WORKSHOP IN POLITICAL THEORY & POLICY ANALYSIS

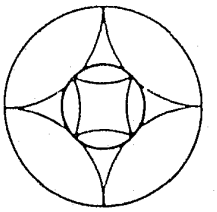
Police Services Study Technical Report

T-7

PERSONNEL PRACTICES IN THE POLICE SERVICES INDUSTRY

by

Phillip M. Gregg



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I. Policy Applications of the Research

Introduction: Police Work and Personnel Management

In his work a police officer must know the law; assess potential infractions; approach, detain, and arrest offenders; evaluate a crime or accident scene for potential evidence and protect it; maintain records and prepare reports; and give testimony in trials. These tasks require intellectual ability and effective personal relations with a large cross section of the population.

The objectives of personnel programs are to select qualified men, to prepare them for this work, and to provide incentives for them to seek additional preparation and promotion. Related personnel practices governing salaries, pensions, and fringe benefits are developed to "hold" qualified officers in the department.

Policy Issues in the Development of Personnel Practices

The history of police administration is characterized by efforts to improve the standards and practices for personnel recruitment and management. The early objective was to reduce the influence of political interests in the selection and promotion of officers and the enforcement of the law (Graper, 1921, 6-9;

and National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931, 1-4). A new emphasis has come to the forefront: "Professionalization" of the police service (Germann, 1958, 23-26; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, 127-128).

Most of the articles, books, and reports that recommend some form of "professionalization" make similar arguments and assumptions. These are briefly summarized in the following series of statements derived from this literature (Saunders, 1970; National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973; Ashburn, 1975).

- Police work requires rapid and effective decision-making under stressful circumstances.
- A major way to improve police work is to recruit more qualified personnel by requiring higher standards of education and training.
- With better personnel, the quality of police work and the image of police service will improve.
- However, in the past state legislatures, local governments, some associations of law enforcement officers, and several police agencies have "dragged their feet."
- Thus, the goals of professionalization cannot be achieved without federal action and money.
- National standards should be administered by a national commission for recruitment and training and by a national board for accreditation of law enforcement degree programs.
- The education and training standards would be implemented through federal grants to the complying states, educational institutions, and police agencies.

The Need for Research on Personnel Practices

In the articles, books, and studies that propose these policy

changes, scholars and practitioners assert that present personnel practices are "inadequate." But systematic information about the existing regulations and practices which would enable an assessment of the assertions is rarely presented. The proposed policies will substantially increase manpower costs in the police industry and radically shift the locus of governmental control over local police services. Before these policies are enacted, basic information is needed about the existing institutional framework for personnel practices and the probable consequences of superimposing a new regulatory mechanism.

Objectives of the Report

The objective of this technical report is to summarize the framework and practices that govern recruitment in the police services industry. This provides an initial base to begin evaluating the assumptions on which the "professionalization" policies are based. What are the current procedures and standards for recruitment and promotion in America's police agencies? How much training do officers receive? What incentives are provided for additional education after a person joins the force? What differences exist in personnel regulations and practices among different types of police agencies, different regions of the country, different sized agencies, and types of urban areas?

Answers to these questions serve two purposes. One, they provide an independent basis to assess the assertions, which are used to support policy recommendations, about the inadequacy of current personnel procedures. Two, they provide information that is necessary to assess the potential impact of the reforms that are being proposed for personnel regulations in the police services industry.

Other technical reports outline the consequences of "professionalization" and unionization for the deployment of manpower, the costs of police services, and the organization of the industry. Phase II of the Police Services Study will investigate the effects of different personnel practices on the performance of police services.

II. Regulation by Civil Service and Merit Systems

When a decision has been made to hire an officer for a police agency, the selection process is potentially constrained by the requirements of three different governmental agencies: a civil service commission or merit board, a state commission for police officer standards and training, and a local personnel director or police department board. Before interposing a new federal agency, it is important to assess the current system that regulates police recruitment. These first three sections outline the recruitment procedures and standards that govern the hiring of police officers. The following three sections contain discussions of training and higher education, promotion, compensation, and manpower.

Summary of Procedures

In 1883, New York passed the first civil service law. By 1947, 19 of the 48 states had established general civil service legislation. Twenty-seven states had passed such legislation by 1961, while 15 others had legislated limited merit systems for specific types of government employment, such as police. Commissions were established to curb party officials from using the police service for patronage and the protection of illegal enterprises.

The Commissions. An elected executive or council usually appoints

individuals to the civil service commission or merit board. The commission administers and enforces the state and/or local civil service statutes. It classifies all positions in police departments, establishes a job description and qualifications for each position, prepares tests to measure the qualifications of applicants, periodically administers the tests, and maintains a list of eligibles from which police recruits must be hired.

Differences Among State Systems. In different types of civil service systems, these tasks are allocated differently among state-level, county-level, and municipal commissions. New York has a unified state-wide civil service system that regulates hiring in state, county, and municipal agencies. The state office prepares position descriptions and classifications, tests of candidates' qualifications, and salary schedules for the police agencies. The county commissions, which are administrative arms of the state system, give the tests and maintain the list of eligibles for county and municipal police agencies. As always, exceptions exist. The few home-rule counties of New York -- such as Monroe which houses Rochester -- can constitute and administer an independent, local civil service system.

In some states, such as Pennsylvania, legislation gives cities and/or counties the powers to establish and regulate their own civil service or merit system for police hiring. In this case, two relatively autonomous "levels" of civil service systems govern police hiring. Another legislative variation is to allow police agencies of the state, such as the state police or highway patrol, to establish independent merit systems for the agency.

These are independent of the state civil service system that applies to police agencies of the counties and municipalities.

Coverage of Police Hiring by Civil Service and Merit Systems

Proposals to "professionalize" the police service, by means of federal regulation of personnel raise a prior question: What is the coverage of the existing civil service and merit system? To what extent have states adopted civil service legislation for police hiring? What types and numbers of agencies are actually covered by a civil service or merit system? After answering those questions, a close examination will be given to the standards applied.

State Legislation. By 1972, the hiring in the state-level police agencies -- state police, highway patrol, bureau of criminal investigation -- of 36 states was covered by a civil service or merit system (Table 2.1). In 14 of the remaining 14 states, merit procedures -- although not mandated -- are applied in the hiring of officers.

In 19 states, legislation mandates that all or a portion of municipalities use civil service procedures to select new recruits. Legislation in 19 states provides an optional framework for local governments to establish civil service and merit systems. This option is widely used in states like Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Hiring in county sheriff departments is still largely outside of civil service systems. In 25 states, sheriffs' deputies are hired under traditional appointment systems. Seventeen states mandate civil service or merit procedures for sheriffs' deputies.

TABLE 2.1 Type of Entry Level Recruitment Procedures for State, County, and Municipal Police Agencies (1972)[1]

STATE NAME	Level of Police Agency			STATE NAME	Level of Police Agency		
	State	County	Munic.		State	County	Munic.
Alabama	mm	mm	mm	Nevada	mm	mp	mo
Alaska	mm	na	mo	New Hampshire	mm	a	a
Arizona	mm	mp	mp	New Jersey	mm3	mm3	mo
Arkansas	mm	a	mo	New Mexico	mm	a	mo
California	mm	mo	mo	New York	mm	mm	mm
Colorado	mm	mo	mo	North Carolina	a	a	a
Connecticut	a	a	mo	North Dakota	a	a	mo
Delaware	a	a	a	Ohio	mm	a	mm
Florida	mm	mm	mm	Oklahoma	mm	a	a
Georgia	mm	a&mm2	mm	Oregon	a	mp	a
Hawaii	a	mm	a	Pennsylvania	mm	a&mp2	mp
Idaho	mm	a	mo	Rhode Island	mm3	mm3	a
Illinois	mm	mp	mp	South Carolina	a	a	mp
Indiana	mm	mm	mp	South Dakota	mm	a	mo
Iowa	mm	mo	mo	Tennessee	mm	mo	mp
Kansas	mm	mp	mp	Texas	mm	a	mo
Kentucky	mm	a&mm2	mp	Utah	mm	mo	mo
Louisiana	mm	a	mp	Vermont	a	a	a
Maine	mm	a	mo	Virginia	a	a	a
Maryland	mm	mp	mm	Washington	a	mm	mp
Massachusetts	mm	a	mm	West Virginia	mm	mp	mp
Michigan	mm	mo	mo	Wisconsin	a	mp	mo
Minnesota	mm	mo	mo	Wyoming	a	a	mo
Mississippi	a	a	mp				
Missouri	a	a	mp	Totals	36 mm	17 mm	21 mm
Montana	mm	a	a		0 mo	7 mo	19 mo
Nebraska	mm	mp	mo		14 a	25 a	10 a

Notation:

mm - Merit system is mandated. This may be either a civil service system or separate police merit system.

mo - Merit system is optional.

mp - Merit system is mandated for some agencies (eg., municipalities with more than 10,000 people) but not others (municipalities of less than 10,000 people).

a - Appointment by government body or sheriff. No state provision requires a merit system. As the following data indicate, the appointing officer or body frequently uses a personnel board to administer recruitment.

Footnotes:

1 This chart was developed from, Police Services Technical Report No. 2 by Larry Wagner, "A Symposium of Recruitment Systems for Peace Officers."

2 The first letter refers to the sheriff and the second to the county police.

3 Unclassified civil service.

Coverage Nation Wide. In order to assess the extent of merit and civil service coverage, information is needed about hiring practices at the agency level. Civil service or merit systems regulate the hiring of new officers in 36 percent of all county and municipal police agencies in America's middle-sized, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs).[1] A state civil service commission establishes regulations for 31 percent of the local police agencies, a county system regulates hiring in another 12 percent, and a municipal or departmental system governs the remaining 56 percent (Table 2.2).

Coverage Among Different Regions. Civil service and merit systems are not equally distributed across regions of America or types of police agencies. Civil service and merit systems cover 56 percent of all local departments in the West and Mountain Region, and 44 percent in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic. Civil service and merit systems have made the fewest inroads in the South and Southwest where hiring is regulated in only 22 percent of all county and municipal agencies.

In the West local civil service systems (96 percent) are most common, but state systems (59 percent) predominate in the East. The difference is due to the very different constitutional positions of local government in the two regions. The home-rule movement during the late 19th Century established a large degree of autonomy for local government in the West. Political forces largely precluded these reforms in the East.

TABLE 2.2 Percent of Police Agencies with Civil Service and Merit Systems for Hiring in Different Regions (Municipal and County Agencies that Patrol)

Regional Location	Civil Service or Merit System	No System	Type of Civil Service or Merit System			
			State	County	Local	Other
North East and Mid-Atlantic	43.5	56.5	59.0	10.3	30.8	0
Region 1	64.3	35.7	96.3	3.7	0	0
Region 2	42.6	57.4	78.8	21.1	0	0
Region 3	36.4	63.3	5.3	0	94.7	0
North Central and Mid-West	35.0	65.0	17.6	11.8	68.6	2.0
Region 5	34.0	66.0	18.2	9.1	70.5	2.3
Region 7	43.8	56.3	14.3	28.6	57.1	0
South and Southwest	22.4	77.6	12.5	28.6	55.4	3.6
Region 4	28.3	71.3	4.4	35.6	60.0	0
Region 6	11.3	88.7	45.5	0	36.4	18.2
Mountain and West	55.9	44.1	1.8	0	96.4	1.8
Region 8	17.4	82.6	0	0	100.0	0
Region 9	80.3	19.7	2.0	0	98.0	0
Region 10	22.2	77.8	0	0	75.0	25.0
Nos. of Agencies	36.1 (293)[a]	63.9 (518)	30.7 (86)	12.1 (34)	55.7 (156)	1.4 (4)

[a]Due to missing data the number of agencies in the right side of the table totals to 280 rather than 293.

Coverage in Different Types of Agencies. When all types of police agencies are compared (Table 2.3), a contradiction seems to appear: civil service and merit regulations cover county sheriff departments as frequently as municipal departments. Thirty-seven percent of both types of police agencies are regulated by either civil service or merit system. This contradicts the fact that county sheriffs are exempted from civil service and merit systems in 25 states while municipal departments are excluded in only 11 states (Table 2.1). A large proportion of sheriff's departments have established personnel boards to administer a merit system for the individual agency; thirty-five percent of all municipal departments are regulated by state level, civil service procedures, while only 11 percent of all county sheriffs are.

The specialized police agencies -- such as college, park, and hospital departments -- in America's urban areas are primarily state agencies; their hiring is heavily regulated by state civil service (Table 2.3).

Coverage Among Different Sized Agencies. Departments with larger numbers of full-time officers are more likely to be regulated by civil service or merit systems (Table 2.4). These regulations apply to 66 percent of all county and municipal departments with more than 50 officers but to only 11 percent of all local departments with less than five full-time men.

These findings complement and are confirmed by the 1973 survey of the International Association of Police Chiefs and Police Foundation (Eisenberg, Kent, and Wall, 1973). That study included 74 percent of all state, county, and municipal agencies with more than 50

TABLE 2.3 Percent of Civil Service and Merit Systems for Hiring in Different Types of Police Agencies (All Police Agencies that patrol)

Type of Police Agency	Civil Service or Merit System	No System	Type of Civil Service or Merit System			
			State	County	Local	Other
Municipal (city, village, town, borough)	36.9	63.1	34.6	12.4	51.9	1.2
Township and Minor Civil Divisions	21.3	78.7	0	0	100.0	0
County Sheriff	36.6	63.4	10.7	25.0	60.7	3.6
County Police and Prosecutor	80.0	20.0	40.0	26.7	33.3	0
Military Police (Army, Navy, Air Force)						
College Police	42.0	58.0	75.0	0	17.9	7.1
Park Police	54.5	45.5	100.0	0	0	16.7
Airport Police	71.4	28.6	0	0	100.0	0
Other Agencies (Hospital, Housing, Special District, Sworn Private	42.9	57.1	66.7	0	0	33.3
All Police Agencies	38.2 (373)[a]	61.8 (603)	34.0 (122)	11.4 (41)	47.9 (172)	6.7 (24)

[a]Due to missing data, the number of agencies in the right side of the table adds to 359 rather than 373.

TABLE 2.4 Percent of Civil Service and Merit Systems for Hiring in Departments of Different Sizes (All Municipal and County Agencies that Patrol)

Number of Full-Time Sworn Officers	Civil Service or Merit System	No System	Type of Civil Service or Merit System			
			State	County	Local	Other
All Part-Time Officers	2.0	98.0	0	0	100.0	0
1-4 F.T. Officers	11.4	88.6	28.6	9.5	61.9	0
5-10 F.T. Officers	29.1	70.9	24.5	13.2	62.3	0
11-20 F.T. Officers	41.0	59.0	38.3	12.8	46.8	2.1
21-50 F.T. Officers	51.2	48.8	41.0	13.1	45.9	0
51-150 F.T. Officers	67.4	32.6	26.7	10.0	61.7	1.7
More than 150 F.T. Officers	75.9	24.1	21.6	13.5	59.5	5.4
All Police Agencies	36.1 (293)[a]	63.9 (518)	30.7 (86)	12.1 (34)	55.7 (156)	1.4 (4)

[a]Due to missing data, the number of agencies in the right side of the table adds to 280 rather than 293.

sworn police officers (493 agencies). Eighty-one percent reported civil service or merit regulations. (The higher percentage reported in the IACP-PF study reflects the inclusion of state-level police agencies of which 36 are covered by a civil service or merit system (Table 1.1).)

It is crucial to extend the study of police personnel practices to the smaller agencies. Departments of less than 10 sworn officers constitute 52 percent of all county and municipal police agencies in middle sized SMSAs, while departments of less than five officers constitute 29 percent. As the following figures will indicate, the impact of policies to upgrade the police will be substantial among these departments. Any assessment of nation-wide personnel policies must include them.

Coverage in Different Types of SMSAs. In more densely populated urban areas, civil service and merit regulations cover a larger percent of police departments (Table 2.5). There are no merit or civil service regulations for 72 percent of all departments in urban areas of less than 150 persons per square mile, whereas 42 percent of all agencies are covered in urban areas with more than 600 persons per square mile. These denser urban areas are those in the Northeast where state civil service regulates most hiring.

Conclusions. These figures indicate that a substantial proportion of the 64 percent of all municipal and county police agencies which are not covered by civil service or merit regulations are in rural areas and tend to be smaller agencies. The large majority of America's police officers is employed in the larger department which are regulated by civil service or merit systems. The majority of Americans

TABLE 2.5 Percent of Civil Service and Merit Systems for Hiring in SMSAs of Different Densities (All Municipal and County Agencies that Patrol)

Persons Per Square Mile	Civil Service or Merit System	No System	Type of Civil Service or Merit System			
			State	County	Local	Other
150 and less	28%	72	5%	5	86	5
151 to 300	38%	62	13%	22	65	0
301 to 600	35%	65	21%	18	58	2
Over 600	42%	58	69%	1	30	0
Total Number of Police Agencies	36% (293)[a]	64% (518)	31% (86)	12% (34)	56% (156)	1% (4)

[a]Due to missing data, the number of agencies in the right side of the table adds to 280 rather than 293.

is served by these departments (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Ch. 2).

It is the smaller agencies in the more rural SMSAs that will be substantially affected by policies to "upgrade" recruitment procedures and to apply them nationwide. Evaluation of the policy alternatives requires information about the working relationships of these small departments with the larger agencies in each urban area.

The initial findings of the Police Services Study reveal that these small departments call in trained specialists for difficult crime scene searches, traffic investigations, laboratory analysis, and homicide investigations (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Chs. 4, 5, 6). The key to efficient police service delivery in America's SMSAs is to allocate expertise and training in proportion to the police work at hand. The current organizational arrangements for the police services industry provide one solution without nationwide "professionalization." The relative costs and benefits of this policy alternative need to be given much greater consideration.

III. Regulation of Recruitment by State Commissions of P.O.S.T.

One aspect of "professionalization" is the regulation of the standards, training, and conduct of the persons in the police service. Professions such as medicine and law regulate the conduct and ethics of their practitioners. Agencies to regulate the recruitment and training of police officers have been established in 45 states since 1959 (Wall and Culloo, 1973). These are known as state commissions for police officer standards and training (P.O.S.T.).

Relation to Civil Service and Personnel Standards

The contending interests and emerging conflicts over the regulation of police personnel policy is highlighted by the establishment of the P.O.S.T. commissions. They provide an institutional arena to articulate and negotiate interests that, at some junctures, contradict those of civil service and collective bargaining. In the past, legislative councils and civil service commissions -- sometimes under the influence of political interests -- regulated personnel practices, along with police officials. Collective bargaining legislation provides a new leverage position for associations of police employees.

The emergence of P.O.S.T. commissions, as part of the reform to "professionalize" the police, adds a new dimension to the regulation of police personnel. These changes could substantially alter the structure and performance of the police services industry. It is important to begin assessing their probable impacts. The following data on the P.O.S.T. commissions and recruitment standards serve as a preliminary step.

P.O.S.T. Commissions and Local Agencies

The organization of the P.O.S.T. commissions is similar to the Police Council Standards Act proposed by the Professional Standards Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. The governor of the state appoints members to the commission which establishes standards for the education and training of recruits; certifies applicants; establishes minimum curriculum requirements for entry-level and in-service training; and certifies police agencies, universities, and other institutions to offer training.

Commissions had been established in 45 states by January 1, 1975. Only 14 have the authority to establish mandatory recruitment standards; commissions in another four states set standards for which compliance is voluntary. The following figures highlight the complexity of the relationships between the P.O.S.T. commissions and civil service/merit systems (Table 3.1). In the eight following states mandatory recruitment regulations for municipal police agencies are regulated by both a civil service/merit system and P.O.S.T. commission: Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania. The six following states have neither a mandatory merit system or P.O.S.T. regulations: Delaware, Hawaii, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and Virginia. Different combinations of mandatory and voluntary P.O.S.T.s and civil service systems regulate standards in the remaining 28 states.

The state legislation that establishes civil service/merit systems and P.O.S.T. commissions often allows local government to augment the regulations with additional recruitment standards. These are established by the council and usually administered by a municipal

TABLE 3.1 Recruitment Regulations of State Commissions for Police Officers Standards and Training (1974)[a]

Name of State	Merit System[b]	P.O.S.T. Regul.[c]	Total Coverage[d]	High School/GED	College Cert.	U.S. Cit.	Age	No Record	Fingerprints	Interview	Phys. Exam.	Good Charact.	Bkgd. Invest.	Revoke P.O. Cert.	Enforce Ethical Standards
Alabama	mm	M	M	x		x	21	x	x		x	x	x		x
Alaska	mo	V	V	x		x	19	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Arizona	mp	M	M	x		x	18	x	x		x		x		
Arkansas	mo	N	V												
California	mo	M	A	x		x	18	x	x	x	x	x		x	
Colorado	mo	N	V											x	
Connecticut	mo	N	V												
Delaware	a		N												
Florida	mm	M	M	x	x	x	18	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Georgia	mm	M	M	x		x	18	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Hawaii	a	X	N												
Idaho	mo		V	x		x	21	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Illinois	mp		P											x	
Indiana	mp	M	M	x			21	x	x		x	x	x		
Iowa	mo		V	x		x	21-60	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Kansas	mp		P	x		x		x	x			x			
Kentucky	mp	N	P												
Louisiana	mp	X	P												
Maine	mo	N	V												
Maryland	mm	M	M	x		x	21-35	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Massachusetts	mm	N	A												

TABLE 3.1 (Continued)

Name of State	Merit System[b]	P.O.S.T. Regul.[c]	Total Coverage[d]	High School/GED	College Cert.	U.S. Cit.	Age	No Record	Fingerprints	Interview	Phys. Exam.	Good Charact.	Bkgd. Invest.	Revoke P.O. Cert.	Enforce Ethical Standards
Michigan	mo		V	x		x	18	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Minnesota	mo		V	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x
Mississippi	mp	X	P												
Missouri	mp	X	P												
Montana	a	M	A	x		x	20	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nebraska	mp		P	x		x	21	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nevada	mo	M	A	x	x	x	21-45	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
New Hampshire	a		N	x				x							
New Jersey	mo		V	x		x	21-35	x							
New Mexico	mo		V	x		x	21	x	x		x	x			
New York	mm	M	M	x		x	20-29	x	x		x	x			
North Carolina	a	M	A	x		x	20	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
North Dakota	mo	V	V	x			21	x				x		x	
Ohio	mm		A		x										
Oklahoma	a	N	N	x				x	x			x	x		
Oregon	a	M	A	x		x	21	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Pennsylvania	mp	M	M												
Rhode Island	a		N	x		x	21-35	x	x		x	x	x		
South Carolina	mp		P	x		x	21	x	x		x	x	x		
South Dakota	mo		V	x	x	x	20-50	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	

TABLE 3.1 (Continued)

Name of State	Merit System[b]	P.O.S.T. Regul.[c]	Total Coverage[d]	High School/GED	College Cert.	U.S. Cit.	Age	No Record	Fingerprints	Interview	Phys. Exam.	Good Charact.	Bkgd. Invest.	Revoke P.O. Cert.	Enforce Ethical Standards
Tennessee	mp		P	x		x	18	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Texas	mo		V	x	x	x	19	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Utah	mo	M	A	x		x	21	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Vermont	a	V	V												
Virginia	a	N	N												
Washington	mp	V	P	x	x	x	21	x	x	x	x	x	x		
West Virginia	mp	X	P												
Wisconsin	mo		V	x		x	18	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Wyoming	mo		V	x	x	x	19	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Totals	mm= 7	M= 15	M= 8	34	7	30	29	34	30	20	29	30	27	15	8
	mp= 14	V= 4	A= 8												
	mo= 19	N= 8	P= 11												
	a= 10	X= 5	V= 17												
			N= 6												

Footnotes:

[a]The right side if this table was developed from Wall, Charles R. and Leo A. Culloo. "State Standards for Law Enforcement Selection and Training," Journal of Police Science and Administration, Winter, 1973, pp. 428-429. Authors updated their data to January 1, 1975.

[b]mm = civil service/merit system mandatory for all municipal agencies; mp = mandatory civil service/merit system is partial; mo = civil service/merit system optional; a = appointment.

[c]V = voluntary; P = partial, mandatory coverage; M = mandatory; N = no standards; X = no P.O.S.T. Commission.

[d]N = no mandatory civil service/merit system or mandatory P.O.S.T.

(Footnotes continued on next page)

TABLE 3.1 (Continued)

regulations; M = both civil service and P.O.S.T. regulations are mandatory;
A = complete mandatory coverage by either civil service or P.O.S.T. regulations;
P = partial mandatory coverage by either civil service or P.O.S.T. regulations;
V = optional or voluntary coverage by either civil service or P.O.S.T.
regulations.

executive, personnel director, or personnel officer of the police agency. This official is responsible to coordinate the local recruitment procedures and standards with the civil service and P.O.S.T. regulations. The extent of "red tape" problems that he must overcome to hire police officers depends upon the relationships that have been established among the three agencies in state legislation.

The facts, outlined above, indicate that very complex interorganizational relations are developing for the regulation of police personnel practices in most states. The institutional framework is quite intricate in any given state and is quite diverse across states. The framework includes the legislation that governs the civil service/merit system, P.O.S.T. commission, municipal corporation, and collective bargaining associations.

Assertions that the standards are inadequate and the system is antiquated can no longer be accepted in the place of careful analysis. The facts reveal that these personnel arrangements have undergone, and continue to undergo, relatively large changes in relatively short periods of time. The proposals for federal regulation of personnel to "professionalize" the police service must be evaluated in light of their probable consequences for the existing arrangements. Basic research is needed. That is the objective of these technical reports.

IV. The Recruitment Standards

Given this overview of the governmental arrangements for personnel practices, it is important to determine what standards are used by individual police agencies to hire officers. Current recruitment

standards of the states have been described in recent studies (Wall and Culloo, 1973; Wagner, 1975a). But very few attempts have been made to determine how these are implemented in agency hiring procedures (O'Conner, 1962; Eisenberg, Kent, and Wall, 1973).

More important, in all past studies the small police departments have not been included in the research. This fact creates fundamental limitations for policy evaluation of personnel practices. Evidence has not been collected for the agencies that will be most profoundly affected by the reforms.

Although the regulatory mechanism and the level of the standards differ from state to state, common criteria are used to screen applicants: amount of formal education; past criminal record; height, weight, and visual acuity; physical agility; and, with declining frequency, residency in the jurisdiction (Table 3.1). The most commonly used written test covers aptitude for police work; it may be a civil service, P.O.S.T., or agency examination. Tests of intellectual achievement, I.Q., and personality are being used more often in large departments. Although not mandated, oral interviews and background investigations are extensively used by all agencies, regardless of the regulatory system, to gather information in the screening process.

Because education and residency have been a source of policy debate, the following discussion concentrates on those requirements.

Education Standards Used in Recruitment

A major focus of the drive to "professionalize" the police service is to increase the minimum educational requirements for recruitment. Some basic questions need answers before this proposal can be evaluated. What are the current minimum standards of education, and how do they differ among regions of the county, types and sizes of police agencies, and types of SMSAs?

Changing Standards Across the Nation. The IACP study of 1967reported that 29 percent of the departments which were surveyed did not have a minimum educational requirement (O'Conner, 1962, 79). Over 72 percent of the New England departments did not require a high school diploma. (These percentages could understate the "problem" by a factor as large as one-half. The IACP study excluded departments in municipalities of less than 25,000 population. These departments were least likely to have education standards.)

In the succeeding 14 years, P.O.S.T. commissions have substantially increased minimum education requirements. Prior to 1972, 14 states required a high school diploma or equivalency of applicants for municipal police officer positions (Table 4.1). Now, a total of 35 states require a high school diploma or equivalency for police work in municipal departments.

Standards for Different Types of Agencies. Police agencies have responded by incorporating these standards in their hiring practices. Ninety-one percent of all municipal agencies now require a diploma or more, while only nine

Table 4.1 State Mandated Education Requirements[a]

STATE NAME	Leg. Mandate (1972) State	County	Local	P.O.S.T. Reg. (1974)	STATE NAME	Leg. Mandate (1972) State	County	Local	P.O.S.T. Reg. (1974)
Alabama	h	h	h	h	Nevada				h
Alaska		t		h	N. Hampshire				h
Arizona		e	e	h	New Jersey			e	h
Arkansas					New Mexico	h	h	h	h
California	h	h	h	h	New York		h	e	h
Colorado	h	h	h		N. Carolina			h	h
Connecticut					North Dakota				h
Delaware					Ohio				
Florida	h	h	h	h	Oklahoma	c			h
Georgia	h	h	h	h	Oregon				h
Hawaii			tt		Pennsylvania	h			
Idaho				h	Rhode Island				h
Illinois				h	S. Carolina	h	h	h	h
Indiana				h	South Dakota				h
Iowa	e			h	Tennessee		h		h
Kansas	h			h	Texas			e	h
Kentucky	h		e		Utah	h	h	h	h
Louisiana			e		Vermont				
Maine					Virginia				
Maryland				h	Washington				h
Massachusetts	h		h		W. Virginia				
Michigan	g	g	g	h	Wisconsin				h
Minnesota				h	Wyoming			h	h
Mississippi	h								
Missouri	h		d		Totals	h=16	h=12	h=1	h=33
Montana		h		h		g=1	g=1	g=1	
Nebraska	h	h	h	h		e=1	e=1	e=4	
						c=1	c=0	c=0	

Notation:

e -- Read and write English
g -- 8th grade
h -- High school or equivalent
c -- College: 30 hours or more
d -- varies
t -- No counties
tt -- Not applicable

Footnotes:

[a] This table was developed from Technical Report No. 2 of the Police Services Study, "A Symposium of Recruitment Systems for Peace Officers," by Larry Wagner; and Charles A. Wall and Leo A. Culloo, "State Standards for Law Enforcement Selection and Training," Journal of Police Service and Administration, Winter, 1973, pp. 425-432.

percent do not maintain a minimum (Table 4.2). In the 14 year period since 1962, an additional 20 percent of all departments have adopted the high school diploma or equivalency as their minimum education standard. (If complete data were available for 1961, this percentage increase would probably be substantially greater. The 1961 IACP study did not include departments in cities of less than 25,000 population. These departments were included in the Police Services Study; they have been the slowest in relative terms to increase standards.)

As might be expected, county prosecutors (17 percent) and college security agencies (18 percent) have moved farthest in adopting requirements for college education (Table 4.2). A full 45 percent of all township departments do not require a high school diploma or equivalency.

These township departments tend to be small (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Ch. 2) and are located in the rural areas of the Northeast, particularly Pennsylvania, and the Midwest, especially Iowa and Missouri (Table 4.3).

Standards Among Different Regions. This fact along with the relatively high education standards in the urbanizing areas of the South (Region 4), account for the fact that the Midwest and North Central Region has the lowest overall educational requirements. Twenty-three percent of these departments do not require a high school diploma or its equivalent. College requirements for police work have made the greatest inroads in the West. Approximately 20 percent of the police agencies in

TABLE 4.3 Type of Educational Requirements for Recruits in Different Regions (All Municipal and County Agencies that Patrol)

Type of Educational Requirement	N.E. & M.A.	Reg. 1	Reg. 2	Reg. 3	M.W. & N.C.	Reg. 5	Reg. 7	South & S.W.	Reg. 4	Reg. 6	West & Mt.	Reg. 8	Reg. 9	Reg. 10	All Agencies
No Educ. Requirement	11%	5	2	24	19%	19	22	6%	1	16	6%	0	3	22	10% (85)
Some High School	7%	0	3	13	4%	4	9	0%	0	0	1%	4	0	0	3% (26)
H.S. Dipl. or G.E.D.	82%	95	94	63	75%	76	70	93%	98	84	77%	96	76	56	84% (703)
Some College	0%	0	0	0	1%	1	0	0%	0	1	15%	0	21	11	2% (18)
A.A. or B.A. Degree	0%	0	0	0	0%	0	0	1%	1	0	2%	0	0	11	1% (4)

TABLE 4.2 Type of Educational Requirements for Recruits of Different Types of Police Agencies (All Municipal and County Agencies that Patrol)

Type of Educ. Requirement	Municipal	Township	County Sheriff	County Police & Prosecutor	Military Police	College Police	Park Police	Other Police	All Agencies
No Educ. Requir.	9%	29	11	11	52	10	0	36	12% (125)
Some High School	2%	16	6	0	20	0	0	0	3% (34)
H.S. Dipl./GED	85%	55	79	72	22	72	80	64	79% (811)
Some College	3%	0	2	11	0	6	0	0	3% (30)
A.A. or B.A. Deg	2%	0	1	6	5	12	20	0	3% (27)

Region 9 and Region 10 require some college coursework or a degree (Table 4.3).

Standards for Different Sized Agencies. When departments of different sizes are compared for educational standards, some surprising patterns appear (Table 4.4). College education or coursework is required more often in the moderate sized departments than the large. Seven percent of all departments which employ between 51 and 150 officers require some college, while four percent of those over 150 do so. The minimum education standard of these large departments is also lower: eight percent recruit men without diplomas, while three to five percent of the moderate sized departments (21 to 150 sworn officers) do so. These figures may reflect a policy among the larger departments to reduce educational requirements to recruit a larger proportion of officers with minority background.

The part-time and small departments comprise the major sector of the police industry in which minimum educational requirements are not in force. Of those departments with no full-time police officers, 67 percent require less than a high school diploma or equivalency (Table 4.4). This is true for only 24 percent of departments with one to four full-time officers. Of those departments with five or more men, 94 to 98 percent require a diploma or more. This pattern of lower educational requirements among the very small departments originates in the legal framework. In many states, the legislation which established civil service or P.O.S.T. commissions has exempted the small departments.

TABLE 4.4 Type of Educational Requirements for Recruits in Police Agencies of Different Sizes (All Municipal and County Agencies that Patrol)

	All Part Time	1-4 F.T. Off.	5-10 F.T. Off.	11-20 F.T. Off.	21-50 F.T. Off.	51-150 F.T. OFF.	Over 150	All Agencies
No Educ. Requir.	51%	18	6	2	2	4	2	10% (85)
Some High School	16%	6	0	1	1	1	6	3% (26)
H.S. Diploma or GED	32%	76	93	94	92	87	89	84% (703)
Some College	0%	1	1	2	4	5	4	2% (18)
A.A. or B.A. Degree	0%	0	0	0	2	2	0	2% (4)

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Conclusions. Advocates of upgraded nationwide education standards point to these discrepancies among regions, states, and municipalities as major justifications for their proposals: The unequal education and training among jurisdictions give rise to inequalities in the quality and distribution of police services (Saunders, 1970, 67-68, 172). This assertion presupposes that the nature of policing problems and demands for services are similar across jurisdictions.

The findings of the Police Services Study indicate that the demands on and work of policemen vary a great deal within and between SMSAs (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Chs. 2, 4, 8). In many of the smaller municipalities, police forces are maintained to deal with particular problems. These include: heavy traffic flows during rush hours; a recreational facility, amusement park, or shopping center; juvenile problems associated with a consolidated high school that draws from surrounding areas; and a large proportion of summer homes that stand empty most of the time.[2]

A few officers are hired -- many part-time -- to patrol and "keep the peace." Serious crimes and problems are turned over to the county sheriff or state police. Many of these communities cannot afford full-time men due to the cumulative costs of training, civil service salary schedules, social security payments, mandatory pensions, and fringe benefits. However, these benefits accrue from the part-time officer's regular job.

To the extent that civil service and P.O.S.T. legislation permit, these municipalities and townships hire part-time men to

provide basic patrol services. The total cost is substantially lower than that required to augment the state police or county sheriff patrol.

These organizational arrangements for the police services industry, with the relatively flexible regulations over personnel, do allocate the expertise of personnel inputs quite unequally. The important question is: Does this arrangement allow for the application of personnel resources in proportion to the value of the services rendered? How do high uniform personnel regulations for training and education offset this allocation process? The succeeding technical reports on personnel practices will investigate more aspects of this question.

Residency Requirements in Police Recruitment

There is a long history of debate over residency requirements in police personnel management. The pre employment requirement was first critized because it substantially reduces the aggregate pool of potential recruits for police work in any given urban area (Sloane, 1954; Germann, 1958, 17-23). The "professionalization" of the police service depends upon selecting highly qualified persons. It is argued that pre employment residency has little relationship to the persons capacity for police work. The requirement arbitrarily screens out candidates who would be more qualified.

The pre employment requirement is currently under attack in state and federal courts as an arbitrary restriction on inter-state commerce and equal employment opportunities.

Although the post employment residency requirement is considered beneficial to police work by some (Wilson and McClaren, 1972, 254), no consensus exists (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, 130-131). In cities that enforce this requirement, it is coming under review. The attraction of the "suburbs"-- good schools, new housing, convenient shopping centers, open space, low crime rates -- is as strong for the families of police officers as other occupational categories. Police employees argue that they should not be denied the right to chose their place of residence because of their occupation.

A new controversy may be brewing over the residency requirements. Study commissions are recommending that community service police officers in large cities should reside in the neighborhoods they serve (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, 165).

Before these issues can be addressed, answers are needed to basic questions. How many departments enforce residency requirements? Is residency required before or after employment in these

departments? Do the requirements differ among different types of police agencies, regions of the country, and sizes of police department. Answers provide a basis to evaluate residency requirements as they effect "professionalization."

Changing Requirements Across the Nation. In 1961, 74 percent of the police departments in cities with more than 25,000 people used a pre employment residency requirement to screen applicants (O'Connor, 1962, 79). In the succeeding 14 years, the use of employment residency requirements has dramatically decreased. In 1972, only 9 states maintained legislation that mandated local residence for municipal police officers (Table 4.5).

By 1975 only 10 percent of all municipal and county agencies required that persons reside in their municipality in order to file an application for employment (Table 4.7).

Another 16 percent require that a non-resident recruit move into the jurisdiction as a condition of accepting employment. When those agencies that require either pre or post employment are added together, they comprise 26 percent of all municipal and county agencies. However, police officials in 18 percent of these departments report that the requirements are not strictly enforced.

Table 4.5 State Legislation on Residency Requirements (1972)[1]

STATE NAME	Residency Requirements State	County	Local	STATE NAME	Residency Requirements State	County	Local
Alabama	b	b	b	Nevada	c	c	d
Alaska		*		New Hampshire			
Arizona		c	b	New Jersey	b	c	a
Arkansas	b			New Mexico	b	c	d
California	b	b	b	New York	a	a	a
Colorado	b	c	d	North Carolina			
Connecticut		b		North Dakota	a	c	a
Delaware		c		Ohio	b	c	b
Florida	a	a	a	Oklahoma	b	c	b
Georgia	a	c	a	Oregon	b	c	d
Hawaii	b	b	**	Pennsylvania	a	c	
Idaho				Rhode Island		c	d
Illinois	a	b		South Carolina	b	c	c
Indiana		c		South Dakota			
Iowa	b	b	b	Tennessee	a	c	a
Kansas	a			Texas	a	c	d
Kentucky	b	c	c	Utah	b	c	a
Louisiana		c	b	Vermont			
Maine	b			Virginia	b	c	b
Maryland	b	e		Washington	a	a	
Massachusetts	b			West Virginia	b	b	d
Michigan	b	b		Wisconsin	b	b	b
Minnesota	b	c	b	Wyoming			
Mississippi	b	b	b				
Missouri	b	b	e	Totals	a=11	a=13	a=7
Montana	b	c	d		b=25	b=12	b=12
Nebraska	a	b	b		c=0	c=23	c=2
					c=0	d=0	c=9

Notation:

a -- Recruit must be U.S. citizen
b -- Recruit must be a resident of the state
c -- Recruit must be a resident of the county
d -- Recruit must be ressident of the municipality
e -- Residency varies
* -- No counties
** -- Not applicable

Footnote:

1 Larry Wagner, "A Symposium of Recruitment Systems for Peace Officers," Police Services Study Technical Report No. 2.

TABLE 4.7 Percent of Police Agencies with Residency Requirements in Different Regions (All Municipal and County Agencies that Patrol)

	N.E. & M.A.	Reg. 1	Reg. 2	Reg. 3	M.W. & N.C.	Reg. 5	Reg. 7	South & S.W.	Reg. 4	Reg. 6	West & Mt.	Reg. 8	Reg. 9	Reg. 10	All Agencies
Residency Requirement	20	13	6	39	36	39	23	24	16	40	26	56	16	15	26% (210)[a]
No Residency Requirement	80	87	94	61	64	61	77	76	84	60	74	44	84	85	74% (614)
Required Before Employment	63	0	71	63	45	44	100	31	56	14	8	8	10	0	38% [b] (62)
Required After Employment	37	100	29	37	55	56	0	69	44	86	92	92	90	100	62% [b] (99)

[a]Due to missing data, the total number of agencies in the bottom half of the table does not add up to 210.

[b]The percentages in the bottom half of the table refer only to those agencies with residency requirements.

TABLE 4.6 Percent of Different Types of Police Agencies with Residency Requirements (All Police Agencies That Patrol)

	Municipal	Township	County Sheriff	County Police & Prosecutor	Military Police	College Police	Park Police	Other Police	All Agencies
Residency Requirement	20	30	77	7	3	5	22	18	23% (225)[a]
No Residency Requirement	80	70	23	93	97	95	78	82	77% (738)
Required Before Employment	30	77	44	100	0	50	100	50	39% [b] (68)
Required After Employment	70	23	56	0	100	50	0	50	61% (107)

[a]Due to missing data, the total number of agencies in the bottom half of the table does not add up to 225.

[b]The percentages in the bottom half of the table refer only th those agencies with residency requirements.

Requirements in Different Types of Police Agencies. The use of residency has not been uniform among different types of police agencies or regions of the country. Twenty-three states legislated that deputy sheriffs must be county residents, while only 11 states require a municipal police officer to reside in either the county or municipality (Table 4.5).

The hiring requirements of different types of police agencies reflect these differences in state legislation (Table 4.6). Seventy-seven percent of all sheriffs departments require residency: 34 percent as a condition of application and 43 percent after employment. Only 20 percent of all municipal departments maintain a pre or post employment requirement; pre employment residency is required by only 6% of all municipal departments.

Differences in Requirements Among Regions. Of the different regions of the county, departments in the Midwest and Northcentral area require residency most frequently (Table 4.7). Thirty-six percent of county and municipal departments maintain such regulations: pre employment residency is required by 20 percent, while 16 percent mandate post employment. This represents a dramatic reduction since 1961 when 83 to 95 percent of all agencies in the Midwest and Northcentral Region required residency as a condition of application (O'Connor, 1962, 79). This reduction is not confined to the midwest (O'Conner, 1962, 79). Proportionate reductions have occured across the ten regions of the United States.

Requirements in Different Sized Agencies. An interesting finding appears when different sized police agencies (both county and municipal) are compared. The pre-employment requirement is most frequently used in the very small and large departments (Table 4.8). Thirty-two percent of the departments with all part-time men use the pre-employment requirement, while 14 percent of the departments with more than 150 men maintain the standard. Only five percent of the moderate sized departments require pre employment residency.

These figures are substantiated by the 1972 study of the 668 largest agencies in America (Eisenberg, Kent, and Wall, 1973, 49, 72). Approximately 33 percent of the large municipal and county agencies reported pre-employment requirements. (The 1972 figure (33 percent) is high in comparison to the Police Services Study findings of 14 percent. Some of the difference is due to the changes in legal and administrative requirements during the two and one-half years between the studies. Also, the 1972 figures are based on a partial enumeration (493 of the 668 municipal, county, and state agencies with more than 50 sworn officers) of all large departments. As a result of the sampling criteria, the Police Service Study excludes many of these departments (143 of the 621 large county and municipal agencies were included): Departments were enum erated in 80 of the 200 middle-sized SMSAs.)

Conclusions. The above figures reveal that municipalities have largely phased out residency requirements in all regions of the country

TABLE 4.8 Percent of Different Sized Police Agencies with Residency Requirements (All Municipal and County Agencies that Patrol)

	All Part Time	1-4 F.T. Off.	5-10 F.T. Off.	11-20 F.T. Off.	21-50 F.T. Off.	51-150 F.T. Off.	Over 150	All Agencies
Residency Req.	41%	28	21	20	22	34	26	26% (210)a
No Resi. Req.	59%	72	79	80	78	66	70	74% (614)
Req. Before Empl.	79%	42	29	24	30	34	34	38% (62)
Req. After Empl.	21%	58	71	76	70	66	46	62% (99)

[a]Due to missing data, the total number of agencies in the bottom half of the total does not add to 210.

[b]The percentages in the bottom half of the table refer only to those agencies with residency requirements.

over the past 13 years. The requirements tend to be retained only in the very small and large departments. In this part of the police services industry, the requirements can potentially make an important contribution to police work.

In the small and part time departments, a residency requirement insures a backup capacity for the one patrolman on duty. In these agencies, off-duty officers frequently maintain a receiver in their home and personal car and respond to serious calls in their jurisdiction.[3] To eliminate this backup capacity in small departments would substantially increase the personal risk of police work. This move would also reduce the peak load capacity of individual agencies in responding to emergencies.

The post employment residency requirement is not a viable alternative to these small municipalities. Due to the low pay and/or part-time nature of the work, potential applicants from outside of the municipality would rarely apply if a post employment requirement existed. The costs and difficulties of enforcing such a requirement further reduce its viability as an option for the very small department.

The contribution of city residents to effective police work in big cities is becoming more apparent through research and policy innovations. If residents view the police officer as an external agent who periodically travels through their neighborhoods, incentives for citizen inputs to police work are reduced. Requirements that officers live in the city or the neighborhood they serve may reduce the barriers that retard citizen support and contributions (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, 163-167).

The findings summarized above indicate that residency requirements no longer play a major role in the police services industry. But

different types of pre and post employment requirements might potentially alleviate specific problems of police work that arise in very small and large departments. These findings cast doubt on policy reforms that would abolish all residency requirements or establish uniform requirements in urban areas or between them.

Other Recruitment Standards

Of the other standards used to screen applicants, the criminal record check has been a source of some debate. This criteria disproportionately reduces the potential pool of minority applicants, because a higher percentage of males between 21 and 29 years old have been convicted of a felony or misdemeanor. Opponents of the requirement contend that this fact reflects the biases of policing procedures, criminal prosecution, and court trials.

Extent of the Requirement. When compared to the education and residency requirements, the criminal record criteria is more frequently mandated by the state (Table 4.8). Twenty-six states had established such legislation for municipal police officers by 1972. By 1974, P.O.S.T. commissions mandated the standard in 13 additional states, for a total of 39. In comparison, 14 states mandated high school education by 1972, and the regulations of P.O.S.T. councils had increased the number to 35 by 1975. Twenty-nine states require that fingerprints be used to check out the applicant's past (Table 2.7).

The criminal record check is used by the large majority of municipal and county agencies with more than 50 officers to screen applicants (Eisenburg, Kent, and Wall, 1973, 48-51). An applicant with a prior felony conviction as an adult would be rejected in 95 percent of all large agencies. A felony arrest as an adult would disqualify an applicant

Table 4.9 Mandated Check to Determine if Applicant has a Past Criminal Record[1]

STATE NAME	Leg. Mandate (1972) State	County	Local	P.O.S.T. Re . (1974)	STATE NAME	Leg. Mandate (1972) State	Count	Local	P.O.S.T. Re (1974
Alabama	●	●	●	●	Nevada	●	●	●	●
Alaska	●	t	●	●	N. Ham shire				●
Arizona	●	●	●	●	New Jersey	●		●	●
Arkansas	●				New Mexico	●	●	●	●
California	●	●	●	●	New York	●	●	●	●
Colorado	●	●	●		N. Carolina				●
Connecticut					North Dakota	●	●		●
Delaware					Ohio				
Florida	●	●	●	●	Oklahoma	●	●	●	●
Georgia	●	●	●	●	Ore ,on	●	●	●	●
Hawaii		●	xx		Pennsylvania	●	●		
Idaho	●	●	●	●	Rhode Island				●
Illinois	●				S. Carolina	●	●	●	●
Indiana				●	South Dakota	●			●
Iowa	●			●	Tennessee	●	●	●	●
Kansas	●			●	Texas		●		●
Kentucky	●	●	●		Utah	●	●	●	●
Louisiana			●		Vermont				
Maine					Virginia				
Maryland				●	Washington		●	●	●
Massachusetts	○				West Virginia	●	●	●	
Michigan				●	Wisconsin		●		●
Minnesota	●			●	Wyoming			●	●
Mississippi	●	●	●						
Missouri	●	●	●		Totals	31	27	26	33
Montana		●	●	●					
Nebras a	●	●	●	●					

Notation:

x -- No counties.
xx -- Not applicable.

Footnotes:

1 This table was developed from Technical Report No. 2 of the Police Services Study, "A Symposium of Recruitment Systems for Peace Officers," by Larry Wagner; and Charles A. Wall and Leo A. Culloo, "State Standards for Law Enforcement Selection and Training," Journal of Police Service and Administration, Winter, 1973, pp. 425-432.

Table 4.10 Mandated Fingerprint Check of Each Applicant[1]

STATE NAME	Leg. Req. Fingerprints (1972) State	County	Local	P.O.S.T. Reg. All P.O. (1974)	STATE NAME	Leg. Req. Fingerprints (1972) State	County	Local	P.O.S.T. Reg. All PO (1974)
Alabama				●	Nevada				●
Alaska		t		●	N. Hampshire				
Arizona				●	New Jersey				
Arkansas					New Mexico				●
California	●	●	●	●	New York	●	●	●	●
Colorado					N. Carolina				●
Connecticut					N. Dakota				
Delaware					Ohio				
Florida	●	●	●	●	Oklahoma	●	●	●	●
Georgia	●	●	●	●	Oregon				●
Hawaii			tt		Pennsylvania				
Idaho				●	Rhode Island				●
Illinois					S. Carolina	●	●	●	●
Indiana				●	S. Dakota				●
Iowa				●	Tennessee	●	●	●	●
Kansas	●			●	Texas				●
Kentucky					Utah	●	●	●	●
Louisiana					Vermont				
Maine					Virginia				
Maryland				●	Washington				●
Massachusetts					W. Virginia				
Michigan				●	Wisconsin				●
Minnesota					Wyoming			●	●
Mississippi	●								
Missouri									
Montana				●					
Nebraska	●	●	●	●	Totals	11	9	10	29

Notation:

t -- No counties
tt -- Not applicable.

Footnote:

[1]This table was developed from Technical Report No. 2 of the Police Services Study, "A Symposium of Recruitment Systems of Peace Officers," by Larry Wagner ; and Charles A. Wall and Leo A. Culloo, "State Standards for Law Enforcement Selection and Training," Journal of Police Service and Administration, Winter, 1973, pp. 425-432.

in 76 percent of these departments. The corresponding figures for a juvenile conviction and arrest are 89 percent and 70 percent.

Conclusion. These data indicate that the large majority of police agencies are using criminal record checks. This personnel policy may have a substantial impact on the pool of applicants and recruits.

The consequences of these standards on recruitment would be greatest for police agencies that serve large minority populations. The essential policy question is how prior arrest or conviction affects the individual's conduct of police work. How do these circumstances affect the citizen's evaluation of the department and its performance?

Corruption exists, and the discretion of police powers is abused. These policy questions about the relation of criminal records, recruitment, and performance are of substantial importance to personnel management and professionalization in large cities.

V. Policies Governing Recruit Training

Once an applicant has been selected for a police position, a major objective of personnel policy is to develop the skills that are required for effective police work and promotion. Training (entry level, in-service, and supervisory) and education are the processes by which the officer's capabilities may be developed.

Training, education, and promotion were traditionally governed by police officials in conjunction with an agency of the local government -- a civil service commission, municipal council, personnel director, or municipal executive. In 1959 the state

legislature of New York established a Municipal Police Training Council with jurisdiction to establish recruitment and training standards and to certify compliance. Since then, 46 additional states have established POST commissions to regulate -- both mandatory and voluntary -- the recruitment and training of police officers (Table 5.1). Before 1959, no state had mandatory entry-level training. By 1975 mandatory training had been established in 38 states. Basic training is now required in 94 percent of all municipal police agencies; the average length of training is 302 hours (Table 5.3).

Policy Issues and Research Needs

Professionalization of the police service is one impetus for this fundamental and rapid change in the legal framework for personnel management: improve the "quality" and capabilities of the persons who do police work (Germann, 1958, 13-14; Saunders, 1970, 39-40). In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration concluded that police training and education were inadequate, particularly in the small departments (The President's Commission, 1967b, 142-43). It recommended 400 hours of entry-level training for all police recruits. Moreover, the Commission recommended that each recruit demonstrate ability for college work. Over the long term a baccalaureate degree should be required of all police officers who exercise arrest powers and for promotion (The President's Commission, 1967a, 109-110). POST commissions would establish and administer these training and education standards.

In 1973, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals buttressed these conclusions and recommendations;

TABLE 5.1 State Standards for Entry Level Training[1]

	Trng. Stnds., Mandatory=M, Voluntary=V	Time allowed to get trng. (months)	Trng. Req. Before Police Power May Be Exercised	Penalty for Non-Compliance with Legislation	Standards Written Into Law-W, Left to Discretion of Council=D	Reserve Officers Certified	# Hours Basic Training Required	Average # Hours Received	# Trained Last Full Year	% Receiving Training	# Agencies Authorized to Conduct Training	In-Service Training Mandatory	Refresher Training Offered	Supervised Field Training	Departments Reimbursed for Personnel Sent to Trng.
ALABAMA	M	9		X	W		240		1100	72	9				X
ALASKA	M	12			D		270	270			1			40	
ARIZONA	M	6			W	X	280	280	180	100	7		X		X
ARKANSAS	V				D			196	393	60	1		X		X
CALIFORNIA	M		X		D		200	530	2963		31	X	X		X
COLORADO	M	12			D		264	264	380	80	10		X	40	
CONNECTICUT	M	12			D	X	400	400	479	100	4			40	
DELAWARE	M	12			W/D		350	406	86	100	5	X		40	
FLORIDA	M	0	X		W	X	320	310	2600	100	51		X		
GEORGIA	M	12			W		114	198	1546	100	12				X
HAWAII															
IDAHO	M	12			W	X	300	260	165		4		X	40	X
ILLINOIS	V	6			W/D		240	240	2094	95	3		X		X
INDIANA	M	12		X	D		240	240	741	100	5				
IOWA	M			X	W		240	240	576	64	7	X	X		X
KANSAS	M	12			W		160	281	561	97	14	X	X		
KENTUCKY	V	12			D		400	400	400	90	5				
LOUISIANA															
MAINE	M	12		X	D	X	370	370	159	99	1	X			
MARYLAND	M	12			D		350	554	1015	100	11	X			
MASSACHUSETTS	M	9			D		480	480	379		18	X	X		
MICHIGAN	M	0	X		D	X	240	280	1633	95	14		X		
MINNESOTA	M	12			W		280	400	435	100	4		X		X
MISSISSIPPI															
MISSOURI															

[1]Developed from Charles R. Wall and Leo A. Culloo, "State Standards for Law Enforcement Selection and Training," Journal of Police Science and Administration, Winter, 1973, 425-432. Updated by the authors to January 1, 1975.

TABLE 5.1 (Continued)

	Trng. Stnds., Mandatory=M, Voluntary=V	Time allowed to get trng. (months)	Trng. Req. Before Police Power May Be Exercised	Penalty for Non-Compliance With Legislation	Standards Written Into Law=W, Left to Discretion of Council=D	Reserve Officers Certified	#Hours Basic Training Required	Average # Hours Received	# Trained Last Full Year	% Receiving Training	# Agencies Authorized to Conduct Training	In-Service Training Mandatory	Refresher Training Offered	Supervised Field Training	Departments Reimbursed for Personnel Sent to Trng.
MONTANA	M	12			D		280	450	180	95	3				X
NEBRASKA	M	12		X	D		300	300	250	60			X		X
NEVADA	M	12			D	X	120			80	3		X		X
NEW HAMPSHIRE	M	6			D		295	295	188	100	1			14	X
NEW JERSEY	M	12			D		280	410	1959	100	14				
NEW MEXICO	M	12			X4		120	212	200	00	4				
NEW YORK	M	6		X	W/D	X	285	400	1577	95	All		X	40	
NORTH CAROLINA	M	12			D	X	160	214	980	615	59				
NORTH DAKOTA	V	12			D		200	212	135		1		X		X
OHIO	M	12				X	2806	270	2382	90	50				
OKLAHOMA	M	12		X	D		120	128	754	99	7		X	8	
OREGON	M	12		X	D		330	330	297	99	3		X	50	X
PENNSYLVANIA	M	12					480								
RHODE ISLAND	M	12		X	D		480	480	83		1		X		
SOUTH CAROLINA	M	12			W		320	330	566		1		X		
SOUTH DAKOTA	M	12			D		120	69	170	100	3			14	X
TENNESSEE	V	24		X	W		240	24	300	95	5		X	16	X
TEXAS	M	12		X	D	X	240	413	3788	98	50			21	
UTAH	M	18			W/D	X	321	321	244	100	8	X	X	40	
VERMONT	M	12		X	D	X	250	300		90	3		X		
VIRGINIA	M	12		X	W		200	207	1229	95	31	X		40	
WASHINGTON	V	12			W		400	400	2685				X		
WEST VIRGINIA															
WISCONSIN	M	24			W/D	X	240	280	650	100	18		X	10	X
WYOMING	M	24		X	W		150	200			4				

Each state should establish a system of academies to provide a 400 hour basic training course and should finance or reimburse local governments for training costs. The Commission recommended that by 1982 each state should require its police officers to complete at least four years of education at an accredited college or university (The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, 369). To ensure that officers have opportunities and incentirves to acquire higher education, the Commission urged every state to establish an educational incentive program similar to the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

The recommendations of the commissions reveal that pressures are increasing for more training and higher education in the police service. The proposed reforms can have a substantial impact on the costs and structure of the police services industry. For this reason, it is crucial to evaluate the assumptions that are used to support the policy recommendations. This section presents data for an assessment of the underlying assumptions and potential impact of the training proposals.

Nationwide Changes in Training

Dramatic changes have occured in entry-level training over the past 15 years. The Wickersham Committee reported in 1931 that less than 20 percent of city police departments provided formal training to their recruits; none of the municipalities under 10,000 in population size provided training (National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931, 70-72).

Until 1959, when California, Minnesota, Montana, and New York implemented the 1952 recommendations of the American Bar Association, no state required basic training of its police officers (Ostrom, 1975).

In 1961, 65 percent of all local police departments in cities of 25,000 or more people required less than 200 hours of training (O'Conner, 1962). In 1965, no training was required in 21 to 55 percent of all police departments across the different regions of the country (O'Conner, 1965). Training requirements had been adopted most extensively in New England (79 percent of all local agencies) and least extensively in the East South Central states (45 percent required training).

By 1967, 82 percent of all police departments in municipalities with more than 10,000 people required entry level training (Havlick, 1968, 339). But no training was reported in seven percent of all central city police agencies, 11 percent of the suburban departments, and 32 percent of the independent departments. Less than half of the recruits in municipalities with less than 10,000 people received training.

The international Association of Police Chiefs reported in 1970 that 33 states had basic training standards (both mandatory and voluntary), but only 19 states required more than 200 hours. By 1972, 32 states enforced mandatory training, and nine states maintained voluntary standards (Wall and Culloo, 1973, 431). By 1975, 38 states mandated basic training, and 12 of these states required more than 300 hours (Table 5.1).

Impact of Standards on Local Departments

Data from the Police Services Study reveal that the state standards have dramatically increased training levels in individual police agencies. Ninety-three percent of all county and municipal departments now require training (Talbe 5.2). On the average, these departments require 294 hours of training.

When current training practices (Table 5.2) are compared to the percent of departments which required training in 1965 (O'Conner, 1965), increases of 40 to 60 percent have occured across the different regions of the country. It is estimated that required training averaged less than 200 hours for all departments in 1967 (Havlick, 1968, 344; and National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, 380). During the succeeding seven years the average length of required training has increased about 100 hours for all local agencies (Table 5.2).

Training in Different Regions

The current training practices of police agencies do not differ dramatically from region to region across the country. Departments in the Mountain-West Region require the most training. Ninety-nine percent of all municipal and county agencies in this region mandate training with an average length of 362 hours. In the Midwest Region, where regulations are least restrictive, 82 percent of the departments require training with an average length of 270 hours. These differences in training between the two regions reflect differences in the size of police agencies and type of urban areas, as well as state regulations. In American's middle sized SMSAs, police agencies

in the West are larger in size, are located in more urbanized areas (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Ch. 2), and enjoy more liberal state compensation of training costs than do those of the Midwest.

Training in Different Types of Departments

When training practices are compared in different types of agencies (Table 5.3), township departments present contradictions. A slightly larger percentage of these departments require training; 96 percent of their officers receive entry-level training in comparison to 92 percent in all other types of agencies. But the length of training, 198 hours, is about 100 hours less than the nationwide average of 294 hours.

These somewhat contradictory facts about training reflect interesting jurisdictional relationships of township departments with other agencies in the police services industry.[4] The legislative framework for the police services industry establishes an extra level" of police jurisdiction. These agencies maintain jurisdiction that is outside the boundaries of municipal agencies but is concurrent with the jurisdiction of state and county agencies. Township councils establish police departments to supplement the traffic and area patrol services that are provided by county and state agencies.

The overlapping of police jurisdictions with county and state agencies provide opportunities for townships to supplement a limited number of services such as area patrol, traffic control, emergency response, and juvenile control as local conditions and citizens demand, without duplicating the full range of services (crime scene searches, criminal investigation, dispatching, detention, and crime laboratory analysis).

TABLE 5.2 Percent of Agencies with Training Requirements in Different Regions
(All Local and County Agencies that Patrol)

	N.E.	Reg. 1	Reg. 2	Reg. 3	M.W. & N.C.	Reg. 5	Reg. 7	South- & S.W.	Reg. 4	Reg. 6	Mt.- West	Reg. 8	Reg. 9	Reg. 10	All Agencies
Required Entry Level Training	92	93	99	83	82	83	73	99	98	99	99	100	100	94	93% (790)
No Training Requirement	8	7	1	17	18	17	27	1	2	1	1	0	0	6	7% (59)
Average Number of Required Hrs.	304	412	374	190	270	268	282	272	282	252	362	304	406	266	294

TABLE 5.3 Percent of Different Types of Police Agencies with Training Requirements
(All Agencies Except State Police and F.B.I.)

	Municipal	Township	County Sheriff	County Police & Prosecutor	Military Police	College Police	Park Police	Other Police	All Agencies
Required Entry Level Training	94	96	95	65	83	82	90	80	92% (950)
No Training Requirement	6	4	5	35	17	18	10	20	8% (77)
Average Number of Required Hrs.	302	198	274	301					

To prevent duplication of services that require substantial training and expensive overhead, township boards will exchange memoranda or verbal agreements with the county board or a state police official.[5] These agreements spell out the "division of labor" and "areas of cooperation" among police agencies within the township's boundaries. The township boards frequently prohibit their officers from specific police activities that extend beyond their training or detract from local policing priorities: traffic patrol on state highways, investigation of serious personal injury traffic accidents, crime scene searches, and investigation of felonies.

Under these circumstances, limited training of 40-100 hours in the basic laws and procedures of area and traffic patrol can ensure the desired level of services without large public expenditures. For example, the regional headquarters of the Pennsylvania State Police offer 40 hour night courses in Basic Field Instruction, Traffic Law Procedure and Advanced Field Instruction to the small local departments throughout the state. Police chiefs and officers report that they periodically take these courses as "refreshers" because of the changes in laws, conditions of police work, teaching materials, and instructors.[6]

Given flexible recruitment, training, and education standards, overlapping police jurisdictions create opportunities for small municipal as well as township governments to produce preferred service levels at relatively low costs. Rather than creating duplication and waste, "overlap" and "fragmentation" of police jurisdictions are conditions that foster specialization and working arrangements (alternation and coordination between the small and large departments)

that can reduce the costs of providing police services in America. (Future technical reports will document the extent of this effect.) To capture these potential benefits in the police services industry, personnel standards must remain flexible. The current pressures for higher standards can substantially reduce the efficiency with which personnel resources are allocated in the police services industry. Productivity may decline.

Training in Different Sized Departments

Training requirements are most flexible in the smallest police agencies and in the smaller sized urban areas. Only 53 percent of the departments with no full-time sworn officers requires entry level training; the average length is 157 hours. These departments tend to be located in the smaller, more rural SMSAs (Talbe 5.5) in the Midwest and Northeast regions of the country. Many of them are township departments. In comparison, 89 percent of all departments with one to four full time officers require basic training with an average length of 225 hours.

Of the police agencies with more than 50 full time officers, more than 99 percent require entry-level training; the average length is slightly more than 400 hours. Departments in this size category employ 70 percent of all police officers in America (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1971, 71). A large majority of the people in the United States receive their police services from officers with more than 400 hours of basic training. The recommended standards of the two major adivosry commissions have been implemented in the departments that serve the large majority of American people.

TABLE 5.4 Training Requirements in Police Agencies of Increasing Size (All Local and County Agencies that Patrol)

	All Part Time	1-4 F.T. Off.	5-10 F.T. Off.	11-20 F.T. Off.	21-50 F.T. Off.	51-150 F.T. Off.	Over 150	All Agencies
Required Entry Level Training	53%	89	96	98	99	100	98	93% (790)
No Training Requirement	47%	11	4	2	1	0	2	7% (55)
Average No. of Required Hours	157	225	287	309	321	340	436	294

TABLE 5.5 Percent of Police Agencies with Training Requirements in Different Sized SMSAs (All Local and County Agencies that Patrol)

	50-125,000 Population	125-250,000 Population	250-500,000 Population	500,000 - 1.5 Million	All Agencies
Required Entry Level Training	78%	94	91	98	93% (790)
No Training Requirement	22%	6	9	2	7% (59)
Average No. of Required Hours					294

Implications for the Reform of Police Training

Let me summarize the findings and then discuss their implications for the reform of police training. The data collected in the Police Services Study reveal substantial changes in the coverage and length of basic training over the past 10 years. Since 1967, the average length of training required by all municipal and county police agencies has increased to 294 hours, a change of approximately 100 hours. The majority of large departments require more than 400 hours of training. Standards are least developed in the samll municipal and township departments of the Midwest and Northeast.

The juxtaposition of training requirements in large and small police departments highlights a fundamental problem of training reform whose magnitude has been seriously under estimated.

Problems of personnel performance and conduct are greatest in the large departments, but these agencies will remain largely unaffected by proposals to increase entry-level training requirements. Training in these departments usually exceeds the reform goal of 400 hours. In addition, many states exempt the large departments from POST regulations. A recent example is the Philadelphia Police Department. The 1974 training legislation of Pennsylvania excludes this department from the Commission's jurisdiction.

The greatest impact of training reform will be on the numerous small departments in the less urbanized parts of America's metropolitan areas. Here, the reforms can potentially do much more harm than good. The effects of this policy will be to dry up the pool of part-time officers and reduce the financial viability of producing police services in small departments. Potential candidates

for part-time police work will not be able to take time from their primary jobs to obtain 10 weeks of academy training. This part of the manpower pool for the police services industry will dry up. Small municipalities lack the financial resources to pay the pensions, fringe benefits, and social security required if they would go from part-time officers to full-time personnel. Those municipalities that could afford one or two full-time men face the difficulty of finding and paying a replacement while their officers are in training. Given the relatively low salaries in this sector of the police industry, many full-time officers maintain a second job. Few could afford to lose this income source to get training.

The consequences are far reaching. One, training reforms will substantially reduce the capacity of the smaller municipalities to maintain police protection. The persons residing in these areas will lose the capacity to adjust the type and level of police services in light of local problems and security needs. Two, the capacity of the urban area to respond to demands for back-up and peak-load services during emergencies and disasters will greatly diminish. Three, the reforms will eliminate a substantial amount of the detailed time and place information that is necessary for effective delivery of police services. This is the type of information that residents of a locality acquire: information about the "problem" individuals, ongoing family or neighborhood disputes, stretches of roads and streets that cause traffic problems and accidents, local juvenile problems, reliable sources of information, and burglary targets. The reforms will reduce the number of officers who provide this information

in the police industry and the geographic dispersion of their residences over the urban area.

In summary, the training reforms effectively ignore the personnel problems of the large departments. At the same time, they reduce the financial feasibility of the smaller departments. By reducing the number of these service producers in the police industry of an urban area, training requirements may substantially reduce the effectiveness of service delivery. (A primary objective of Phase II research is to investigate the relative impact of training against the size and number of departments with respect to service delivery.)

This conclusion does not imply that small departments are free of personnel and training problems. But the crucial policy questions are: "What types of training programs?" and "How to deliver different 'types' of training in the packages most suitable to the needs of different departments?" First, it is important to emphasize that a substantial proportion of officers -- part-time as well as full-time -- in small departments currently receive entry level training (Table 5.4). But these officers do encounter a number of difficulties in their police work that additional in-service training would help. Examples include: the increasing amount and complexity of paperwork for record keeping and court appearances; ways of dealing with juvenile problems and family disputes; administering emergency services and referring citizens to community service organizations; and the protection of evidence at the scene of a crime or traffic accident.[7]

The type and relative severity of these problems differ from department to department. Police officers in different departments (depending on the services emphasized by the department,

the nature of the population, and service conditions) face different combinations of these problems. One solution is short courses. Each would cover a specific problem area in four or five hours distributed over two evenings. They would be offered at a central location -- sheriff's office, state police post, or county seat -- at the request of local departments. The training packages could be developed by an association of local departments, by a county sheriff, by the state police, or by a police training commission in consultation with police officers of departments who would use the services.[8]

This approach to training reform avoids many of the problems that make training so hard for small departments: the difficulty of sending an officer to an academy; the cost of replacing him; the sacrifice of a second job; the hardship of commuting long distances after work; and the reluctance of some officers to enter formal classroom training due to negative past impressions.

VI. Higher Education of Police Officers

In spite of the raising standards for recruitment and training, national commissions conclude that successful police work in modern America will require higher education of police officers (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967 b, 140-141; and National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, 367-371).

The Policy Proposals and Research Questions

The Commissions contend that police work is a profession similar to medicine and dentistry, and that states should test and license their police officers. POST commissions would administer these programs. Testing and licensing standards would be set at a level that would require candidates to complete a baccalaureate degree for successful certification.

In a study financed by the Brookings Institute, Saunders estimates that only one-third of all current police officers possess the intellectual capacity required for higher education (Saunders, 1970, 80). The scholars and commissions recommend that the higher education standards be phased in step-by-step over the next few years. 1982 is one target date.

In the interim, states should establish mandatory educational programs to ensure that officers in local agencies have adequate opportunities and incentives to obtain college educations. It is felt that LEEP of the LEAA is not adequate. Outdated attitudes among some municipal and police officials about education in law enforcement are impeding the progress needed to achieve the necessary

education. State commissions for POST would establish and administer mandatory education programs with federal money and guidlines.

The proposal to require college education for police work raises at least three policy questions. One, does higher education improve an officer's performance of police duties? Two, what opportunities and incentives currently exist for college education without mandatory regulation by each state? Given answers to these questions, what is the balance between the costs and gains of more education for police officers? The findings of the Police Services Study, along with other research, provide a initial basis to begin answering these questions.

Effects of Education on Police Performance

Current studies of higher education in the police service present what appear to be contradictory findings. Research on recruitment, training, efficiency ratings, and promotion indicates that officers with college education "perform" at a higher level than those without such education (Cohen and Chaiken, 1973, 40-50; Saunders, 1970, 88-89; Baehr, et al., 1968).

The problem with this type of research is the performance measures. They are derived from the criteria that superior officers use to evaluate candidates for promotions. These criteria strongly reflect the individual's ability to pass tests, keep records, write reports, and execute the various administrative routine of the department to the satisfaction of his commanding officers. Higher education provides excellent preparation for this pencil and paper work and the other aspects of bureaucratic communication that affect an officer's "standing" among his superiors. One would expect that

officers with greater education would be more skilled in these tasks and receive higher ratings. Commanding officers lack opportunities and criteria to evaluate the policeman's ability to deal with citizens in maintaining order and enforcing laws.

The research findings on this second dimension of performance raise doubts about the contribution of higher education to police services. Sterling reports that college education may have negative consequences on the attitudes that policemen maintain about their work (Sterling, 1974). He suggests that these attitudes, in turn, may account for the higher turnover rates among officers with higher education that have been documented in the past studies.

The principle investigators of the Police Service Studies previously studied the consequences of higher education for the attitudes and performance of 712 police officers in 29 departments in St. Louis County, Missouri (Smith and Ostrom, 1974). Ostrom and Smith report that on the average, citizens evaluated the performance of the police forces with less education and training more highly than departments that were comparable in other respects. These departments also scored higher on objective performance measures.

The findings which are summarized above, suggest that higher education may increase the "bureaucratic skills" of police officers required by departmental operations: record keeping, report writing, testing, and bureaucratic communication. But education may not improve the abilities that an officer uses to maintain order and enforce laws: communication with a wide range of citizens; conscientious repitition of routine tasks; careful observation and discrimination of ordinary events; accurate judgement about persons, their problems, and intentions; and the judicious approach, detention, and

arrest of citizens.

One plausible explanation is that these skills are a projection of a person's life experiences, character, and personality, and are not subject to change by higher education. In discussing higher education with officers while doing fieldwork in Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania in the Fall of 1974, a number indicated that on the basis of past experiences in their departments, higher education may have negative effects. It was generally felt that officers with college education had less past contact, knowledge, and understanding of the persons and problems that constituted the lion's share of police work.

These still tentative findings indicate that more thought needs to be given to the amount and distribution of higher education in police work. More education may improve the officer's performance of administrative routines in large bureaucratic departments. At the same time, more education may reduce the quality of the police services rendered to citizens. From a policy perspective, the challenge is not to mandate that all municipalities educate their officers. The challenge is to determine what tasks in police agencies will benefit most from what kinds and quantities of education. For many of these departmental tasks, specialized in-service training may produce the desired results at a much lower cost. The trade-offs between the added costs and improved performance from specialized training as opposed to education need serious evaluation.

Higher Education Across the Nation

Higher education is not prevalent in the police services industry. Less than four percent of all municipal and county departments require some higher education as a recruitment standard (Table 4.3). Among local and county departments with 20 or more full-time officers, approximately six percent require some higher education as a recruitment standard (Table 4.4). Most of these departments are in the Mountain-West Region where 17 percent of all departments require some higher education of their recruits (Table 4.3). It is estimated that 25 percent of all police officers in the Pacific states have college degrees, and 54 percent have some college education (Saunders, 1970, 80).

Nationwide, 10 percent of all police officers have obtained a four year degree (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, 368). Fifty percent of all officers have not acquired any education beyond high school.

To increase the education levels in America's police service, the LEEP program was established by the LEAA under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. The 1970 Omnibus Crime Control Act expanded the LEEP funding. Police officers and students in criminal justice programs can apply to participating colleges for tuition assistance of $500 per semester, loans of $1,800, and grants of $600.

An increasing number of police officers are taking advantage of the LEEP benefits (Santerelli, 1974). Between 1969 to 1974, 190,000 persons have received $111 million for course work. In

TABLE 6.1 Percent of Police Agencies with Incentive Programs for Higher Education in Different Regions (All Local and County Departments that Patrol)

Regional Location	Incentive Program	No Program	Types of Educational Incentives					
			Pay for Books	Pay for Tuition	Pay for Time Off	College Credit	A.A.	B.A.
North East Region	32%	68	6%[a]	8	12	22	3	10
Region 1	68%	32	7%	14	0	50	11	20
Region 2	43%	57	7%	10	9	33	9	12
Region 3	9%	91	5%	3	2	0	3	2
Midwest Region	24%	76	3%	12	5	6	0	11
Region 5	23%	77	4%	12	6	6	0	11
Region 7	27%	73	0%	14	0	7	0	7
South - Southwest Region	33%	67	5%	10	3	2	0	27
Region 4	44%	56	4%	11	4	1	0	40
Region 6	14%	86	6%	8	1	2	0	7
Mountain - West Region	51%	49	17%	23	5	35	1	32
Region 8	13%	87	4%	4	0	0	0	4
Region 9	69%	31	26%	36	7	52	1	44
Region 10	39%	61	0%	5	5	22	0	22
All Agencies	34% (245)	67% (487)	7% (49)[b]	12 (83)	3 (21)	14 (101)	1 (8)	19 (139)

August 1974, 95,000 persons were enrolled in 1,036 educational institutions. Each year at least 80 percent of the participants have been in-service, police personnel. Individual states, such as Illinois, are using federal grants to establish voluntary programs similar to LEEP (Juris and Duncan, 1974).

Incentive Programs at the Local Level

All police officers within commuting distance of one of the 1,036 educational institutions participating in LEEP have access to federal money for in-service higher education. Advocates of mandatory state programs argue that this is not sufficient. Local departments must provide added incentives for their officers to use these opportunities in the form of salary increments and paid time off for higher education. The Police Services Study provides some data on the extent of such incentive programs among local departments.

Nationwide, approximately 34 percent of all municipal and county police departments provide some type of incentive for its officers to obtain higher education (Table 6.1). Fourteen percent supplement the salary of an officer who gets some college course work, usually a given number of semester credits such as 20 hours. Nineteen percent provide a salary supplement for a four year degree. Twelve percent help pay for tuition, and seven percent help pay for books. Three percent pay for time off when an officer attends classes.

Educational incentives are not uniformly distributed across the country. Incentives are more frequently available to police officers in departments of the Northeast and the Mountain-West regions. Programs are maintained by 68 percent of the departments in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and 69 percent of the agencies in

California and Arizona. Incentives are least prevalent in the Midwest region; 24 percent of the departments offer them. Throughout all regions, the most popular type of incentive is salary supplements for college credit and/or degrees. The least frequent is paid time off.

When different types of police agencies are compared (Table 6.2), county sheriffs, county police, military police, and other specialized police departments offer educational incentives less frequently.

Departments in the larger SMSAs which are more densely populated tend to offer educational incentives more frequently. However, the pattern is not very pronounced.

The most dramatic differences appear where departments of different sizes are compared (Table 6.3). Officers in larger departments are much more likely to receive opportunities and incentives for higher education than their counterparts in the smaller agencies. Sixty percent of all municipal and county agencies with more than 50 full-time officers provide educational incentives. Only 8 percent of those departments with less than five full-time officers do so.

These patterns of educational opportunity and incentives reflect the interorganizational relations and specialization among departments in the police services industry. The larger departments produce specialized support and auxilliary services such as crime scene searches; juvenile investigations; laboratory analysis; entry-level and in-service training; and computerized statistics on crime rates, calls for service, and patrol deployment. As the technology for producing these services becomes more specialized, effective administration and production requires officers with more training and

TABLE 6.2 - Percent of Different Types of Police Agencies with Incentive Programs for Higher Education (All Agencies Except the State Police and FBI)

Type of Police Agency	Incentive Program	No Program	Types of Educational Incentives					
			Pay for Books	Pay for Tuition	Pay for Time Off	Sal. Diff. Coll. Cred.	Sal. Diff. AA	Sal. Diff. BA
Municipal (City, twn, vlg, boro)	36%	63	7% [a]	12	3	15	1	21
Township & Civil Divi Divisions	50%	50	8%	4	4	2	0	4
County Sheriff	26%	74	7%	12	4	10	0	17
County Police & Prosecutor	28%	72	0%	0	0	17	0	22
Military Police (Army,Navy, AF)	23%	77	6%	14	3	0	0	0
College Police	34%	66	0%	28	5	2	0	5
Park Police	22%	78	22%	22	0	0	0	0
Airport Police	0%	100	0%	0	0	0	0	0
Other (Hospital Housing, Spel. Dist., Private, etc.	0%	100	0%	0	0	0	0	0
All Agencies	35% (309)	65% (582)	6% [a] (56) [b]	13% (112)	3% (25)	12% (106)	1% (8)	17% (150)

[a]The percentages are calculated along the rows. They add to totals greater than the percentages in the first column, because single departments offer more than one type of incentive.
[b]The frequencies in each all refer to the number of agencies that offer a given type of incentive.

TABLE 6.3 - Percent of Police Agencies of Different Sizes that Offer Incentive Programs for Higher Education (All Local and County Agencies that Patrol)

Number of Full Time Sworn P.O.	Incentive Program	No Program	Types of Educational Incentives					
			Pay for Books	Pay for Tuition	Pay for Time Off	Sal. Diff. Coll. Cred.	Sal. Diff. AA	Sal. Diff. BA
All Part Time Officers	8%	92	2%[a]	4	4	0	0	0
1-4 F.T. Officers	8%	92	2%	3	2	1	0	2
5-10 F.T. Officers	26%	74	5%	7	1	5	1	17
11-20 F.T. Officers	44%	56	7%	12	3	23	3	22
21-50 F.T. Officers	51%	49	9%	14	3	27	1	26
51-150 F.T. Officers	62%	38	12%	27	4	31	1	43
More Than 150 F.T. Officers	56%	44	18%	25	8	18	4	35
All Agencies	34% (245)	66% (487)	7% (49)[b]	12 (83)	3 (21)	14 (101)	1 (8)	19 (139)

[a]The percentages are calculated across the rows. They add to totals greater than the percentages in the first column, because single departments offer more than one kind of incentive.

[b]The frequencies in the cells identify the number of agencies that offer a given type of incentive.

education. For these reasons, the larger departments with more specialization in service production provide more opportunities and incentives for their officers to obtain higher education.

Small departments, on the other hand, invest nearly all of their resources in traffic and area patrol, and preliminary criminal investigation (Ostrom, Parks, and Whitaker, 1975, Chs. 2,4,6). They call on state and county agencies when the policing problem requires specialized support and auxiliary services. The findings on the "Effects of Education on Performance," which were summarized in the preceeding section, cast doubt on the assertion that higher education of officers will improve the performance of these direct police services by the non-specialized small departments.

Implications for Policy on Police Education

The Police Services Study indicates that higher education is a costly and scarce resource in the police services industry. Legislative reforms that would distribute educated officers uniformally across urban areas and among departments within these areas are very likely to create an inefficient allocation of this resource in the industry.

The flexible standards and voluntary incentive programs that currently exist appear to generate a more efficient outcome. Virtually every officer in the urban areas of America has access to LEEP money for education. Approximately 60 percent of the larger, more specialized departments (those with more than 50 officers) provide additional incentives for their officers to obtain higher education. Departments in this size category employ 70 percent of all

police officers in America (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1971, 71) and serve the majority of the American population.

Mandatory state programs for higher education and incentives will have the greatest impact on the smaller departments. Less than 30 percent of the departments with fewer than 50 full-time officers provide educational incentives. These departments -- which employ 30 percent of all local police officers and serve a minority of America's population -- comprise 82 percent of all police agencies in America's middle sized SMSAs.

Increased education requirements and mandatory incentive programs -- when compounded by higher training standards, more stringent recruitment regulations, and higher salary schedules -- will substantially reduce the financial viability of up to 30 percent of the local departments (those with less that five full-time officers) in the police services industry of America's middle sized SMSAs. These dramatic changes in the structure of the industry can substantially reduce the industry's efficiency and productivity. Phase II will investigate these questions in detail.

Among these departments, in-service training which is geared to the problems of the locality may provide much greater returns to the invested tax dollars. Even among the large specialized departments, recent study suggests that the in-service training of police specialists may be the area in which additional investments will yield the greatest returns (Wilson, 1974, 23).

VII. Manpower Practices: Specialization in Police Agencies

Major debates over the manpower practices of police departments center on three issues: (1) the specialization of police duties within the department, (2) the substitution of civilians for sworn officers in police work, and (3) the use of part-time and reserve officers. The overriding concern in these debates is, "What manpower practices will allow more flexible allocation of sworn officers among pressing policing problems?"

Policy Issues and Research Questions

Specialization and Professionalization. During the past development of the police service in America, advocates of "professionalization" viewed the increasing specialization of police duties (for example, the assignment of investigators full time exclusively to either burglary, or homicide, or narcotics and vice, or juvenile duties) as a progressive move toward their objectives. It was felt that to attract better educated men of the caliber needed for effective police work, the positions would have to be tailored to provide greater challenges, opportunities, and monetary reward.

But at the same time, warnings were issued. Prevention patrol was assumed to be the major deterrent of crime: the patrol unit was the backbone of a police department. As a department specialized, the syphoning away of sworn officers from the patrol unit would present a major problem.

A New Manpower Emphasis. The emerging emphasis of manpower policy is to get the police officers back onto the patrol beat (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, 191-205, 213-216).

At least three concerns contribute to this emerging perspective. The major concern is crime control. Although the data are limited, they indicate that 61 percent of all serious crimes against persons occur in places affording general access to the public (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967b,95). High arrest rates exist for these crimes because victims provide descriptions and identification of suspects. In the same study, only 22 percent of serious crimes against property were resolved.

The research also indicates that the time elapsed from a crime to the arrival of the officers is a major determinant of whether the perpetrator will be arrested (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967a, 97). These facts underline the importance of the department's allocation of sworn officers to patrol duties for both crime prevention and solution.

A second concern is efficiency and productivity. Given the increasing constraints on public revenues, police departments must get relatively more services with relatively less expenditures. The data indicate that increases in a department's patrol force is a potential alternative to the specialization of investigators that satisfies these constraints (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, 210-218). The data tentatively indicate that this policy would increase the solution of crimes against persons, without a drastic reduction in the arrests for crimes against property. The level of preventive patrol would be augmented. Highly technical investigative services could be produced by a state, county or regional police agency.

The third concern is community support. With specialization,

police agencies tend to reduce the supply of services that are not related to criminal incidents. It is believed that these services are a major determinant of the community's support for their police. As a result, the increasing specialization of police departments may be a source of the decline in community support for police.

Alternative Policies. Given the constraints on resources for the police, innovative manpower practices are the major instrument to "get the sworn officer back on patrol." The policy alternative with the greatest potential ramifications is to reduce or otherwise change the patterns of specialized assignments in police departments.

A second alternative is the substitution of civilians for sworn officers in administrative and support positions. Study commissions periodically recommend that police departments substitute civilians for sworn officers for positions that do not require the exercise of arrest powers. A third manpower alternative is to increase the use of part-time and reserve officers. This alternative gives the commanding officer more flexibility in employing his full-time officers to specific patrol beats and trouble spots in the jurisdiction.

The research of the Police Services Study provides an empirical base to begin assessing the assumptions and issues that underlie the debates over manpower policy. The research also provides a basis to project the potential consequences of these policies for the structure and performance of the police service industry. (The calculations presented in the following sections were performed before the data base was updated and cleaned. Corrections will be made for the final draft of this report.)

Nationwide Patterns of Specialization

The debate over the specialization of duty assignments within police departments raises two prior questions. What are the current patterns of specialization in police agencies? What are the effects of specialization on the deployment of sworn officers to patrol? Let us begin with a general view: what police agencies are providing what services; what percentage of the police agencies has assigned at least one full-time officer to each specialized duty; and what percentage of sworn full-time manpower is assigned to each specialized duty in the typical agency?

Of the municipal agencies that patrol, the large proportion provide the basic direct police services: 97 percent provide traffic patrol; 98 percent provide traffic investigation;89 percent provide follow-up burglary investigation; 74 percent provide follow-up homicide investigation (Ostrom, Parks, and Whitaker, 1975, Ch.3). The majority of smaller municipal departments conduct their burglary and homicide investigations with the aid of specialists from state and county police agencies (Ostrom, Parks, and Whitaker, 1975, Ch.6).

With the exception of dispatching, only very small percentages of municipal patrol agencies provide auxiliary services: 67 percent provides dispatching; six percent provides entry level training; six percent provides detention; and only one percent provides crime lab services.

Although a relatively large percentage of municipal agencies provide the four direct services, a relatively small percentage assign one or more officers to these duties on a full time basis. Twenty-two percent have a full-time investigator. The percentages are even smaller for the other services: percent have an officer working

Table 7.1 Manpower Practices of Police Agencies in Different Regions of the Country (Local and County Agencies that Patrol)

Manpower Practices of the Police Agency	Region of the Country			
	Northeast	Midwest	South-Southwest	Mountain-West
Total Nos. of Agencies	316	268	325	132
Avg. # Full-Time P.O.	31.5	27.0	57.6	59.4
Avg. # Full-Time Civilians	4.1	5.1	13.6	18.3
Avg. Salary of New Ptlmn	$ 9,017	$ 8,680	$ 7,678	$ 9,293
Avg. # Part-Time P.O.	6.4	2.5	.7	.5
Avg. Hrs/Mo for PT. P.O.	46.7 hrs	53.9 hrs	38.9 hrs	33.0 hrs
Avg. Pay for P.T. P.O.	$ 3.09	$ 3.05	$ .2.38	$ 3.51
Avg. # Volunteer P.O.	6.8	7.1	9.0	15.6
Avg. Hrs/Mo for Vol. P.O.	12.6 hrs	13.5 hrs	19.8 hrs	23.3 hrs
Avg. # P.T. Civilians	2.6	1.9	5.0	2.3
Avg. Length of Workweek	40.4 hrs	40.6 hrs	42.8 hrs	40.3 hrs
Avg. % P.O. in Patrol	78%	76%	81%	77%
Avg. % P.O. in Traffic	4$	4%	4%	3%
Avg. % P.O. in Investig.	10%	9%	11%	10%
Avg. % P.O. in Juvenile	2%	3%	2%	3%
Avg. % P.O. in Dispatch	9%	3%	4%	2%
Avg. % P.O. in Detention	1%	6%	6%	2%
Avg. % P.O. in Training	.2%	.5%	.6%	.9%
Avg. % P.O. in Lab	.2%	.6%	.8%	.5%
Avg. % P.O. in Other	9%	7%	12%	12%
Avg. # Commanding P.O.	7.8	7.0	14.6	15.1
Avg. % Ptlmn Duty: AM	29%	28%	30%	23%
Avg. % Ptlmn on Duty: PM	36%	37%	34%	32%

Table 7.2 Manpower Practices Among Different Types of Police Agencies (All Agencies that Produce Direct Services)

Manpower Practices in the Police Agency	Type of Police Agency						
	Municipal	N. England Type Town	Town-ship	County Sheriff	State Police	Military Police	College Police
Total No. of Agencies	768	82	86	92	48	48	106
Avg. # Full-Time P.O.	40.6	22.0	3.3	86.1	48.0	94.8	
Avg. # Full-Time Cvls.	8.2	2.0	.5	31.6	8.0	40.5	
Avg. Salary New Ptlmn	$ 9,045	$ 9,287	$8,295	$8,419	$9,885	$9,653	
Avg. # P.T. P.O.	2.4	8.4	2.2	2.6	1.6	0	
Avg. Hrs/Mo for P.T.	43.5	20.2	60.9	45.3	0	0	
Avg. Pay for P.T.	$ 2.89	$ 3.62	$ 3.08	$2.76	0	0	
Avg. # Vol. P.O.	6.7	7.7	1.8	32.7	0	0	
Avg. Hrs/Mo for Vol. PO	18.6	15.4	11.4	21.6	0	0	
Avg. # P.T. Cvls.	3.4	1.9	.3	3.9	.5	.4	
Avg. Length Workweek (hrs)	41.2	40.0	41.6	42.5	40.7	42.8	
Avg. % P.O. in Ptl	82%	74%	n.a.	52%	74%[a]	53%	
Avg. % P.O. in Traff.	5%	2%	n.a.	.4%	41%[a]	6%	
Avg. % P.O. in Invest.	11%	7%	n.a.	12%	12%[a]	12%	
Avg. % P.O. in Juvenile	3%	1%	n.a.	2%	.4%[a]	.4%	
Avg. % P.O. in Dispatch	4%	8%	n.a.	5%	n.a.	6%	
Avg. % P.O. in Dentent.	0	0	n.a.	16%	n.a.	7%	
Avg. % P.O. in Trng.	.6%	0	n.a.	.9%	n.a.	2%	
Avg. % P.O. in Lab	.6%	.1%	n.a.	1%	n.a.	0	
Avg. % P.O. in Other	9%	6%	n.a.	17%	n.a.	16%	
Avg. # of Command. P.O.	11.1	4.7	.7	21.9	8.9	36.4	
Avg. % of Ptl on duty: AM	28%	25%	40%	25%	27%	14%	
Avg. % of Ptl on duty: PM	35%	31%	56%	32%	30%	17%	

n.a. - means not applicable; m.d. means missing data

[a] - These percentages include only those officers assigned to the direct services. The percentages would be lower if all officers at each post were included.

traffic full-time; and percent have a full-time juvenile officer. Approximately percent of the municipal agencies assign one or more officers to administrative duties full time. Of the auxiliary services, percent of municipal departments have assigned one or more officers to dispatching full time.

The allocation of officers within the police departments of America's middle-sized SMSAs conforms to the patterns that have been reported over the past two decades (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973,200). Typically, a local police department uses 79 percent of its officers for patrol, 10 percent for investigation, four percent for traffic, two percent for juvenile investigation, 10 percent for administration and support work, five percent for dispatching, and less than one percent for detention, training, and crime laboratory.

Of the officers assigned to patrol duties, 29 percent are typically on patrol at 10:00 AM on a workday morning. At 10:00 PM on a workday night, 35 percent are actually on patrol.

Salient Differences Within the Nation

As Table 7.1 reveals, regional deviations from this nationwide pattern are minimal. Those differences that do appear are probably due to differences in departmental size rather than regional attributes.

When different types of police agencies are compared (Table 7.2), anticipated differences appear. Because county sheriffs produce detention services, they allocate only 52 percent of their sworn officers to patrol. County sheriffs' departments also tend to have more full-time officers: an average of 86 in comparison to 41 for municipalities. But the percentage of command officers in the two types of departments

is quite similar: 25 percent for sheriffs' departments and 27 percent for municipal police departments. The civil processing duties of the sheriff account for the large percentage of officers (22 percent) assigned to administrative and other duties.

Departments in the larger SMSAs tend to assign relatively fewer men to patrol and more to investigation. This relationship also holds for departments in more densely populated SMSAs. But neither relationship is very strong.

Specialization in Different Sized Agencies

The major variations in specialization occur among different sized police agencies (Table 7.3). In larger departments, an increasing percentage of officers is assigned full time to criminal investigation, (2) traffic duties, (3) detention, and other (4) administrative duties. The relationship between specialization of manpower assignments and agency size is quite strong.

The percentage of commanding officers also increases with size. But this figure peaks at 29 percent for departments with 21 to 50 officers and then levels off at 27 percent for the larger departments. Dispatching is the only duty assignment for which the percent of officers decreases with size. However, when civilians and officers are added together for the total number of employees, the percentage assigned to dispatching levels off at approximately eight percent rather than decreasing with size.

As size and specialization increases, the percentage of officers assigned to patrol duties decreases substantially (Table 7.3). In departments of one to four officers, 100 percent are assigned to patrol full time. This figure is reduced to 70 percent for depart-

Table 7.3 Manpower Practices Among Different Sized Police Agencies
(All Local and County Agencies that Patrol)

Manpower Practices in the Police Agency	Number of Full-Time Sworn Police Officers						
	All P.T.	1 - 4	5 - 10	11 - 20	21 - 50	51 - 150	Over 150
Total No. of Agencies	71	245	218	136	148	101	63
Avg. # F.T. P.O.	0	2.2	7.0	15.5	31.4	91.5	339.2
Avg. # F.T. Cvl.	0	.2	1.5	3.2	5.5	19.1	84.6
Avg. Salary of New Ptlm.	n.a.	$7,365	$8,210	$8,761	$9,249	$9,466	$9,419
Avg. # P.T. P.O.	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.9	3.8	2.5	3.3
Avg. Hrs/Mo for P.T.	54.2 hrs	50.3	29.3	32.8	19.9	m.d.	m.d.
Avg. # Vol. P.O.	1.5	1.7	3.4	6.3	10.2	16.7	47.1
Avg. Hrs/Mo for Vol.	12.8 hrs	17.0	19.1	18.0	26.5	14.2	16.4
Avg. # P.T. Cvls.	.2	.3	1.0	1.7	2.0	7.9	20.8
Avg. Length Workweek	27.4 hrs	44.2	41.4	41.2	40.4	40.1	40.6
Avg. % P.O. in Ptl.	n.a.	100%	92%	72%	66%	58%	53%
Avg. % in Traffic	n.a.	0	4%	4%	4%	6%	8%
Avg. % in Invest.	n.a.	2%	10%	10%	11%	4%	14%
Avg. % in Juvenile	n.a.	0	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%
Avg. % in Dispatch.	n.a.	4%	3%	9%	9%	3%	2%
Avg. % in Detention	n.a.	0	2%	4%	9%	6%	8%
Avg. % in Training	n.a.	0	0	.2%	1%	.8%	1%
Avg. % in Lab	n.a.	0	3%	0	1%	1%	2%
Avg. % in Other	n.a.	2%	8%	9%	10%	13%	15%
Avg. # Command. P.O.	n.a.	.2	1.4	4.0	9.1	23.5	90.4
Avg. # Hours on Ptl.	8.3	14.5	24	24	24	24	24
Avg. % Ptl. on Duty: AM	n.a.	n.a.	24%	24%	22%	18%	19%
Avg. % Ptl. on Duty: PM	n.a.	n.a.	30%	31%	27%	24%	22%

n.a. - means not applicable

m.d. - means missing data

ments of 21 to 50 officers and 53 percent for departments with more than 150 officers.

A somewhat surprising finding is that the percent of patrol officers who are actually on patrol at a given time dramatically decreases with increasing agency size and specialization (Table 7.3). In departments of five to 10 men, 24 percent of the patrol force is driving the beat at 10:00 AM on a weekday and 30 percent at 10:00 PM. For departments of 51 to 150 officers the comparable figures decrease to 18 percent and 24 percent. These differences are reflected in the median number of officers on patrol per capita. In agencies of five to 10 officers, .23 officers are on patrol for every 1000 residents at 10:00AM and .45 at 10:00 PM. In agencies of 51 to 150 officers, the comparable figures are .13 and .22 (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Ch.4).

Manpower policies other than agency size and specialization probably account for some of these differences. Patrolmen in larger agencies put in a shorter work week (Table 7.3). Although frequently not compensated, officers in smaller agencies put in more overtime. Part-time and reserve officers provide a larger percentage of the total agency man-hours for small departments than for large departments.

These facts along with higher salaries of officers in larger agencies (Table 7.3), indicate that the smaller departments are able to maintain a higher ratio of their officers on patrol at a much lower cost to the local government.

Implications for Manpower Policy

A relatively large number of police agencies produce a substantial amount of the patrol, traffic, and investigation services in America's middle-sized SMSAs with relatively few specialists. A relatively small

number of large agencies produce most auxiliary and support services and hire the bulk of police specialists. But a large percentage of the small agencies have access to these specialists when the need arises. Agreements among agencies give rise to networks of interorganizational relations for the production of specialized police services in traffic, burglary, homicide, juvenile and crime scene search. The current organization of the police service industry provides one structure to allocate these scarce police services.

Within the larger agencies, specialization tends to reduce the level of patrol services. A smaller percentage of officers are assigned to patrol duties. Of those officers assigned to patrol, a smaller percentage are actively patrolling at a given time of the day. The number of officers on patrol per capita is also less in the larger more specialized agencies. These findings partly confirm the assumptions on which the National Advisory Commission for Criminal Justice Standards and Goals based its recommendations on specializations: police departments should carefully explore manpower and delivery policies that will serve as alternatives to full-time specialized assignments of its officers (The Commission, 210). The development of interorganizational relations in the police services industry for the production of specialized services and allocation of police specialists is one of the alternatives that deserves much more careful assessment.

VIII. Manpower Practices: Utilization of Civilians

Study commissions recommend that police executives substitute civilians for sworn officers in duties that do not require the exercise of arrest powers. The objective is to (1) increase the number of officers in patrol and other line positions, (2) increase the latitude for

reassigning officers among duties and trouble spots, and to (3) reduce the costs of producing police services (National Advisory Commission for Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, 258-261). Data from the Police Services Study provide an empirical basis to begin assessing some of the underlying assumptions.

Nationwide Patterns

Police agencies hire a moderate percentage of civilians and assign them largely to clerical duties with the exception of dispatching (and detention for county sheriffs). A typical local police department in the middle-sized SMSAs of America employs civilians as approximately 16 percent of all full-time personnel. In the typical local police agency, eight civilians are hired for every 40 sworn officers. Three to four civilians (43 percent) would perform dispatching duties, and three (38 percent) would provide clerical help in administrative and support units. The other one or two persons are most likely to perform clerical duties in the patrol division (three percent of all civilians), traffic division (another three percent), or detention division (another three percent).

These civilians do not comprise a large percentage of the total personnel assigned to any given police duty, with the exception of dispatching (and detention for county sheriffs). In a typical local agency 54 percent of the dispatching employees is civilian. Thirty-three percent of the personnel assigned to administrative and support units is civilian. The other units employ smaller proportions of civilians: 12 percent in detention, five percent in traffic, five percent in lab work, three percent in training and juvenile work, two percent in the investigation division, and less than one percent in patrol.

Table 8.1 Use of Civilian Manpower by Different Types of Police Agencies (All Agencies that Patrol)

Manpower Practices in the Police Agency	Type of Police Agency					
	Municipal	New Eng. Town	Town-ship	County Sheriff	Mili. Police	College Police
Total Nos. of Agencies	768	82	86	92	48	106
Avg. # Full-Time P.O.	40.6	22.0	3.3	86.1	94.8	
Avg. # Full-Time Cvls.	8.2	2.0	.5	31.6	40.5	
Avg. Ratio F.T. Cvls/P.O.						
Avg. % of Ptl. are Cvls.	.8%	1%	0	.6%	14%	
Avg. % of Trf. are Cvls.	7%	.1%	0	0	15%	
Avg. % of Invest. are Cvls.	2%	.4%	0	3%	15%	
Avg. % of Juvenile are Cvls.	3%	2%	0	.6%	5%	
Avg. % of Dispatch are Cvls.	59%	24%	36%	46%	10%	
Avg. of Detent. are Cvls.	15%	0	0	34%	13%	
Avg. of Trng. are Cvls.	4%	0	0	2%	11%	
Avg. % of Lab are Cvls.	6%	0	0	11%	0	
Avg. % of Other are Cvls.	37%	14%	19%	38%	44%	
Avg. % of Ptl on duty: AM	28%	25%	40%	25%	14%	
Avg. % of Ptl on duty: PM	35%	31%	56%	32%	17%	

Table 8.2 Use of Civilian Manpower by Police Agencies in Different Regions of the Country (Local and County Agencies that Patrol)

Manpower Practices in the Police Agency	Region of the Country			
	Northeast	Midwest	South-Southwest	Mountain-West
Total Nos. of Agencies	316	268	325	132
Avg. # Full-Time P.O.	31.5	27.0	51.6	59.4
Avg. # Full-Time Cvls.	4.1	5.1	13.6	18.3
Avg. Ratio F.T. Cvls/P.O.				
Avg. % of Ptl are Cvls	.4%	1%	.8%	.9%
Avg. % of Trf. are Cvls	4%	9%	3%	4%
Avg. % of Invest. are Cvls	1%	1%	2%	3%
Avg. % of Juvenile are Cvls	3%	.8%	3%	3%
Avg. % of Dispatch are Cvls	30%	51%	63%	76%
Avg. % of Detent. are Cvls.	6%	10%	24%	31%
Avg. % of Trng are Cvls.	.8%	2%	5%	4%
Avg. % of Lab are Cvls.	.2%	2%	6%	16%
Avg. % of Other are Cvls.	40%	33%	40%	40%
Avg. % of Ptl on duty: AM	29%	28%	30%	23%
Avg. % of Ptl on duty: PM	36%	37%	34%	32%

Expected variations from this nationwide pattern occur among different types of police agencies (Table 8.1). County sheriffs hire 37 civilians for every 100 sworn officers in comparison with 20 civilians in municipal departments, 15 civilians in township departments, and 9 civilians in New England type towns. Civilians are concentrated in dispatching and detention in sheriff's departments and constitute a substantial percentage (46 percent and 34 percent, respectively) of the personnel in these units.

The basic pattern of civilian employment does not vary much among agencies in different regions of the country(Table 8.2),different sized SMSAs, or in SMSAs of differing population densities. The substantial variation among regions for (1) the ratio of civilians to sworn officers and (2) the percentage of civilians that are assigned to dispatching, detention, and lab duties probably reflects differences in agency size among regions, as well as the more prominant role of the county sheriff in the South and West.

Civilian Employment in Different Sized Agencies

Comparisons of different sized police agencies reveal the most dramatic differences in the utilization of civilians (Table 8.3). In smaller agencies (less than 10 officers), civilians are rarely employed. When these departments hire civilians, they assign them primarily to dispatching and the clerical work necessary for administering the department (e.g., record keeping, correspondence, expenditures, and police statistics).

As discussed in the preceeding section, larger agencies (more than 50 sworn officers) assign a larger percentage of their police officers

Table 8.3 Use of Civilian Manpower in Different Sized Police Agencies (Local and County Agencies that Patrol)

Manpower Practices in the Police Agency	Number of Full-Time Sworn Police Officers						
	All P.T.	1 - 4	5 - 10	11 - 20	21 - 50	51 - 150	Over 150
Total Nos. of Agencies	71	245	218	136	148	101	63
Avg. # Full-Time P.O.	0	2.2	7.0	15.5	31.4	91.5	339.2
Avg. # Full-Time Cvls.	0	2	1.5	3.2	5.5	19.1	84.6
Avg. Ratio F.T. Cvls/P.O.							
Avg. % of Ptl. are Cvls.	0	1%	1%	.3%	.3%	.8%	2%
Avg. % of Trf. are Cvls.	0	0	2%	9%	2%	11%	10%
Avg. % of Invest. are Cvls.	0	0	.2%	0	.8%	5%	7%
Avg. % of Juvenile are Cvls.	0	0	0	0	.6%	5%	8%
Avg. % of Dispatch are Cvls.	0	27%	69%	56%	37%	56%	52%
Avg. % of Detent. are Cvls.	0	0	1%	15%	21%	23%	31%
Avg. % of Trng. are Cvls.	0	0	0	0	1%	3%	13%
Avg. % of Lab are Cvls.	0	0	0	0	1%	12%	34%
Avg. % of Other are Cvls.	0	12%	21%	25%	40%	59%	44%
Avg. % of Ptl. on duty: AM	n.a.	n.a.	24%	24%	22%	18%	19%
Avg. % of Ptl. on duty: PM	n.a.	n.a.	30%	31%	27%	24%	22%

n.a. - means not applicable

to specialized duties on a full-time basis (Table 7.3). Their utilization of police officers is more specialized. In these larger agencies with greater specialization, civilians constitute a larger percentage of the total manpower in each division and unit (Table 8.3). Civilians are most heavily employed to perform auxiliary and support services. In the largest agencies (more than 150 officers), civilians constitute 52 percent of the dispatching unit, 34 percent of crime laboratory employees, 31 percent of the detention division, and 44 percent of the other administrative and support units. Much smaller percentages of civilians are assigned to the divisions that perform direct police services. The typical traffic unit in a large agency employs 10 percent civilians; the juvenile unit uses eight percent civilians; investigation division hires seven percent civilians; and the typical patrol division will use civilians as two percent of its manpower. With a few minor exceptions (e.g., meter maid and counselors), the civilians in these units and divisions are assigned to clerical positions.

Effects on Operations

These data indicate that the large, more specialized agencies employ civilians for a large proportion of the police work that does not require arrest powers. But contrary to the assumptions of study commissions, this manpower practice may not increase patrol deployment, assignment flexibility, or reduce policing costs.

In the larger agencies with higher civilian employment, a smaller percentage of the patrol force is actually on the beat at 10:00 AM and 10:00PM than in the smaller agencies with fewer civilians (Table 8.3). Assignment flexibility does not appear to increase with the increased employment of civilians. The differences in the percentages of the

patrol force on the beat during the peak patrol and at 10:00 AM is smaller for the larger agencies with more civilians (Table 8.4, to be completed). When other relevant factors are controlled, the total salary expenditures of agencies with a higher percentage of civilians does not markedly diminish (Table 8.5, to be completed).

Implications for Manpower Policy

These findings, which appear to contradict the assumptions of the National Advisory Commission, need further investigation. The following explanations seem to be most promising. In large agencies with greater specialization, duty assignment and costs are largely fixed by bargaining contracts and civil service and/or POST regulations.

But if these factors override the effects of civilianization in large, specialized agencies, the Commission's recommendations stand as empty principles. The existing administrative dynamics, which the Commission temporarily ignored, will tend to cancel any beneficial effects that implementation of the principles might yield. This line of reasoning indicates that solutions reside in institutional modification based on careful research, rather than manpower changes based on principles.

IX. Manpower Practices: Part-Time and Reserve Officers

In light of the emerging constraints on police expenditures and the resulting shortages of officers, the National Advisory Commission recommends increased use of part-time and reserve officers. (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973, 263).

These officers constitute a "bench strength" for police departments. They can be used to increase a department's peak load capacity. Departments can assign part-time and reserve officers to routine duties

and shift more experienced officers to trouble spots. During a large-scale disorder, disaster, or emergency, these officers provide back-up capacity. Employment of part-time and reserve officers can also reduce expenditures for overtime. Effective use of part-time and reserve officers can substantially increase the overall flexibility of manpower policies.

Patterns Across the Nation

The Police Services Study provides an empirical basis to assess the current use of part-time and reserve officers in the police industry. This enhances our capacity to project the probable consequences of reforms to change these manpower practices.

Comparison of different types of agencies (Table 9.1) reveal interesting differences in manpower practices. Small township departments rely heavily on part-time officers, while sheriffs and municipal departments use them sparingly. In township departments, part-time officers put in 26 hours for every 100 regular hours by full-time officers.

County sheriffs use reserve officers most extensively. A typical sheriff's department hires 32 officers and employs them 22 hours per month, on an average. Due to the large size of the full-time force, the reserves contribute only five percent of the total hours logged by full-time officers. But in large departments this adds up to a substantial amount of overtime compensation.

A recruitment practice found in many sheriff's departments may account for the relative heavy use of part-time officers. A condition of employment --both full-time and part-time--is service as a reserve officer. The civil service rating procedures that regulate recruitment in the larger municipal and local departments effectively exclude this practice. Small municipal and township departments of

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1 OF 2

TABLE 9.1 Use of Part-Time and Reserve Officers in Different Types of Police Agencies

Manpower Practices of the Police Agency	Type of Police Agency							
	Muni.	N.E. Town	Twp	Co. Sheriff	State Police	Mili. Police	College Police	Special
Total No. of Agencies	768	82	86	92	48	48	106	
Avg. No. Full-Time Officers	40.6	22.0	3.3	86.1	48.0	94.8		
Total Hrs/Day by F.T. Offcrs	324	176	26	688	384	758		
Avg. No. Part-Time Officers	2.4	8.4	2.2	2.6	1.6	0		
Avg. Hrs/Mo. by P.T. Offcrs	43.5	40.2	60.9	45.3	0	n.a.		
Total Hrs/Day by P.T. Offcrs	5.2	16.9	6.7	5.9	0	n.a.		
Ratio P.T. Hrs/F.T. Hrs	2%	10%	26%	1%	n.a.	n.a.		
Avg. No. Reserve Officers	6.7	7.7	1.8	32.7	0	0		
Avg. Hrs/Mo. by Resrv Offcrs	18.6	15.4	11.4	21.6	n.a.	n.a.		
Total Hrs/Day by Resrv Offc	6.2	5.9	1.0	35.3	n.a.	n.a.		
Ratio Resrv Hrs/F.T. Hrs	2%	3%	4%	5%	n.a.	n.a.		

Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York have developed a similar personnel practice. Many of these departments use the reserve assignment to train and evaluate the applicants for part-time positions. The new POST regulations in Pennsylvania--480 hours of training for both full-time and part-time officers--is likely to reduce this practice.

Comparisons of the different regions reveal that agencies of the Midwest rely most heavily on part-time officers for manpower (Table 9.2). In these departments part-time personnel work 25 hours for every 100 regular hours that are logged by full-time officers. Although police agencies in the South and West do not use part-time officers very extensively, they are the heaviest users of reserve officers. On an average the reserve officers will log a total of 8.9 hours a day for agencies in the South and 8.2 hours a day for departments in the West.

Practices in Departments of Different Sizes

Comparisons of different sized agencies reveal a consistent pattern (Table 9.3). Smaller agencies rely heavily on part-time officers, but use reserve officers no more than average. For departments with one to four full-time officers, part-time personnel contribute 29 percent of the total man hours. Reserves contribute another eight percent. Although the larger agencies (more than 150 officers) rarely use part-time officers, they tend to maintain large reserve forces --an average of 47 men--that log a substantial number of hours per day. The average is 38.6 hours. But due to the large number of full-time officers, the total contribution is a small percentage of the total man hours--only one percent.

Implications for Policy

The National Advisory Commission recommended that police departments

TABLE 9.2 Use of Part-Time and Reserve Officers in Different Regions of the Country

Manpower Practices of the Police Agency	Regions of the Country			
	Northeast	Midwest	South - Southwest	Mountain - West
Total No. of Agencies	316	268	325	132
Avg. No. Full-Time Officers	31.5	27.0	51.6	59.4
Total Hrs/Day by F.T. Offcrs	252	216	413	475
Avg. No. Part-Time Officers	6.4	2.5	.7	.5
Avg. Hrs/Mo. by P.T. Offcrs	46.7	53.9	38.9	33.0
Total Hrs/Day by P.T. Offcrs	14.9	6.7	1.36	.8
Ratio P.T. Hrs/F.T. Hrs	6%	25%	0%	0%
Avg. No. Reserve Officers	6.8	7.1	9.0	15.6
Avg. Hrs/Mo. by Resrv Offcrs	12.6	13.5	19.8	23.3
Total Hrs/Day by Resrv Offc	4.3	4.8	8.9	18.2
Ratio Resrv Hrs/F.T. Hrs	2%	2%	2%	4%

TABLE 9.3 Use of Part-Time and Reserve Officers in Different Sized Police Agencies

Manpower Practices of the Police Agency	Number of Full-Time Sworn Police Officers						
	All P.T.	1-4	5-10	11-20	21-50	51-150	150
Total No. of Agencies	71	245	218	136	148	101	63
Avg. No. Full-Time Officers	0	2.2	7.0	15.5	31.4	91.5	339.2
Total Hrs/Day by F.T. Offcrs	0	18 hrs	56 hrs	124 hrs	251	732	2,714
Avg. No. Part-Time Officers	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.9	3.8	2.5	3.3
Avg. Hrs/Mo. by P.T. Offcrs	54.2	50.3	29.3	32.8	19.9	m.d.	m.d.
Total Hrs/Day by P.T. Offcrs	6.50	5.28	3.37	4.76	3.78	m.d.	m.d.
Ratio P.T. Hrs/F.T. Hrs	n.a.	29%	6%	4%	2%	m.d.	m.d.
Avg. No. Reserve Officers	1.5	1.7	3.4	6.3	10.2	16.7	47.1
Avg. Hrs/Mo. by Resrv Offcrs	12.8	17.0	19.1	18.0	26.5	14.2	16.4
Total Hrs/Day by Resrv Offc	.96	1.45	3.25	5.67	13.52	11.86	38.62
Ratio Resrv Hrs/F.T. Hrs	n.a.	8%	6%	5%	5%	2%	1%

use part-time and reserve officers to establish a peak-load and back-up capacity for its regulars. The Commission advises that these men should be given entry level training that covers the full range of subjects provided for full-time officers.

The findings summarized in the preceeding section raise some difficult issues. Current manpower practices in the larger agencies appear to conform to the commission's recommendations: Part-time and reserve officers supplement the manpower pool of regulars to increase peak-load and back-up capacity.

The use of part-time and reserve officers in smaller agencies appears substantially different. These officers substitute for rather than supplement the full-time officers. As a result these departments are able to maintain a very high proportion (50 percent) of their force on patrol at any given time (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Ch.4). Residents of these jurisdictions enjoy a much higher ratio of officers on patrol per citizen. Departments with one to four officers maintain .54 officers on patrol per 1000 residents. This figure compares to .13 officers per 1000 residents for agencies with 51 to 150 officers. These manpower practices allow the smaller municipalities to maintain relatively large numbers of officers on patrol per resident with relatively smaller public expenditures.

Implementation of the National Advisory Commission's concepts and recommendations for part-time and reserve officers among smaller departments will alter the manpower practices that facilitate these results. Unless the quality and level of service outputs is substantially increased by the policy change, its implementation could reduce productivity. Much more research is needed to evaluate the consequences of these manpower reforms on the performance of the police services industry.

X. Conclusions of the Report

Policy Focus of the Research

Research findings have been presented that answer questions about the policies and practices which govern personnel utilization in the police service industry:

- What regulatory framework is established by civil service, merit, and POST legislation to govern the recruitment of new officers?
- What standards of educational attainment, residency in the jurisdiction, and past criminal record are used to screen applicants for police positions?
- What standards have the states established for entry level training, and what impact have they had on the training practices of local agencies?
- What opportunities and incentives exist for the trained officers of local police departments to get higher education?
- To what extent have police agencies specialized the duty assignments of their sworn police officers?
- How extensively do police agencies use civilians in different activities of their police operations?
- What role do part-time and reserve officers play in police departments?

A primary objective is to place these questions and research findings in the context of current policy issues. Each section of the report summarizes the current policy debate over that particular personnel practice. Where pertinent, the policy recommendations of the major national commissions are introduced. Then the most salient findings of the Police Services Study are summarized.

These findings provide an empirical base (1) to assess the assumptions that underly the commissions' reform proposals and (2) to project the potential consequences of implementing the recommendations. Because data on performance levels were not collected in Phase I,

definitive conclusions and recommendations are not presented. Rather, propositions are developed--from this data and other research on the police industry--about the probable consequences of the proposed reforms. A set of these propositions about the consequences of personnel practices for agency performance will be investigated in Phase II research.

Synopsis of Findings

Dramatic Change. The research reveals that individual states and police agencies are rapidly developing relatively uniform personnel practices. This is true for different regions of the country, types of police agencies, and types of urban areas. The extraordinary diversity that existed in the personnel practices just 12 to 15 years ago is rapidly diminishing.

The regulations of POST commissions--the majority of which have been established over the past 10 to 12 years-- are a major source of these dramatic changes. The standards and goals and other regulations promulgated by such commissions will soon become criteria by which LEAA will allocate federal monies. A powerful new leverage point will exist to implement the personnel policies that were summarized in preceding sections. Current policy trends will accelerate.

Persisting Diversity. Striking differences in personnel practices do persist in one sector of the police industry: the smaller agencies in the less urbanized and industrialized portions of America's metropolitan areas. Application of the criteria of "professionalization" to agency personnel practices reveal that the agencies with less than five to ten full-time officers are consistently "less professional" than larger departments.

Merit and civil service standards are less frequently applied to police hiring in the smaller agencies (Sections II and III). They maintain lower educational standards and more frequently enforce residency requirements (Section IV). The percentage of agencies that require formal recruit training and length of training is smaller among the smaller police departments (Section V).

Higher education, as a recruitment or promotion standard, has made few inroads in the police service, except for the West. But municipalities are developing opportunity and incentive programs for their officers. But these incentive programs for higher education are substantially less prevalent among small departments (Section VI).

The smaller agencies rarely assign an officer on a full-time basis to investigation or juvenile work, although officers by their own inclinations develop part-time specialties (Section VII). When small agencies maintain their own dispatching unit, a substantial proportion of sworn manpower is assigned to dispatching-desk duties. This duty is sometimes reserved for older officers or rotated throughout the force.

Other than dispatching, the smaller agencies rarely employ civilians (Section VIII). Part-time bookkeepers, usually a municipal employee, and school crossing guards are exceptions. A large proportion of the regular patrol force and the total patrol hours are logged by part-time and reserve officers in the smaller agencies (Section IX).

Policy Implications of the Research

Findings of the larger study reveal that police agencies have developed an extensive division of labor and cooperative working relations to produce a wide range and mix of specialized services

(Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975). For this reason, the personnel practices of the small departments must be evaluated in light of the working relations they establish in the police industry to produce services.[9]

Smaller departments devote 95 to 100 percent of their sworn manpower to general patrol and related non-criminal calls for assistance. The larger state, county, and municipal agencies assign and train up to 50 percent of their sworn officers for specialized duties in traffic, investigation, juvenile, laboratory, training, and related support services. The research demonstrates that the small departments establish working relationships with these large agencies. By means of these interorganizational relations, small departments mobilize the expertise that the unusual policing problems--which periodically occur in their jurisdictions--require.

This production pattern in the police industry depends upon the differentiation of production strategies and input factors among agencies of different sizes. Manpower is the major production input; it consumes 90 to 95 percent of all revenues. The proposed reforms of personnel policies will create new constraints on the availability of manpower inputs and their employment in the production of police services. The proposed reforms will substantially reduce the legal and financial feasibility of the production strategies that smaller agencies currently use to produce general patrol services.

A conscious policy choice that will substantially reduce their capability to diversify production strategies is no small matter. In America's middle-sized SMSAs departments of less than 10 full-time officers constitute 52 percent of all local and county agencies in the

police industry. They serve nearly 25 percent of all residents in these metropolitan areas (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Ch. 2).

Implementation of these reforms should not proceed without evaluation of their consequences for the production of police services. The desirability of reforms depends upon how they modify the expenditures for inputs relative to the service levels that police agencies are able to sustain in the modified industry structure. Phase II research will focus on this question: How do the relationships between industry structure and production strategies affect service levels and costs?

FOOTNOTES

[1]The information on agency level personnel practices is based on an enumeration of all police service producers in a sample of 80 middle-sized SMSAs (Ostrom, Parks, Whitaker, 1975, Chs. 1-2). The sampling universe was the 200 SMSAs with populations between 50,000 and 1,500,000 as defined for 1970 by the United States Census Bureau. To insure adequate regional variation, the sample was stratified for the ten regions of the U. S. Government.

In each SMSA, all police agencies that provided either patrol, or traffic regulation, or criminal investigation (direct producers) were included. Questionnaires were completed (in person, by phone, and by mail) for more than 1200 state, county, municipal, and specialized police agencies that produced direct services in the 80 SMSAs. Field work was conducted in the Fall of 1974 and Winter of 1975.

This technical report does not include the data on agencies that exclusively produce auxiliary police services (viz., crime laboratory, detention, dispatching, and training). Because of the relative uniform personnel practices of the state police for the indicators of this study, they have been omitted in this report.

[2]These examples and estimates are taken from discussions with police officials, mayors, finance officers, councilmen, and clerks in New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

[3]Police officers in the small departments of Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania frequently mentioned this to the author in the course of discussions about their jobs.

[4]This discussion includes the special classes of townships, such as those of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, that function in all respects like a city or urban municipality.

[5]Police and municipal officials in townships and towns of New York and Pennsylvania mentioned these types of memoranda, letters, and verbal agreements with county and state agencies.

[6]This was reported to the author by a number of chiefs and officers in Pennsylvania.

[7]Police chiefs and officers in the smaller departments frequently mentioned these problem areas during interviews in Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania.

[8]The training program in southern Illinois offers a model of how such a program can be successfully administered (Sol Zlochower and James R. Rush, "Delivery: Deliverance -- New Method of Delivering Training in Southern Illinois", Police Chief, August 1974, 35-37).

9 The basic concepts of structure and performance in a public service industry are presented in Vincent Ostrom and Elinor Ostrom, "A Behavorial Approach to the Study of Intergovernmental Relations," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1965, 137-146; Vincent Ostrom, "Operational Federalism: Organization for the Provision of Public Services in the American Federal System," Public Choice, Spring 1969, 1-18; Elinor Ostrom, Roger B. Parks, and Gordon P. Whitaker, "Defining and Measuring Structural Variations in Interorganizational Arrangements," Publius, Fall, 1974, 87-108; and Phillip M. Gregg, "Units and Levels of Analysis: A Problem of Policy Analysis in Federal Systems," Publius, Fall 1974, 59-86.

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