results, looking, hopefully, for some useful definitive information. I am a lifelong professional police officer and I think that somewhere we might be able to find and use some selection criteria based on knowledge of personality and other factors in successful career policemen. I do not necessarily equate success inseparably with promotional status.

Each department concerned will receive a copy of the full report and I ask only that you realize my only motive is one that seeks methods to improve our service to all communities by the police segment of criminal justice.

May I ask that you reasonably expedite my request? Any answer, of course, will earn my gratitude.

Sincerely,

Albert G. Isaac

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLIES TO:

Albert G. Isaac Department of Attorney General 525 West Ottawa Street, Room 650 Lansing, Michigan 48913

cc: Chief or Commissioner of Police

#### CITIES RESEARCHED

Altoona, Pennsylvania

Atlanta, Georgia

Augusta, Maine

Billings, Montana

Boise, Idaho

Boston, Massachusetts

Chicago, Illinois

Cleveland, Ohio

Dallas, Texas

Davenport, Iowa

Dayton, Ohio

Denver, Colorado

Detroit, Michigan

Fort Smith, Arkansas

Gadsden, Alabama

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Lincoln, Nebraska

Los Angeles, California

Lubbock, Texas

Manchester, New Hampshire

Memphis, Tennessee

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Montgomery, Alabama

Montpelier, Vermont

Muncie, Indiana

New Orleans, Louisiana

New York, New York

Ogden, Utah

Portland, Oregon

Providence, Rhode Island

Racine, Wisconsin

Richmond, Virginia

Roswell, New Mexico

St. Louis, Missouri

St. Paul, Minnesota

San Francisco, California

Seattle, Washington

Tacoma, Washington

Tampa, Florida

Traverse City, Michigan

Tuscon, Arizona

Tulsa, Oklahoma

Wichita, Kansas

Wilmington, Delaware

# IDENTIFICATION OF RESEARCHER ACCOMPANYING RESEARCH LETTER IN PHASE I

## ALBERT G. ISAAC

Department of Attorney General Consumer Protection Division

## PERSONAL

Born in Detroit, Michigan and now residing in Okemos, Michigan.

Married Virginia Dunn of Detroit in September of 1940.

Four children and eight grandchildren.

#### **EDUCATION**

Educated in Detroit School System, attended University of Detroit, Wayne State University and Detroit College of Law. Holds a degree of Bachelor of Science, Criminal Justice, from Michigan State University and is presently in graduate school there.

#### **EXPERIENCE**

Member of the Detroit Police Department from 1942 to 1967. In the Detective Bureau for 20 years, during which he worked 4 years in the Holdup Squad and 11 years in the Homicide Bureau both as investigator and supervisor. Later commanded both East Side and West Side Detective Divisions as District Inspector. In 1965-66-67 as Director of Technical Services, organized present Detroit Communications Division, one of the nation's foremost systems. In 1967-68 was Deputy Chief of the Attorney General's Organized Crime Division.

#### **ORGANIZATIONS**

Charter member of Executive Committee of Detroit Police Officers Association. Past President of Lieutenants and Sergeants Association. Member of First Management bargaining team in Michigan Police history. Member of Committee on Public Conduct of Michigan Chamber of Commerce and Member of Legislative Committee of Michigan Association of Chiefs of Police.

#### PRESENT POSITION

Since August of 1969 has been Consumer Fraud Specialist of Attorney General's Department, Division of Consumer Protection.

# APPENDIX B

FOLLOW-UP LETTER TO POLICE RECRUITING
DEPARTMENTS RESEARCHED IN PHASE II

#### APPENDIX B

# FOLLOW-UP LETTER TO POLICE RECRUITING DEPARTMENTS RESEARCHED IN PHASE II

#### Dear Sir:

This is the second phase of a survey of various police departments as part of a program of attempting to identify the motivating forces that lead men to careers in law enforcement.

Your department has very graciously assisted me in the first phase of the survey, which explored the recruitment inducement methods of those selected departments.

I have enclosed a brief autobiographical resume so that you may be aided in realizing that my motives are concerned only with the effort to determine why we become police officers. I seek no definitive information for purpose of embarrassment or criticism of any department.

The second phase of the survey consists of individual questionnaires which ask three simple questions concerning the motivation that led the officer into police work. They are intended for three sections of your department and are designated to be answered by upper management, middle management and patrolman level as specified.

The questions are simply asked, there is no intended effort to guide a choice and the only identification items sought are rank, age and date of appointment. Would you please distribute these questionnaires to the ranks concerned and collect them for return to me when they are completed? Each department polled and responding will receive a copy of the final report. Please remember that the survey is seeking to improve the service of all communities by the police segment of criminal justice.

May I ask, please, that you reasonably expedite my request? The efforts you make to have the questionnaires answered will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Albert G. Isaac Chief Investigator Consumer Protection Division

ds Enc(s).

P.S. Postpaid self-addressed envelopes are enclosed for your convenience. Please address all replies to:

Albert G. Isaac Room 670 525 W. Ottawa Lansing, Michigan 48913

# IDENTIFICATION OF RESEARCHER ACCOMPANYING FOLLOW-UP LETTER

#### ALBERT G. ISAAC

# Department of Attorney General Consumer Protection Division

# PERSONAL

Born in Detroit, Michigan and now residing in Okemos, Michigan.

Married Virginia Dunn of Detroit in September of 1940.

Four children and eight grandchildren.

### **EDUCATION**

Educated in Detroit School System, attended University of Detroit, Wayne State University and Detroit College of Law. Holds a degree of Bachelor of Science, Criminal Justice, from Michigan State University and is presently in graduate school there.

#### **EXPERIENCE**

Member of the Detroit Police Department from 1942 to 1967. In the Detective Bureau for 20 years, during which he worked 4 years in the Holdup Squad and 11 years in the Homicide Bureau both as investigator and supervisor. Later commanded both East Side and West Side Detective Divisions as District Inspector. In 1965-66-67 as Director of Technical Services, organized present Detroit Communications Division, one of the nation's foremost systems. In 1967-68 was Deputy Chief of the Attorney General's Organized Crime Division.

#### **ORGANIZATIONS**

Charter member of Executive Committee of Detroit Police Officers Association. Past President of Lieutenants and Sergeants Association. Member of First Management bargaining team in Michigan Police history. Member of Committee on Public Conduct of Michigan Chamber of Commerce and Member of Legislative Committee of Michigan Association of Chiefs of Police.

### PRESENT POSITION

Since August of 1969 has been Consumer Fraud Specialist of Attorney General's Department, Division of Consumer Protection.

# QUESTIONNAIRES SENT WITH FOLLOW-UP LETTER IN PHASE II

# UPPER MANAGEMENT

(Including Chiefs, Deputy Chiefs, Commanders, District Inspectors and Inspectors)

The goal of this survey is to determine why you joined the police service.

There is no intent to guide or steer anyone toward any of these answers. Nor is any characteristic of motivation considered more desirable than any other. Bear in mind that what is wanted is an honest statement of your motivation for joining the police.

Your thoughtful and considered answer may aid in improving this service by providing some insights into the important question of why we join the police service.

Which of the following categories contains the <u>primary</u> reason that led you to enter the police service? Please select only one and mark the square with an "X".

1.	. ALTRUISTIC REASONS	
	These include those who joined for such re betterment of society, the good of the commethod of helping one's fellow man, service	munity, a
2.	. AUTHORITATIVE	
	These include those who are attracted by thigh police rank, fame as an investigator as fighter against crime and criminals.	
3.	. PERSONAL GAIN	
	These include those who are attracted by t including pensions, regular raises in pay security.	_
	RANK:	
	AGE:	
	DATE OF ENTRY IN	TO SERVICE:

# MIDDLE MANAGEMENT

(Captains, Lieutenants and Sergeants)

The goal of this survey is to determine why you joined the police service.

There is no intent to guide or steer anyone toward any of these answers. Nor is any characteristic of motivation considered more desirable than any other. Bear in mind that what is wanted is an honest statement of your motivation in joining the police.

Your thoughtful and considered answer may aid in improving this service by providing some insights into the important question of why we join the police service.

Which of the following categories contains the <u>primary</u> reason that led you to enter the police service? Please select <u>only one</u> and mark the square with an "X".

1.	ALTRUISTIC REASONS	
	betterment of society, the	oined for such reasons as the e good of the community, a ellow man, service to humanity.
2.	AUTHORITATIVE	
		re attracted by the prospect of an investigator or reputation and criminals.
3.	PERSONAL GAIN	
These include those who are attractincluding pensions, regular raises security.		
		RANK:
		AGE:
		DATE OF ENTRY INTO SERVICE:

# PATROLMEN

(Including Corporals and Policewomen)

The goal of this survey is to determine why you joined the police service.

There is no intent to guide or steer anyone toward any of these answers. Nor is any characteristic of motivation considered more desirable than any other. Bear in mind that what is wanted is an honest statement of your motivation for joining the police.

Your thoughtful and considered answer may aid in improving this service by providing some insights into the important question of why we join the police service.

Which of the following categories contains the <u>primary</u> reason that led you to enter the police service? Please select <u>only one</u> and mark the square with an "X".

1.	ALTRUISTIC REASONS	
	betterment of society, the	ined for such reasons as the good of the community, a llow man, service to humanity.
2.	AUTHORITATIVE	
	These include those who are of high police rank, fame reputation as fighter again	
3.	PERSONAL GAIN	
	These include those who are attracted by the securit including pensions, regular raises in pay and job security.  RANK:	
		AGE:
		DATE OF ENTRY INTO SERVICE:

