Law Enforcement Executive

FORUM

Illinois Law Enforcement Training and Standards Board
Executive Institute

Police Personnel:
Environment, Training, Education, and New Technologies

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Criminals Who Have the Capacity and Inclination to Kill: Who Is to Blame?

I recently reread a book that I initially read nearly 30 years ago by a man who spent almost his entire life in correctional institutions—from foster care homes, to juvenile halls, to state and federal institutions. He died in prison at 58 years of age and collectively spent years in solitary confinement (the hole) for various disciplinary violations while in prison.

The book, *In the Belly of the Beast*, was originally published in 1982 and was written by convicted murderer Jack Henry Abbott. I would recommend this publication to anyone teaching a course in corrections/prison life or criminal theory. The book is composed of letters directed to well-known author Norman Mailer that are centered on the "real experiences" of a condemned man's life in prison. Abbott reflects on what got him there; why he remained; how he survived; and what he views as the problems associated with the American criminal justice system, prison staff, and administration. Abbott also addresses the decision by Gary Gilmore to insist upon his own execution. Abbott began corresponding with Mailer as Mailer was in the process of writing a book on the execution of criminal Gary Gilmore entitled *The Executioner's Song*.

In his writings, Abbott draws heavily upon noted philosophers to explain his predicament in life. He was uneducated, by traditional measure, but was self-educated in many disciplines. Prison allowed him the time and opportunity to read and study as he turned inward to understand himself and to examine the thoughts of the greatest philosophers in history—Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Hegel, Voltaire, and many others. Abbott describes himself as a victim of the state—most suitably aligned with the "Labeling Theory" of criminological theory. In reading his book, one cannot help but consider whether Abbott is a genius or insane. I suspect he was a little of both. Abbott had an intelligence quotient of 137—clearly intelligent. But was he lucid in his perception of reality? This is what the reader is left to determine.

What is curious to understand about Abbott is that he blamed the American system of government/politics and the criminal justice system (not himself) for his lot in life—he continually laments that he strove for freedom from the confines of prison and the injustices of the system. Yet, when he was paroled, he committed a murder within weeks.

In the final analysis, beautifully stated sentiments and colorful language in the form of explanation and excuse based in philosophy cannot excuse criminal behavior. The facts are clear: Jack Henry Abbott was a cold-blooded murderer. His excuses do not stand up when examined by the logical person. So, again, was he a genius or insane? I would opt for the latter. His story, based upon philosophical theory, is a disguise—a manufactured justification to explain the hate and violence that resided within him and haunted him throughout his life.

The second book I read and would recommend is *Monster: The Autobiography of an L.A. Gang Member* by Shanyika Shakur (aka Kody Scott). This is an interesting and compelling autobiography of a kid who grew up in the dysfunctional environment of South-Central Los Angeles, who at 11 years of age was recruited into gang life. Kody was trained to kill—trained to be violent against other human beings, particularly those of his own race and age-group. He liked killing, and he rejoiced in his ability to gun down rival gang members. He carried a firearm every day, and he intended to use it every day, taking out black kids, teenagers, young adults, and anyone else who would disrespect him and/ or his affiliated gang members in order to garner the respect that was otherwise denied him in traditional society.

The lives of Abbott and Scott were similar in many respects. Each saw their troubles in light of a dysfunctional family, a dysfunctional society, and a dysfunctional system of justice. Both rejected personal responsibility for their acts of violence. Each was exposed, in their own testimony, to injustices. Each learned to hate. But their patterns of behavior belie their claims of injustice. They were both hard-core and ruthless murderers, who killed with no remorse; each demonstrated a blatant disregard for human life. Yet, they both implore us to have sympathy for them. Consider the irony and contradiction of their argument?

Do Abbott and Scott and the thousands more like them in society really expect us to feel sympathy for them? Were the actions of violence perpetuated by them a response to their lot in life, or is society-as-a-whole responsible for their violent behavior? Where does personal responsibility figure into the formula?

I concede that environmental circumstances can partially explain criminal behavior, but this is not a tenable excuse for murdering, hurting, and maiming our brothers in life. Abbott and Scott demonstrated that they did not have any sense of compassion for others. If you killed a person, would you feel remorse, or would you choose to dismiss remorse and blame others? Abbott and Scott justified their killing by arguing (in a twisted manner) that they killed in self-defense—self-defense from the suffering, pain, and anger that was a constant throughout their tortured lives.

Recidivism data shows that nearly 50% of prisoners released from prison return within a period of three years. In the case of Abbott and Scott, this statistic was proven to be true. When Abbott was finally released from prison, he committed murder within a matter of weeks. Despite his attestations, he proved himself to be the "beast" that the state had recognized. Can he blame the state and the prison system once again? In fact, he did.

Kody Scott really made a conscious effort to stay out of trouble, to redeem his life, and to take care of his children and wife, but he too fell short. Shortly after his release from prison, after serving a seven-year term, Kody beat a man for selling drugs on his street. He stole the man's car and was sentenced to seven more years in prison. Despite his conversion to Islam, and his commitment to his family, he was not able to reform.

In each of these stories, the convicted tries to avert blame for his criminal convictions; they both chose to blame the American criminal justice system, claiming that it is unfair and arbitrary. Is there some reason, justification, or logic in their madness or are they simply manipulating the details of their situation to explain away their violence?

I would never argue that the American system of justice is completely fair, unbiased, and perfect. Likewise, I would never argue that criminals do not get, in the end, what they deserve.

In the end, as we live this life, we encounter many gentle human beings (most of us in society) who would never harm another, or even think about it. Then, we have others who would kill another human being without a second thought. This is the distinction between normal and abnormal; between civility and incivility; between criminals and noncriminals; between the locked-up and the free.

Is it possible to excuse murder, incivility, and destruction of a fellow human? I think not.

Criminal theory is not easily understood because it is an underdeveloped science. The psychological and sociological underpinnings of criminal theory give us some hope of understanding, but we are far from putting the pieces together. Therefore, we are left to contemplate and analyze the embedded violence and hatred demonstrated by men like Jack Henry Abbott and Kody Scott.

Thomas J. Jurkanin, PhD
Senior Editor

The Social Blues: Examining Social Stressors in Policing

Michael L. Arter, Associate Professor of Criminal Justice, Pennsylvania State University–Altoona College
Kim S. Ménard, Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice, Pennsylvania State University–Altoona College

Introduction

The policing profession has been identified as one of the most stressful occupations, both in the United States and worldwide (Anshel, 2000). The authority, responsibilities, and duties of police officers place a heavy burden on these public servants who have chosen law enforcement as a career. The demands of this profession, in conjunction with the expectations and scrutiny of the public being served, are often more than the body or spirit can handle. Consequently, police officers experience higher mortality rates, higher rates of coronary disease, and higher rates of alcohol abuse and clinical depression as compared to the general population (Toch, 2002).

Police stress can have a significant impact on the individual officer, the law enforcement profession as a whole, and on every citizen encountered during the performance of the police mission. Overall, the literature on police stress addresses a broad range of job-related stressors, reactions to the stressors, and in a limited way examines both adaptive and maladaptive coping strategies utilized by officers to mediate the effects of experienced stress. The literature indicates that there are unique stress-producing aspects in policing that are not experienced by others within the same community or geographic location. Police experience a distinctive work environment that entails exposure to violence, the requirement to make split-second decisions, threats to personal safety, the suffering of others, and the realization of the frailties of human existence (Finn & Tornz, 2000; Kelly, 2002).

Additionally, police officers may experience repeated abuse from those they serve (Anshel, 2000), and they do not experience the support of the general public in many circumstances (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995; Madonna & Kelly, 2002). This lack of public support has a negative impact on the attainment by police officers of the psychological rewards that can be profound within the policing profession and which are sought by all officers in one way or another (Anshel, 2000; Finn & Tornz, 2000; Kelly, 2002). Continued frustration by police officers due to the perceived lack of public support and support from the criminal justice system in general, coupled with the accumulated experiences of critical incidents, can be overwhelming to many officers and may result in a chronic stressful condition (Toch, 2002). This phenomenon is unique to the policing profession due to the nature of duty requirements, expectations of the public being served, the political powers overseeing the policing function, and the individual officers themselves.

There has been much literature examining the organizational and experiential stressors inherent in policing; however, there has been little recent work examining the social stressors faced by police officers as a result of their chosen profession. Given the unique and stressful elements of police work, investigation into the social stressors experienced by this population seems especially warranted. The present two studies investigate the prevalence of social stressors experienced by police officers. The first study uses interviews to identify six common social stressors experienced by police officers. The second study uses officer surveys to explore the relationship between officer characteristics

(e.g., age, sex, relationship status) and the social stressors they experience.

Literature Review

Humans are social beings. The very neurological nature of our brains compels us to be sociable (Goleman, 2006). This social drive exceeds the formal social settings of friends and family and extends into the occupational setting. Hans Selye (1974) proposes that work is a "basic need of man" (p. 85) and the work environment can provide invaluable social and psychological rewards. Everyone (including police officers) attempts to achieve certain psychological rewards from the work environment (Bruhn & Wolf, 1986). Many find such rewards from their occupation and work environment as they achieve a sense of purpose from performing job assignments and duties. The workplace connects us to the larger social world (Kabat-Zinn, 1990). While the occupational setting can serve as a source of pride, accomplishment, and personal achievement, it also can represent a source of stress if individuals are blocked from realizing the psychological rewards being sought from the work environment. Such an aversive and stressful work environment can result in frustration and subsequent psychological and physiological harm to the individual (Selye, 1974). This highlights the importance of the psychological reward inherent in a meaningful occupation and the subsequent stressful condition that may exist from an aversive work environment.

Those who choose law enforcement as a profession differ from the general population in several profound ways. Caldero and Crank (2004) identify three values in policing that separate this profession from most other non-service professions. First, police have an innate moral commitment to making the world a safer place to live. Police do not choose this profession to become wealthy or for other more apparent extrinsic rewards. Second, they have a genuine and deep concern for the victims of crime and adverse life events. Police care about those who are mistreated by others or by uncontrollable events and seek to minimize harm to the innocent by both proactive and reactive means. Finally, police officers exhibit an unselfish willingness to place their safety in jeopardy for complete strangers. These values separate police officers from those who are unwilling or incapable of wearing the blue and the badge and, in turn, instill in these officers a sense of pride and expectation that their efforts will be appreciated by those they serve.

The available research tends to indicate that the general public may not place as much importance on these three values as may be expected by the police themselves (Band & Manuele, 1987; Beehr et al., 1995; Madonna & Kelly, 2002; Toch, 2002). The quest for the intrinsic rewards of recognition from an appreciative public and the sense of pride associated with the acceptance of those being served can be a very arduous and illusive quest for many officers. Anshel (2000) describes the repeated abuse officers often experience from those they serve. Beehr et al. (1995) relate that police officers do not generally experience the support of the general public for actions performed in the line of duty. Both Band and Manuele (1987) and more recently Toch (2002) highlight the impact the police perception of a lack of public support can have on feelings of frustration and subsequent susceptibility to becoming a victim of chronic stress. Additionally (and perhaps synergistically), individual expectations on the part of police officers, in conjunction with the expectations and demands of the police subculture, can add to the experiential stressors and resultant reactive responses by individual officers.

When officers do not enjoy the support of the public they serve, their sense of social status and ego can be threatened, resulting in a state of spontaneous hyperarousal (Kabat-Zinn, 1990). It is a common strategy of officers that when they are so threatened, they tend to suppress their feelings and hold those feelings deep inside. This internalized stress can result in feelings of anger and resentment directed toward those who they blame for these feelings. To put this in more direct terms, police officers may blame the public itself for the lack of support experienced by the officers.

On the surface, this may not appear to be a significant issue for many. However, if we consider the premise that police officers in general seek the acceptance and recognition of others as a motivating factor for entering, and remaining within law enforcement, it follows that the lack of appropriate recognition and support from those served could be a significant source of both individual and institutional stress. Job dissatisfaction can lead to leaving the policing profession, or those who remain and attempt to deal with the strain of such an environment may be more prone to retaliate against those for whom they may blame for the lack of recognition or acceptance. Consequently, an examination of the issues associated with the social stressors inherent in policing is warranted.

Social stressors must include both the officers' relationship to the general public being served as well as support from coworkers, family, and friends. An area of concern that has been examined for decades involves the relationship between police stress and the police family. Beehr et al. (1995) examined the value of supportive relationships and coping with police stress, which indicated the positive side of this phenomenon. However, the majority of the research provides insight into the adverse outcomes associated with the occupational stressors related to policing. Harpold and Feemster (2002) report on both the levels of domestic violence reported by police officers directed toward spouses and the impact of duty-related stressors on the officers' relationship with their children. Finn and Tornz (2000) examined the adverse impact on the family life found in police families. Police officers experience higher levels of divorce than the general public (Anshel, 2000; Terry, 1981; Toch, 2002), as well as experience higher levels of marital discord, disruption of family life, and child-rearing issues (Terry, 1981; Toch, 2002).

Police stress has been examined for decades, with the consensus of studies indicating organizational stressors, in general, are more prevalent and have higher levels of impact on individual officers than experiential stressors (Brooks & Piquero, 1998; Buker & Wiecko,

2007; Crank & Caldero, 1991; Morash, Haarr, & Kwak, 2006; Territo & Vetter, 1981; Violanti & Aron, 1995). Experiential stressors run a distinct second to organizational stressors as those identified as having the most dramatic influence on police officers (Crank, 2004; Crank & Caldero, 1991; Territo & Vetter, 1981; Violanti & Aron, 1995). Arter (2008) identified social stressors as the third highest source of stress for two samples of police officers. With this identification being made, it follows that a detailed examination of social stress in policing would add to the available literature regarding this perdurable issue.

Methodology

The immediate research is presented as two studies: the first to ascertain the social stressors of concern, followed by a large-scale survey to identify the trends and frequencies of each stressor. The first study involved data from a larger phenomenological inquiry of samples of police officers from two large metropolitan police agencies in the South, examining categories of police stress experienced among various duty assignments. The results of 32 interviews were examined to ascertain the common themes of social stressors reported by the sample of officers.

Study 1

The participants in this phenomenological inquiry represented a wide range of demographic and experiential backgrounds. The average age of the total sample was 35.9. The oldest participant was 48 and the youngest 24. There were 26 males in the study and six females. Twenty-seven of the officers were white, and five were non-white. Twenty-two officers were married (with three having been divorced and remarried), seven were single, and three were divorced. The sample was fairly well-educated, with 21 officers having a four-year degree, five holding a two-year degree, four having completed some college credits, and one was a high school graduate. The average length of law enforcement experience within this sample was 11.47 years, with the highest years of service being 26 and the lowest three.

Variables

The variables under examination in the first study included five broad themes of social stressors, which were created from the data provided in the original phenomenological inquiry: (1) lack of social contacts, (2) impact of policing on personal relationships, (3) lack of understanding by civilians, (4) loss of non-police friends, and (5) the social stigma of policing. These categories were identified as the most prevalent social stressors reported by the samples of officers.

Not every officer indicated that social stressors were of concern; however, 56% (*n* = 19) of the respondents in this study indicated that social stressors had an adverse impact on them either personally or professionally. It should be noted at this point that family stressors and social stressors overlapped to a certain degree based upon the marital status of the officer being interviewed. In general, family stressors were more frequently cited by married officers and the younger officers (whether married or single). Consequently, social stressors were more frequently mentioned by single officers than were family stressors, but this was not exclusively so by any means. Both family stressors and social stressors were cited by both single and married officers, with the trend for family stressors to be more specific to married officers and social stressors to be more specific to single officers.

Finally, social stressors are not limited to merely the formal or personal social context. Social stressors also refer to the manner in which the general public treats and reacts to individual police officers and policing as a profession. For example, lack of respect for police by the general public would be categorized as a social stressor.

Findings

In general, social stressors appeared to be more prevalent among the younger and single officers than the older and married officers. Single officers reported relationship issues to be a significant source of personal stress. In contrast, social contacts were considered more by married officers in the context of the family social situation rather than a specific social relationship that was of a more intimate nature. This can be seen in the responses regarding the main social stressors reported by officers.

The primary social stressor across respondents involved a lack of adequate social contacts; the officers, in general, wanted more non-police friends. There was an expressed concern that "civilians" do not understand police officers and what is required to do the job. The perceived stigma attached to law enforcement personnel by the general public was believed by many to affect social contacts and the ability to meet others in a social setting. Single officers (both male and female) reported this had a dramatic impact on opportunities to become involved in a significant relationship. Additionally, the stigma of policing was viewed to have an influential impact on the officers' reactive responses to citizens in many instances. Several officers reported they had lost non-police friends since joining law enforcement and attributed this to the erratic hours and conflicting work schedules as well as to feeling uncomfortable around "civilians" in social settings.

Examining the five thematic areas of concern in the social stressor category, the most frequently cited was the lack of social contacts (16 mentions), followed by personal relationships (13 mentions). The lack of understanding on the part of the public and the stigma associated with law enforcement were reported as the third and fourth most reported stressors with 12 mentions each. This was followed by the loss of non-police friends, which was mentioned seven times.

Lack of social contacts was the most frequently reported social stressor of those officers who stated such stressors had a significant impact on their personal, professional, or social lives. The following direct quotes can assist in explicating the impact such stressors play in the lives of police officers:

I don't have the opportunity to meet new friends and girls as most people do.

So mainly I surround myself; I only have a few friends that aren't police officers.

I think I have to put more effort into keeping my [non-police] friends, oh yeah.

She was upset because she felt she couldn't bring her friends that she worked with to the house.

It was the stress of being single and dealing with the hours and not being able to have a social life. I was ready to leave.

Being single with the schedule I worked, there was some conflict there.

I don't have many friends that are not police officers.

It is hard for me to make friends because I am going to be extremely cautious about who my friends are.

I wish I had more friends outside law enforcement.

The second most frequently reported social stressor was personal relationships. The range of impact reflected in the comments regarding this subcategory covers a wide array of concerns:

It is much harder to see my friends because all of them work normal schedules.

He just never accepted it. He never accepted my position in law enforcement. . . . He resented the fact that there were people out there [who] did the same thing that I did and were closer to me on another level . . . .

At one time, I [while working vice] had long hair and a full beard and it affected the kind of person I attracted when I went out.

She never did trust me, and the schedule I kept did not help matters any.

It is very difficult to find a lady to be in a relationship with and not create more stress in the relationship.

I'm very reluctant to tell someone what I do. I want them to see who I am first before and usually it's the opposite, and they ask you what you do and you can't lie to them. Once they hear that [being a police officer], then you have a wall. A wall, you have to get through a wall.

I had to leave vice for a situation which occurred in that relationship.

When you meet someone, it's like "What do you do for a living?"

I hate to have to lie to my friends, and sometimes I just tell people this is what I do. To me, a friend is not someone that has to lie to you about their occupation.

Is it hard for me to get a date? Yeah. They're really intimidated when they find out what I do.

Law enforcement is not healthy for an intimate relationship.

The lack of understanding and stigma associated with the policing profession are linked closely:

. . . and I think a lot of it comes from not experiencing the same things we do.

Family and friends don't understand exactly what I do every day.

. . . he just didn't understand and would never be able to understand for me to do this job.

A woman doing this job has to go home to a man [who] can understand where

she is coming from to the point that she feels understood.

He couldn't understand why the only people I hung out with were men.

I found myself with other people who weren't police officers and weren't family, but you find yourself in a conversation where they treat you like you are a moron.

[Social relationships] have been hurt a bit. Because they feel that, "Oh, he's a police officer; we can't do this, we can't do that."

. . . you find that it is easier to be friends with someone who has shared so much on the street.

The stress from the loss of non-police friends was reported more frequently by those officers who worked in drug enforcement assignments than by other assignments, but the theme was prevalent among several respondents. Those who worked in drug enforcement also stated that the nature of their assignments often created resentment among other police officers and caused those in narcotics duties to re-examine personal relationships more closely in order to avoid any appearance of impropriety:

I'm not sure if that is why they stopped asking us because I was a police officer and they were concerned about drinking there or whatever.

I lost a lot of contacts with non-police friends.

Some of your buddies from the street hear something [about a case], and they come to you because they're your buddy and they want the lowdown on the story and you can't tell them. They think you are oh Mr. Almighty, "You're one of them now."

I had an officer get mad at me once because he spoke to me when I was

trying to do some undercover work and I said "Man, I don't know you" and walked out. He was offended because it was in front of some people he knew.

I lost a lot of contacts [with patrol officers] because of the nature of the job. . . . I had a much tighter bond when I was in patrol than I have here.

I lost a lot of friends after I became a police officer; guys I had been to school with and grew up with.

There are several social relationships I've cut off [since becoming a police officer], like gamblers at the golf course.

It gets [tiring] after a while of hearing "He's a police officer; we can't do this, we can't do that."

I would say I lost some friends just because I lost a lot of contact with non-police friends.

Study 2

Based upon the findings of the first study, seven questions were added to a larger survey study on stress in policing. These questions included one for each identified social stressor and one general question asking about any other problems. Additionally, to tease apart the effects of lost social contacts more generally and lost friends more specifically, the social contact theme was split into two questions. Officers were recruited and invited to complete the survey online. Various well-known police organizations (e.g., Chiefs of Police Associations, Police Officer Associations, Fraternal Order of Police) were identified using a Google search of terms such as "police officer association." Identified organizations were sent information regarding the survey (i.e., a brochure via e-mail or regular post) and asked to disseminate the information to their members. Additional subjects were also recruited by sending the same survey information and request to known police officers and agencies.

The officers were informed that the survey was online, confidential, anonymous (the only identifier was country), and approved by the investigators' university's Institutional Review Board. Officers had to indicate their understanding of their rights as research participants by agreeing to the electronic consent form to gain access to the remainder of the survey.

The first thousand cases of this larger data collection effort were selected for this study. Further, we selected only those officers working in the United States, resulting in a sample of 750 officers (in the multivariate analysis, numbers vary due to missing data). Because it cannot be known how many officers were provided with the information to the survey, it is impossible to compute a response rate. However, 84.7% of those who accessed the survey completed it. Almost 83% of participating officers were male, and slightly more than 91% were white, with 2.9% black, 0.8% Asian, 3.9% Latino/a, and 0.9% of other or mixed racial or ethnic background. Our sample is not random, and sex and racial data from the recent Department of Justice data (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 2006, p. 7, Table 13) suggest that our sample underrepresents women and minority police officers.

With regard to relationship status, 17% of officers were single, divorced, or widowed, and the remaining 83% were married or cohabitating. Fifty-seven percent of the sample had children living with them at least part of the time. Military experience was reported by 29% of the officers. The average age of respondents was 43.37 years (range 23 to 77; SD = 9.57), and they averaged 18.29 years in policing (range 0.9 to 50; SD = 9.55). The population served was fairly evenly distributed across the nine FIPS codes, with the largest percentage, 18.4% working for departments that serve communities of over one million people, and the smallest percentage, 2.3%, working for rural areas not adjacent to a metro area.

Methods

Upon accessing the survey, police officers were asked if they experienced any of the six social stressors identified in the first study— (1) lost previously enjoyed social contacts, (2) enjoy social contacts with civilians other than family, (3) difficulty establishing relationships, (4) lack of understanding from civilians, (5) negative stigma associated with law enforcement, and (6) lost friendships since becoming an officer. Although an openended format was used, because the majority of officers replied with a simple "Yes" or "No" answer, these variables were recoded (dichotomized) to indicate whether or not the officer experienced these social stressors. Finally, officers were also asked to "describe any negative or adverse outcomes (e.g., personal, physical, professional) associated with your work as a police officer." The open-ended responses were initially coded into 35 categories across three main domains (personal, physical, and professional) by the authors. Inter-rater reliability was computed for each category. The average across all kappas was 0.91 with a low of 0 for "personal – out of shape" to a high of 1 for several categories including "personal – suicidal ideation" and "professional – low pay." Additionally, raters met to discuss and resolve any coding disagreements.

In the interest of parsimony and for the multivariate analysis, these 35 categories were further collapsed into eight variables: (1) wellness, which comprised broad spectrum of complaints from PTSD, depression, and stress to trouble sleeping; (2) acute or chronic injury; (3) family concerns; (4) stigma associated with policing; (5) adverse outcomes related to duties, isolation, and lack of understanding from civilians; (6) divorce, which the officer felt was due at least in part to working as a police officer; (7) "other," which comprised any answer that did not fit well into any of the original 35 categories of responses; and (8) none of the above or not applicable.

Because respondents could reply to more than one category at a time, it was not possible to do multinomial analysis. Instead, a series of logistic regressions were completed to determine which, if any, officer characteristics were more likely to elicit a particular

response. These variables included participants' age (in years) and their sex (males coded as 0; females coded as 1). Participants were also asked to indicate their race or ethnicity. However, because there were too few minorities to analyze their information separately, this information was dichotomized into white (coded as 0) and non-white (coded as 1). Officers provided information regarding their relationship status. Those who were single, divorced, or widowed were coded as 0, and those who were married or cohabitating were coded as 1. Officers were also asked if they had children living with them. Those whose children lived with them full- or part-time were coded as 1, and those who did not have children or whose children were no longer living with them were coded as 0. Officers' military experience was also acquired: those without military experience were coded as 0, and those with experience were coded as 1. We also collected information on officers' time in policing, which was coded in years. Finally, we asked officers to indicate the size of the community their department services, using the nine point FIPS system, wherein 9 represents metro areas of a population of a million or more, and 1 represents rural areas with fewer than 2,500 people not adjacent to a metro area. These variables were entered into the logistic regression models simultaneously to predict the six social stressors identified in study 1 as well as the eight additional stressors as coded by the authors.

Results

The first question concerned the loss of previously enjoyed social contacts following entry into policing. Two-thirds of respondents (67.7%) indicated they had lost such contacts. The logistic regression model only approached standard levels of significance ($p = 0.08$) due to the lack of variability in participants' answers following listwise deletion. Although most officers provided a simple "Yes" to this question, one male officer summed up the social alienation that can be experienced in policing by stating, "Yes. Some friends were never able to deal with me being an officer."[1] Similarly,

the model predicting "currently enjoy social contacts with civilians" also did not reach standard levels of significance ($p = 0.25$) due to invariance as most subjects (84%) answered "Yes" to this question. Interestingly, although most respondents indicated that they still enjoyed civilian social contacts, those who qualified their answers indicated that it was a "rare" or "infrequent" occurrence due to scheduling or the "24/7" nature of the job. As one divorced male officer noted, "Yes, I make attempts to be involved in 'civilian' groups, but I am still always referred to as 'the detective' or 'the cop.'"

The next question asked participants if they had difficulty establishing relationships since becoming an officer. Thirty-seven percent of respondents indicated they had difficulty establishing relationships. The logistic regression model was significant and suggests that compared to men, women are 78% more likely to report problems (Expβ = 1.78). Also, perhaps understandably, married and cohabitating officers are half as likely as their single counterparts to report such difficulties (Expβ = 0.50). As one single female police officer stated, "Yes. I find it hard trusting people to engage in a personal relationship." Participants were next asked to indicate if they felt that civilians did not understand the nature of their job. Ninety-one percent of respondents answered "Yes" to this question, and the lack of variability on this answer resulted in the nonsignificance of the model. Many officers blamed the media and TV shows like *Cops* for civilian and even family members' misconceptions about policing. As one officer further lamented, "Yes. Some think it's a hard job but have no idea of the personal and financial sacrifices cops make."

The negative stigma associated with policing was the topic of the next question. Sixty-one percent of officers answered "Yes" to this question. Although the overall model was significant, only two variables within the model approached standard levels of significance. These nonsignificant trends suggest age (Expβ = 0.97, $p = 0.06$) and relationship

status (Expβ = 0.64, p = 0.06) are associated with reporting stigma. Specifically, compared to their younger, single counterparts, older officers are 3% and married or cohabitating officers are 36% as likely to report experiences of stigma. Stated differently, younger single officers are more likely to report stigma, perhaps because they are more likely to get the "less favorable" assignments or because they "feel the stress" more due to a lack of social support. Regardless, as one 24-year-old single officer noted, "Yes, most hate me, some fear me, few are thankful of my long hours."

The loss of non-police officer friends was the topic of the last question in this series. Sixty-three percent of participants indicated they had lost civilian friends since entering law enforcement. The overall model was significant and indicates that women are more likely than are men to report lost friends (Expβ = 0.63). Interestingly, results also suggest that as participants age they are 4% less likely to report lost friendships (Expβ = 0.96); yet as their time in policing increases, they are 5% more likely to report lost friendships (Expβ = 1.05). Of those officers who extrapolated on this question, a common theme was that long hours, shift-work, and the "on-call" nature of policing made it difficult to sustain relationships with civilians. The following quote from a 27-year-old female police officer illustrates this point well: "Yes, it is harder for non-law enforcement individuals to understand and adapt to our shift-work and rotating schedules being that our job is ongoing 24 hours a day 7 days a week, when most regular civilian jobs are 8 to 4, Monday through Friday . . . so it is a lot more difficult to get together and see friends outside of work."

The second series of logistic regressions contains participants' answers regarding any other negative outcomes from policing. Officers included a wide range of problems. One 47-year-old officer itemized "All of the usual professional maladies—divorce, cynicism, isolation, mistrust of most people, episodic suicidal thoughts, chronic low back pain, burnout, etc. Like I said, the usual career-cop maladies."

These answers were coded into eight variables: (1) wellness, (2) injury, (3) influence on family, (4) stigma of policing, (5) adverse outcomes related to duties, (6) divorce, (7) other, and (8) none or not applicable.

The first model in this series predicted negative effects of working in law enforcement on participants' overall "wellness," which was an outcome reported by 34.5% of subjects. We included a broad list of wellness concerns in this variable, including "lesser issues" like weight gain and inability to eat and sleep right due to shift-work, to more severe psychological ailments such as "stress, depression, anxiety . . ., PTSD" as reported by one married officer. The model predicting negative effects on officers' "wellness" was significant as were the coefficients for age and relationship status. Older officers were 4% less likely to report this item than younger ones; whereas those who were married or cohabitating were 62% more likely to report this concern than their single counterparts. Perhaps being in a relationship forces officers to "see" or "acknowledge" these types of problems or enables them to remain in policing in spite of them.

The nature of the injuries experienced included cumulative problems as one 50-year-old male officer indicates: "Years of wearing a vest and gun belt have left me with an increasingly sore back, bone spurs in my neck, and sore knees." It also includes more severe or acute injuries as described by one 42-year-old officer who indicates that being "stabbed on two occasions, six car accidents, and physical assaults have left me with chronic back pain." As well as the combination of the two types of injuries as described by one 41-year-old male officer: "I have had both hips replaced as a result of a high speed rear end collision with a drunk driver while on duty. I am now having issues with a bulging disc in my neck as a result of daily duties (working at a desk and inside of a squad car) and carrying around the extra weight from the equipment we wear every day." Experience with chronic or acute injury was reported by 16% of officers and was significantly predicted by the model.

Only the coefficient for relationship status is significant, and it indicates that married or cohabiting officers are 118 times more likely than their single counterparts to report these types of injuries. This finding again highlights the value of effective social support in an officer's life in that when an officer has a caring partner to whom they can share issues related to wellness and health, they are more likely to report issues which may, in many ways, be inconsistent with the police subculture. By that we mean that reporting health and wellness concerns related to the job is not consistent with the norms of the police subculture. Living up to the John Wayne Syndrome in which officers remain stoic and noncomplaining about the "normal" maladies associated with the profession is expected throughout the policing profession.

Eleven percent of officers reported policing had a negative influence on their family lives. The model examining the negative influences of policing on family was significant as was the coefficient for children. Officers who have children living with them part- or full-time are 152% more likely to report this problem than are those who do not have children living with them. Concerns reported by officers included missing children's special occasions or their childhood more generally, to stigma, to having a poor relationship with their family as these officer quotes illustrate: "I miss my kids growing up because I work second shift and am stuck on second shift for several years to come" (34-year-old white male); "Personal effects are the negative attitudes toward the kids; they get a lot of negativity when their peers find out what their Dad's profession is" (53-year-old white male); "shit relationship with wife and kids" (42-year-old white male).

Eight percent of officers reported experiencing negative outcomes due to the stigmatized nature of policing. Negative stigma associated with policing was significantly predicted by our model. Minority officers are 245% more likely than white officers to report stigma as a negative outcome of the job. Also, compared to single officers, those in a relationship

(i.e., married or cohabiting) are less likely to report stigma (Expβ = 0.41). As one male officer succinctly put it, "They hate us." Unfortunately, "they" can even include friends and family as one female Latina officer notes: "Have had family stop talking to me because I am no longer just family, I am the popo [police]." However, the stress arising from experiencing stigma reflects not only officers' concerns for their own well-being, but also their concern for their families. As one 46-year-old single police woman's response demonstrates, "Car and home vandalized; negative comments made to self and family."

Thirty-six percent of officers reported experiencing scheduling conflicts, isolation, lack of understanding, or other adverse outcomes related to policing. The model, due to the effect of relationship status, significantly predicted this outcome. Single officers were significantly less likely (Expβ = 0.55) than their married and cohabiting counterparts to report this effect of the job. A common theme is illustrated in the comments of this 34-year-old male officer: "Night-time schedules combined with daytime court appearances cause difficulty in living a 'normal' family life and schedule. It is frustrating for my spouse to deal with me being gone often, and it leads to tension between us." However, single officers were not immune to the isolating effects of the job as one African-American female officer noted: "As a female, men are intimidated by [my] not only being a police officer but being a firearms instructor. Don't date much."

Almost 6% of officers specifically reported that their work in law enforcement contributed to their divorce. The model significantly predicted reporting divorce due to the effects of relationship status. Specifically, those who are married or cohabiting were 72% less likely to experience a divorce as a negative outcome of police work. However, it should be noted that this effect may be somewhat tautological as relationship status included divorced individuals. Regardless, it is noteworthy that so many officers felt that police work led to their divorce, with several officers

mentioning more than one such occurrence (five officers were divorced twice). Many officers suggested that the schedule and hours of the job contributed to this problem. As one 41-year-old male noted, "Relationship issues. Divorced and I attribute that partly due to my employment. Nights, weekends, holidays, on-call, etc., took time away from family/spouse functions. Didn't directly cause the divorce, but somewhat contributed to it."

In almost 8% of cases, respondents provided an answer that did not readily fit into the previous categories and so was marked as "other." Consequently, this item contains a wide variety of answers from "diminished faith," to "not enough room," to "all of the above and more," to "prejudice" to name but a few. Not surprisingly, the model predicting this outcome was not significant.

Finally, 12% of officers reported "no" negative personal, physical, or professional effects from working in law enforcement. The model was significant and indicates that males (Expβ = 0.41) and those who are married or cohabitating (Expβ = 2.39) are more likely to report no negative outcomes from policing than are women or those without a romantic partner. Although most participants provided a brief "No," "None," or "N/A" when they answered negatively, the response of two young (29 and 32) married men speaks to the concern officers have about the social strains of police work: "None so far."

Discussion

The findings across both studies suggest social stressors from working in policing are commonly experienced by officers. Further, they demonstrate that characteristics of the officer affect the type of social stressors experienced. Consistent with prior research (Cullen, Lemming, Link, & Wozniak, 1985; Gershon, Barocas, Canton, Li, & Vlahov, 2009; Graf, 1986; He, Zhao, & Archbald, 2002; Kaufmann & Beehr, 1989; Kurtz, 2008), officers reported a number of social stressors, including difficulty establishing relationships, negative

stigma associated with policing, and the loss of non-police friends. Negative stigma associated with policing was a recurring theme that also got substantial endorsement when officers were asked a more general question regarding negative outcomes of policing. The answers to this question provide further support for the importance officers place on the negative social stressors associated with work in law enforcement.

Although 12% of officers indicated they experienced no negative outcomes from working in policing, the majority were able to describe at least one problem concerning their overall wellness, their physical health, their relationship with family, adverse outcomes related to duties, or as a contributing factor in their divorce(s). Moreover, characteristics of the officer, specifically relationship status, was associated with several social stressors. Specifically, married or cohabitating officers were much less likely to report stigma, adverse outcomes related to duties, or divorce than their colleagues who are not currently in a relationship. However, married or cohabitating officers were also more likely to report wellness problems, physical injuries, and "no" problems from working in policing. These results are somewhat mixed. The positive effects are consistent with research findings that having a supportive romantic partner may have a buffering effect on stress (Davidson & Moss, 2008; Dewe & Guest, 1990; Kirschman, 2000; Kurtz, 2008; Patterson, 2003; Stephens & Long, 1997). The negative effects are a little more difficult to explain and may be due to married officers being able to stay in the job longer with spousal support in spite of having wellness and injury problems. This finding could also be reflective of the officers having committed themselves to the policing profession and the belief that they have no transferable skills to the civilian setting, requiring them to remain in law enforcement despite wellness and injury issues.

Policy Implications

A major policy implication of this study revolves around the importance of social support in mediating both routine and more dramatic stressors in policing. Efforts should be made to involve officers in the community professionally and socially in order to assist in building stronger ties with the community, as well as to reduce the levels of negative stigma associated with the policing profession. Based on the findings, this would be especially beneficial for younger and single officers in overcoming feelings of isolation and loss of social support. Finally, with minority officers reporting the impact of the negative stigma associated with policing at a level 245% higher than their white counterparts, efforts should be taken at the department level to enhance the relationships of minority officers with the local communities as well as to provide training for officers on how to cope with these negative experiences. Finally, it is noteworthy that so many officers mentioned chronic physical injuries due to their equipment. Given the advances in ergonomics and the expense of healthcare costs, efforts should be made to design and adopt less injurious equipment.

Limitations

Although the two-study design and multimethod approach are strengths of the current research, a number of limitations must also be noted. First, even though the sample was large and included officers who served a diverse group of departments (e.g., large and small based on FIPS codes), it was not random, and it overrepresented older, more senior male officers compared to national averages. Thus, results are not generalizable. Second, because snowball sampling was used, it is not possible to determine participants' true response rate. Third, this research was correlational, so no causal inferences can be made. Fourth, because the first six questions officers answered concerned social stressors, it may be argued that they were "primed" to respond with social stressors in the final open-ended question. However, the fact that officers mentioned other problems (e.g., acute and chronic injuries) and that 12% of officers indicated that they had no other negative outcomes from policing, suggest that "priming" was not a major confound in this research. Fifth, although keeping surveys anonymous was beneficial, it would have been helpful to obtain officers' department zip codes so that the data could have been linked with other information (e.g., county spending on emergency services). Sixth, the survey did not include or control for the types of assignments (e.g., narcotics, child abuse) officers worked during their careers. Finally, the use of a series of logistic regression to determine which officer characteristics are associated with the likelihood of reporting the experience of certain social stressors was not ideal. Future research should provide officers with a list of all types of stressors split by type of stressor (e.g., organizational, experiential, and social) in order to more accurately determine which officer characteristics are associated with which type of stressor.

Future Research

Future research should be conducted to examine the impact of coping techniques and positive social support on the levels of stress reported by officers. Also, based on the findings of this study, future research should examine the impact of policing on the lives of the children of police officers. It appears from the findings of this study that not only do relationships between officers and their children suffer, but the lives of children of police officers may be adversely impacted as well.

Endnote

[1] Officers' quotations are corrected for spelling errors and typos.

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Contact Information
Michael Arter
Pennsylvania State University–
Altoona College
3000 Ivyside Park
Altoona, PA 16601
(814) 949-5649
Fax: (814) 949-5774
mla14@psu.edu

Table 1. Odds of Police Officers Experiencing Six Social Stressors (N = 750)

Variables	Lost social contact Exp/β (SE)	Enjoy non-cops Exp/β (SE)	Difficulty with relationships Exp/β (SE)	Civilians do not understand Exp/β (SE)	Stigma of police Exp/β (SE)	Lost friends Exp/β (SE)
Age	0.96 (0.02)	1.05 (0.03)	0.97 (0.02)	0.96 (0.03)	0.97* (0.02)	0.96*** (0.02)
Sex	0.72 (0.23)	0.69 (0.28)	1.78*** (0.22)	0.86 (0.39)	1.06 (0.23)	0.63** (0.22)
Race/ethnicity	1.20 (0.32)	1.46 (0.43)	0.83*** (0.31)	0.61 (0.48)	1.65* (0.33)	1.01 (0.30)
Relationship	1.80 (0.23)	1.10 (0.29)	0.50 (0.22)	0.57 (0.45)	0.64 (0.24)	0.71 (0.23)
Children	1.04 (0.18)	1.03 (0.23)	1.01 (0.18)	1.03 (0.30)	1.08 (0.18)	1.01 (0.17)
Military	0.78 (0.19)	0.73 (0.24)	1.19 (0.19)	1.08 (0.32)	1.32 (0.19)	0.82 (0.18)
Time in policing	1.04 (0.02)	0.98 (0.03)	1.02 (0.02)	1.07 (0.03)	1.00 (0.02)	1.05** (0.02)
Size	0.97 (0.04)	0.99 (0.05)	0.96 (0.04)	1.08 (0.06)	1.06 (0.04)	0.99 (0.04)
Constant	8.96 (0.57)	1.22 (0.75)	3.62 (0.58)	26.17 (0.91)	6.71 (0.56)	8.51 (0.56)
Model χ^2	14.24	10.16	30.01***	9.74	31.02***	15.81**
Nagelkerke Pseudo R^2	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.06	0.03

Note: *$p = 0.06$, **$p < 0.05$, ***$p < 0.01$

Table 2. Odds of Police Officers Experiencing Eight Negative Outcomes from Policing (N = 750)

Variables	Wellness Exp/β (SE)	Injury Exp/β (SE)	Family Exp/β (SE)	Stigma Exp/β (SE)	Job adversities Exp/β (SE)	Divorce Exp/β (SE)	Other Exp/β (SE)	None Exp/β (SE)
Age	0.96* (0.02)	0.99 (0.03)	0.99 (0.03)	1.00 (0.03)	0.97 (0.02)	0.98 (0.04)	1.08 (0.03)	1.04 (0.02)
Sex	1.25 (0.23)	1.05 (0.31)	1.60 (0.32)	0.66 (0.42)	0.72 (0.23)	0.39 (0.57)	1.08 (0.42)	0.41* (0.45)
Race/ethnicity	0.89 (0.32)	1.75 (0.37)	0.96 (0.47)	3.45** (0.40)	1.44 (0.33)	0.76 (0.77)	0.94 (0.56)	1.70 (0.41)
Relationship	1.62* (0.24)	2.18* (0.36)	1.47 (0.40)	0.41** (0.35)	0.55** (0.24)	0.27*** (0.39)	0.61 (0.40)	2.39* (0.43)
Children	0.78 (0.18)	0.85 (0.23)	2.52** (0.30)	0.83 (0.31)	0.94 (0.18)	0.77 (0.37)	1.38 (0.34)	0.92 (0.26)
Military	0.92 (0.19)	0.85 (0.25)	0.87 (0.29)	1.04 (0.32)	0.76 (0.19)	0.67 (0.41)	0.87 (0.35)	1.56 (0.25)
Time in policing	1.02 (0.02)	1.05 (0.03)	0.98 (0.03)	1.02 (0.03)	1.02 (0.02)	1.05 (0.04)	0.95 (0.03)	0.97 (0.02)
Size	0.96 (0.04)	0.95 (0.05)	0.99 (0.06)	0.95 (0.06)	1.02 (0.04)	0.89 (0.07)	1.01 (0.07)	0.97 (0.05)
Constant	2.06 (0.59)	0.08 (0.80)	0.33 (0.91)	0.12 (0.98)	2.36 (0.56)	0.35 (1.18)	0.01 (0.97)	0.03 (0.81)
Model χ^2	20.35**	19.54*	24.38**	19.40*	17.30*	23.35**	8.41	21.20**
Nagelkerke Pseudo R^2	0.04	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.09	0.03	0.06

Note: *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$

Reintegrating Returning Police Veterans: An Examination of Law Enforcement Programs

Sarah A. Keppler, BS, Northern Michigan University
Steven M. Chermak, PhD, School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University

Introduction

This study examines the programs that law enforcement agencies offer for military veterans who are returning to work as police officers. Research indicates that participating in conflict increases the likelihood of mental health problems (Hoge et al., 2004). There are various military and social programs to assist veterans in transitioning back to civilian life, but a large number of law enforcement officers are military reservists. Policing is a stressful job, and officers may suffer health-related issues from stress, including depression, heart disease, stomach disorders, and alcohol and drug abuse (He, Zhao, & Archbold, 2002; Morash & Haarr, 1995; Morash, Haarr, & Kwak, 2000). Thus, police officers who are veterans are expected to return to their chaotic and highly stressful profession soon after returning from military service. There has been little to no research done on the different programs offered to police officers who are returning veterans, and it is not clear whether police agencies offer specific support to their returning law enforcement officers after they return from war.

An important study on this issue by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) (2009) notes that the number of law enforcement officers who are on active duty is significant. This study describes how of the 18,000 law enforcement agencies in the United States, 4,100 (about 23%) had officers who got called to active duty in the National Guard or Reserves. More specifically, this study discusses how there were over 11,000 sworn officers activated in a 12-month period. Most of the officers activated were from local law enforcement agencies (p. 14).

There are several reasons why documenting what specific programs, if any, exist for returning military reservists is important. First, although there is research on returning veterans programs, there is little research on the programs in place for law enforcement officers. Second, police officers face a significant amount of stress at work and many returning veterans are dealing with stress, but there is little knowledge whether stress-related programming is valuable to the returning veteran. Third, it is important to understand how and what police agencies are doing to try and deal with the serious effects of war such as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and other traumatic injuries.

Randomly selected individual law enforcement agencies in Michigan were used for the unit of analysis. The method used in this study was structured telephone interviews with key informants. Responses from the key informants were recorded, and then summary statistics were produced.

Literature Review

There is scant research specifically examining programs for returning veterans, but there are several related areas of study that are critical for understanding this important issue. This research includes the impacts of war on returning veterans, police stress, programming for returning war veterans, and programs for dealing with police stress.

Impacts of War on Veterans

The impacts of war on veterans include major depression, stress, generalized anxiety, inappropriate use of violence, and PTSD (Hoge et al., 2004, p. 15; Laufer & Gallops, 1985). PTSD is

one of the most common and troublesome problems that veterans experience upon their return home from war. According to the IACP (2009), symptoms of PTSD include "anxiety attacks, depression, nightmares, aggressive behavior, flashbacks, sensitivity to noises and movement, and a numbing of emotions" (p. 16). Research indicates that PTSD symptom levels vary by the severity of the war zone; symptoms may not develop until six to 12 months after a veteran returns from combat; and such symptoms may become more severe as time goes on if not treated (Dohrenwend et al., 2006; IACP, 2009).

It is certainly true that police officers work in an unpredictable, intense, and aggressive environment. Police officers have significant discretion and often must make split-second decisions in responding to citizens and suspects. Veterans who suffer from PTSD have higher levels of aggression and anger compared to veterans without PTSD (Begic, 2001; Nevaco & Chemtob, 1998), and these effects would likely be intensified if working in what can be a hostile environment for law enforcement officers.

Although there may be some similarities between military service and working in policing, there are critical differences, which, in turn, could make the transition from military service to policing very stressful. Among the differences are variations in the rules of engagement, use-of-force standards, the use of different types of equipment and technologies, and transitioning from transportation in military convoys to patrol (see IACP, 2009).

Police Stress

Stress is a significant issue in policing. Research indicates that "law enforcement officers' face a number of unusual, often highly disturbing, sources of stress" (Counseling Team, 2011, p. 7). Organizational stressors include the structure and size of the agency, the implementation of new programs and policy changes, budgetary concerns and cuts, and frustration or pressure from other criminal justice agencies. External factors, such as concerns about crime rates, exposure to violence, media and public scrutiny, and legal constraints,

all are potentially significant sources of stress (Counseling Team, 2011; He et al., 2002). There are many physical and psychological impacts of stress, including anxiety, depression, heart and stomach ailments, and substance abuse (Anshel, 2000; Biggam, Power, & McDonald, 1997; Walker, 1997). Stress may contribute to attendance problems, decrease satisfaction with the job, increase job burnout, and increase the likelihood of using excessive force (IACP, 2009).

Programs for War Veterans

There is substantial assistance provided to war veterans to help with the transition back to civilian life, but it is important to note that these programs are not geared toward the unique needs of the law enforcement profession. For example, soldiers of all branches of the military go through a "demobilization and transition process when they are released from active duty" (IACP, 2009, p. 16), including health and psychological evaluations. This evaluation is given upon return, and thus it is important to note again that PTSD symptoms may not develop until six to 12 months after service members return from combat (see IACP, 2009, p. 16).

There are other general programs to assist with the transition to civilian life, but there is concern that law enforcement agencies do not have materials specific to the needs of returning combat veterans. For example, military personnel sharpen their reactions to enemy threats in combat, but there is no programming that would help them tailor reactions to the policing environment (IACP, 2009, p. 18). According to the IACP (2009), "Specialized training and transition assistance that addresses such specific needs are required but have not yet been developed" (p. 18).

Programs for Dealing with Police Stress

There have been important programs implemented to deal with police stress. Some of these programs have been internal and others external to the police agency. The amount of mental health services and other assistance programs has grown significantly (see Delprino & Bahn,

1988). This research indicates that agencies have increased counseling services, offer more programming to deal with stress, and have more police psychologists on staff (see Counseling Team, 2011; Delprino & Bahn, 1988).

Methods

Law enforcement personnel were interviewed by telephone. There are several reasons why telephone surveys were used in this research. First, it would have been difficult to travel to all of the law enforcement agencies in Michigan that were included in the sample. Second, telephone surveys were preferred over paper or Web-based surveys because there were concerns about achieving an appropriate response rate using the latter approaches. The telephone survey provided the opportunity to make direct contact, describe the intent of the survey, and then be directed to an appropriate respondent. Third, research indicates that there are several general advantages to using telephone interviews, including quick contact with respondents, the attainment of more complete answers from respondents, and the ability to ask for clarification if the respondent does not understand the question (Chang & Krosnick, 2009; Marcus & Crane, 1986). For example, an e-mail survey does not really allow the respondent to provide clarification and can be more impersonal.

The focus of this study is on law enforcement agencies in the State of Michigan. One hundred and forty five agencies were sampled out of approximately 600 agencies in Michigan (approximately 25% of the agencies). The 145 agencies were chosen at random. Law enforcement agency names and contact information for all of Michigan was found at www.usa-cops.com/mi. The size of the sample was large enough to be representative of the population, and it was believed that the number of respondents would be manageable. The sample size consisted of small (1 to 10 officers), medium (10 to 50 officers), and large (more than 50 officers) departments. When contacting an agency, we first attempted to interview the executive officer of the agency but then were often referred to other staff. The response rate was very high.

Out of 145 agencies contacted, 123 of them participated, an 85% response rate. Approximately 43% of the respondents were from small agencies, 46% were from medium-sized agencies, and 11% were from large agencies. The size range for large agencies was between 55 and 171 officers.

The questions were carefully designed to be brief, but also specific enough to gather sufficient information to fill this important research gap. The respondents were assured that the agency information would be kept confidential. The questionnaire was broken into three sections. The first section was basic information about whether the agencies had veterans and programs for these veterans. For example, it was asked whether they had current or former veterans and how many were in the agency. The second section was for those agencies that did have these programs—the basic nature of the programs, the issues covered in these programs, and what kinds of problems the programs focus on such as mental health or family problems. The third section was on the demographics of the agencies. The results of the survey were entered into a statistical program for analysis, and basic descriptive statistics are provided in the "Results/Findings" and "Discussion" sections of this paper. Code schemes were developed for the open-ended responses.

Results/Findings

This study examined law enforcement programs available for returning veterans in small, medium, and large departments. Table 1 shows the data about the number of agencies that had officers in military service. Out of 123 agencies that responded, 17.2% have officers who are currently on active duty in some branch of the military. The results also indicate that large-sized agencies are significantly more likely to have officers who are on active duty. Specifically, only 5.8% of the small agencies but over 57% of the large agencies had officers on active duty. This makes sense as it would be expected that large agencies would have at least one veteran. Although a higher percentage of large agencies have veterans, the results comparing the number of

officers on active duty across agency size are actually quite similar. On average, there was usually one officer who was on active duty in small, medium, and large agencies.

About 74% of the departments have retired veterans working for them. In medium and large departments, about 90% have retired veterans working as police officers compared to just over 50% of smaller agencies. Larger agencies have an average of 8.6, medium agencies have 3.7, and small agencies have 1.6 retired veterans.

Next, we asked what types of programs, if any, were in place to deal with police stress. Table 2 shows these results. The findings indicate that about 75% of the agencies did in fact have programs to train officers to handle and cope with stress. Larger agencies were more likely to have training for their officers in police stress, along with offering additional programs and strategies to help officers manage their stress. Over 85% of larger agencies had programs on stress training compared to approximately 52% of small agencies and 73% of medium-sized agencies.

Table 3 examines how many law enforcement agencies had programs to specifically assist returning veterans. None of the agencies surveyed had a program to meet and address veterans' specific needs. Although these agencies did not have this programming, 90% indicated that there was a critical need for such programs. Larger agencies were more likely to have institutionalized other ways to support their veterans, and approximately 60% knew of other groups and resources for referral to assist in the transition after returning home from military service.

Several open-ended questions were asked. We wanted to know what kinds of programs and strategies were used to handle general police stress, if participants felt that programming for military veterans was important, what other strategies are used to support their veterans, and the types of resources available to assist returning veterans.

Critical incident stress debriefing teams was the most common program that was mentioned by respondents. Such debriefing teams come into agencies if a traumatic event occurs. These teams consist of mental health professionals.

Table 1. Current or Retired Veterans in Law Enforcement Agencies by Agency Size

	All agencies	Small agency (1-10 officers)	Medium agency (11-50 officers)	Large agency (Over 50 officers)
Active duty in military? (% yes)	17.2%	5.8%	17.3%	57.1%
How many are in active duty? (Mean)	1.67	1.67	1.33	1.60
Retired veterans? (% yes)	73.8%	53.8%	88.5%	85.7%
How many retired?	3.60	1.56	3.73	8.60

Table 2. Programs on Police Stress in Law Enforcement Agencies by Agency Size

	All	Small agency	Medium agency	Large agency
Training for police stress (% yes)	74.6%	63.5%	78.8%	92.9%
Programs on police stress in general (% yes)	66.4%	51.9%	73.1%	85.7%

Table 3. Programs for Veterans in Law Enforcement Agencies by Agency Size

	All	Small agency	Medium agency	Large agency
Programs to assist veterans (% yes)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Are programs needed? (% yes)	88.5%	84.6%	94.2%	85.7%
Are there other ways to provide support? (% yes)	64.8%	51.9%	73.1%	78.6%
Other groups in community to which to refer? (% yes)	57.4%	50.0%	59.6%	64.3%

Officers may also be referred to counseling if they are suffering from stress due to a critical or traumatic incident such as a shooting or a suicide. Twenty-six percent of the agencies stated that they referred officers to counselors. Usually, they were referred to counseling at local community health centers, but many respondents indicated that officers in their agency had access to police psychologists.

Over 12% of the agencies noted some other type of program to help officers with stress. These programs include employee assistance programs, additional training and classes, and general programs. Respondents also suggested that they simply support officers by giving officers time off, offering anonymous help lines, or providing assistance on a case-by-case basis.

As stated above, many of the respondents interviewed felt that a program to meet the specific needs of veterans would be very beneficial because of the violence experienced and the potential impacts of war. They described how veterans should be evaluated before returning to the streets and that any program that incorporates PTSD would be helpful. The respondents also stated that programs that helped veterans re-acclimate to their role as a police officer would be important, noting that the work entails dramatically different interpersonal dynamics. They noted that officers need to be retrained and retaught how to act as police officers again, especially if they have been overseas for more than six months.

Although there are no specific programs to assist veterans, the respondents described other ways that their agencies supported veterans. The most common form of support was simply "helping in any way possible." Many respondents said that veterans should be helped on a case-by-case basis so that they could focus in on particular individual needs instead of treating them all the same when they returned. Respondents also noted that their agencies attempted to assist officers in general. Many departments noted that they have a point system they use when hiring, and they give veterans an extra point in this

process. Other agencies noted that they give military buy-back time toward the veterans' retirement. Other agencies provide supplemental pay to officers on military duty. That is, if they are getting paid less than they did as a police officer, the city or the department will match their pay while they are away.

The last open-ended response question asked was if the respondents knew of any groups in their community to which returning police veterans could be referred to help them with their transition back. The top three answers were Veterans Affairs (VA), the Veterans of Foreign War (VFW), and the American Legion. Sixteen percent of participants were aware of other programs and groups that their local community has available for returning veterans, mentioning such programs as Cop Shock, The Elks, The United Way, Rolling Thunder, AMVets, The Down River Guidance Program, Disabled AV, motorcycle clubs, various outreach programs, support groups, and incident management teams.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine what types of programs were available to military veterans returning to work as law enforcement officers. There are a significant number of military personnel who work for law enforcement agencies. In fact, in this study, 75% of the law enforcement agencies interviewed had veterans in their employ. This is an important finding as previous research indicates that returning veterans are often negatively impacted by war.

The findings indicate that 75% of the agencies who responded did in fact have stress training for their officers. Police stress programs do exist internally and externally in agencies, but these programs are not tailored to meet the needs of military veterans. In fact, there was not a program found in this study through any law enforcement agency that specifically assisted returning veterans. Some agencies said that their veterans had to go through retraining before they could even be a police officer again, but this retraining is standard for all officers and it did not pertain to specific

issues that might be faced by a veteran. Veterans face a lot of individual problems when transitioning from being in a war to going back to being a police officer. Not having a program to address the issues of returning veterans may be dangerous. Officers may be a threat to citizens, and problems might lead to lawsuits and negative media coverage. As stated, the military provides assistance upon discharge, but again, sometimes PTSD symptoms do not develop until months later and law enforcement agencies do not provide any programming tailored to veterans' needs. This is important as fear of stigma is often a barrier to military personnel seeking help (Hoge et al., 2004). This barrier is likely to be exacerbated for law enforcement officers who served in the military because of fear of disappointing both their military and law enforcement peers.

This paper has pertinent policy implications. First, there are clearly significant gaps in the availability of programs for returning police veterans. Second, although there is some assistance available for stress, there are no specific programs or strategies that are used in law enforcement agencies to help returning veterans. This is a significant oversight because it is likely that veterans have unique needs. Third, we know that agencies use outside programs on occasion, but there has not been shown that there is significant use of these programs, and we do not know if these programs have been proven to be effective for law enforcement officers in any way.

Although this study adds knowledge to this body of research, there is still more we need to know. Programs that work for officers to help handle their stress and other job-related issues need to be further examined. This could help target specific needs of officers and give agencies an idea of how they could implement an effective veterans program. Another area that needs additional research is how veterans actually transition back to police work. For example, are military veterans in the police department more or less likely to suffer from PTSD compared to other veterans? What are their perceived needs after they return from conflict? Similarly, it would be

important to examine how deployment impacts job performance. Are returning veterans more or less effective as police officers upon their return home? Are they more likely to miss work? Have citizens filed any complaints against them? Have they been involved in a brutality incident? This information would all help to further argue that a program for veterans is needed in law enforcement agencies around the nation.

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Sarah A. Keppler is a recent graduate of Michigan State University with a Bachelor of Science in Psychology and an additional major in Criminal Justice. Sarah was part of the 2011 Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program at Michigan State and is now attending graduate school at Northern Michigan University for her Master's in the Training, Development and Performance Improvement Program. Her research interests include evaluation of training programs, motivation of employees, and effective employee selection processes.

Steven M. Chermak (PhD, State University of New York at Albany) is a professor in the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University. Dr. Chermak is also a lead investigator affiliated with The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terror (START). Recent research has focused on examining the organizational characteristics of violent hate groups; the intelligence practices of local, state, and tribal law enforcement agencies; and the killing of police officers by extremists. He has published in various journals, including *Justice Quarterly*, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, and *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Local Policing, Local Communities, and Immigration: Results from Three Nationwide Surveys of Law Enforcement Executives

Scott H. Decker, PhD, Foundation Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice,
   Arizona State University
Paul G. Lewis, PhD, Associate Professor, School of Politics and Global Studies,
   Arizona State University
Doris Marie Provine, JD, PhD, Professor Emeritus, School of Social Transformation,
   Arizona State University
Monica W. Varsanyi, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science,
   John Jay College

Project Overview

This paper outlines the results of our research on how local law enforcement organizations across the United States are responding to the challenge of immigration.[1] Between 2007 and 2010, we conducted three nationwide surveys of police executives in cities across the U.S., one directed toward small-city chiefs of police, one toward large-city chiefs, and one toward county sheriffs. Our objective in each case was to understand the situation law enforcement executives face in this complex area. We were interested in knowing more about the relationship between law enforcement and local governing authorities; about relationships with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE); and about police agencies' own internal policy initiatives and goals, including efforts to maintain community-based policing. We also investigated links between area demographics—percent immigrant, levels of crime, political-party dominance, etc.—and policing policies across communities. Finally, we conducted several in-depth case studies of particular locales to get a richer picture of immigration-related issues and policing practices. We will report the findings from our case study research in future publications.

Our findings suggest a significant range of variation in what local law enforcement does with respect to immigration and in what it is expected to do. There are, however, some consistent patterns across small and large cities and sheriff's offices that we also report here. Community policing, for example, is a major commitment in all types of law enforcement organizations. We also find a pattern of substantial discretion at the level of individual officers to report or not report suspected unauthorized immigrants to federal authorities.

Communities are grappling with the question of how to deploy their own local law enforcement resources against the backdrop of the national controversy over immigration. The issue is important at the local level because what officers do may have an impact on crime rates and on the willingness of victims and witnesses to come forward. Police work, in short, plays a critical role in the lives of resident immigrants, affecting both those with, and those without, secure legal status.

Local Politics, Law Enforcement, and Immigration

In sheriff's offices and in cities small and large, law enforcement officials perceive key differences in the perspectives of their officers and the communities they serve on critical dimensions of the immigration issue. The perception of police chiefs and sheriffs captured by our survey is that their community is more likely to view unauthorized immigration as controversial than their own police department and also

more likely to see immigration as a local, rather than as a federal, enforcement problem. In the eyes of police chiefs and sheriffs, community members are also much more likely to believe that determining an individual's immigration status is a relatively straightforward matter. Nor are community members as concerned as law enforcement officers about gaining the trust of unauthorized immigrants or avoiding the criminal victimization of immigrants. In general, police chiefs and sheriffs perceive that their communities underestimate the difficulties involved when local law enforcement takes on the job of enforcing federal immigration law.

Practices and Policies of Immigration Enforcement

The survey probed police practices involving immigrants whose residence in the U.S. is unauthorized. Law enforcement officials were asked how their officers would respond when faced with a number of situations. The results of our surveys suggest there is a high level of congruence across police agencies with regard to the types of situations that would spur officers to investigate an individual's immigration status. In general, the more serious the violation, the more likely law enforcement officials are to believe that their officers would check immigration status or contact ICE. Thus, law enforcement officials report that in situations in which a possibly unauthorized immigrant has committed a traffic violation or was a witness or victim of a crime (except human trafficking), their officers are least likely to contact ICE or inquire about immigrant status. Law enforcement officials believe that their officers are most likely to contact ICE in situations involving violent crime or a parole violation. Arrests for domestic violence and nonviolent crimes fall somewhere between the two extremes.

Importantly, small-city chiefs noted that transportation may sometimes be an issue that affects decisions to involve ICE as 40% of small-city chiefs indicated that the nearest ICE-managed detention facility was more than 25 miles away. (Another 26% did not know how far away the nearest ICE facility was.) This points to an important point about the isolation of many small-city police departments from ICE locations.

In many cases, an officer's decision about whether to contact federal immigration authorities in the course of an arrest is made without clear policy guidance. Just over half (51%) of small-city and large-city chiefs report having no written policy on immigration enforcement; only 33% of sheriffs have a written policy. Furthermore, only 45% of small- and large-city departments and 35% of sheriff's offices offer training for sworn officers specifically related to incidents or calls involving possible unauthorized immigrants. This lack of official guidance puts officers—and jurisdictions—in a difficult and potentially problematic position. Unfettered discretion can expose law enforcement to unexpected criticism and can interfere with the effectiveness of community policing and other policies.

The survey also asked about what sources of guidance might be important to police executives as they formulate policies and procedures regarding unauthorized immigration. Most small- and large-city chiefs report that their departments' responses to the problem of illegal immigration are largely a product of their own departmental leadership. Sheriffs are similar in this regard. Nevertheless, some respondents in each of these groups identified local elected officials, the district attorney's office, federal officials, and the courts as playing a role in the response to unauthorized immigrants.

Relationships with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)

In many localities, the nature of local police relationships with federal immigration authorities has changed in recent decades from one of a support role to a partnership with federal enforcement agencies. This relationship between local law enforcement and the ICE division of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security is an important part of the local response to immigration issues.

When asked to characterize the flow of information between agencies, a plurality of large-city chiefs (44%) and a majority of sheriffs (55%)

reported that information largely flows equally between their department and ICE. Small-city chiefs (30%) were somewhat less likely to report that information is shared equally between units. A significant minority of respondents suggested that the information flows mostly in one direction—from their department to ICE. Perhaps surprisingly, 46% of small-city chiefs, 32% of large-city chiefs, and 15% of sheriffs report having no communication with ICE.

Across the board, a majority of law enforcement officials indicated that their departments have no formal written agreement with ICE. Only 4% of small-city and large-city chiefs, but a somewhat larger share of sheriffs (15%), report having a Section 287g Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) that provides for federal training of local law enforcement and cooperation in arrests and investigations of unauthorized immigrants. This is consistent with federal statistics on law enforcement agencies participating in this program. Regardless of whether a department has a formal agreement with ICE, small-city chiefs (78%), large-city chiefs (74%), and sheriffs (77%) report that they do contact ICE when a suspected unauthorized immigrant is held for a criminal violation.

The survey also asked law enforcement officials for their perceptions of how both their department and their communities assess the responsibilities of the federal government in immigration control. The great majority of large-city chiefs (72%) perceive that their department regards immigration enforcement as the responsibility of the federal government, followed by small-city chiefs (63%) and sheriffs (59%). A slightly smaller majority of law enforcement officials (53% of small-city chiefs, 58% of large-city chiefs, and 51% of sheriffs, respectively) perceive support for this perspective in their local communities.

In general, most departments report that they are satisfied with their relationship with ICE, although formal agreements are rare. Departments consider ICE an important resource for local immigration control and enforcement efforts.

Community Relations and Local Law Enforcement

Community-oriented policing has become the dominant approach to local policing over the past three decades. The survey responses are consistent with this commitment. Law enforcement officials were asked to give their perceptions of community-level satisfaction with their agency's immigration enforcement efforts. Most law enforcement personnel report that local authorities are satisfied with the department's efforts in this area.

With regard to community relations issues that directly involve immigrants: 80% of small-city chiefs, 75% of large-city chiefs, and 77% of sheriffs reported that their department accepts the Mexican consular identification card (*matrícula consular*) or other foreign IDs as a sufficient form of identification under some circumstances.

Efforts to proactively reach out to immigrants with precarious or non-existent legal status, however, are limited. Less than 20% of small- and large-city chiefs, and only 24% of sheriffs said that their departments maintain a phone line for members of the immigrant community to confidentially report criminal activity.

Less than half of small-city chiefs (45%), large-city chiefs (40%), and sheriffs (43%) report that their departments have enough officers proficient in foreign languages to work effectively in their immigrant communities, a finding that suggests a significant area for policy reforms to promote effective communication between local law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve.

How Sheriffs Are Different

Unlike municipal police chiefs who are typically appointed by the mayor and council or by a city manager, county sheriffs are almost always elected to office. In addition, many supervise a jail system. For a small proportion of sheriffs, the jail function is their only activity; they do not engage in patrols and investigations. Among our survey respondents, 97% of sheriffs were

elected, 91% have responsibility for patrols and investigations outside the jail system, and 83% provide supervision for one or more jails. The median respondent maintains a county jail system with 369 beds, although the mean is higher (1,017 beds) due to the presence of some very large counties in our sample.

Respondents were asked to estimate what percentage of their jail detainees are unauthorized immigrants. Responses varied widely (from 0 to 75%), with a mean of 12% and a median of 10%. Most sheriffs and their representatives said that, in considering the resources required to manage prisoners (e.g., personnel, funding, health care, etc.), unauthorized immigrants in their jail system tended to require "about the same amount of resources as other prisoners" (71%) rather than more (16%) or fewer (6%) resources. Six percent were unsure.

Conclusions

The results of our survey of law enforcement leaders suggest several important conclusions about the challenges of immigration for local police agencies.

First, there are differences in perspectives between law enforcement officials and the communities they serve on some key dimensions of the immigration issue. From the perspective of law enforcement leaders, the community is less likely to appreciate the difficulty of identifying an unauthorized immigrant, less likely to be concerned about the victimization of immigrants, and less likely to believe that it is the federal government's job to enforce immigration law. Not surprisingly, police executives believe that views about immigration enforcement are more contested within their locality than among law enforcement officers in their unit.

Significantly, particularly in light of the amount of controversy surrounding the issue of local enforcement of federal immigration law, a majority of the law enforcement officials report that they have no policy (whether written or unwritten) for their officers regarding interactions with

immigrants, and most do not provide any immigration-related training for officers. Nearly every department, on the other hand, has a policy prohibiting racial profiling. The potential for conflict between policies against racial profiling and pressure to assist in immigration enforcement remains unresolved in many departments.

Perhaps the most important finding from our surveys was the combination, in many police agencies, of a lack of a policy on how to deal with unauthorized immigrants and a lack of training for officers on this issue. As a consequence, norms that are applied in local law enforcement may be developing on an individual and *ad-hoc* basis. This may produce a situation in which many officers act independently; and in large departments, this may mean that there are significant disparities across officers in their practices regarding immigration enforcement.

Third, although most departments report having some form of relationship with ICE, the vast majority have no *formal* agreement such as a Section 287g MOU. Despite this, ICE is viewed as an important resource by local law enforcement, and levels of satisfaction with ICE are high. It is noteworthy, however, that many law enforcement officials report little or no communication with ICE, while others note that the information flow works mainly to the advantage of ICE rather than the department.

Fourth, many law enforcement officials report interest in their communities on the issue of immigration enforcement at the local level. However, law enforcement executives report that there is little agreement in their communities about what they want. This poses a significant problem for law enforcement leaders. Taking the pulse of the community is important if law enforcement leaders are to respond to the wishes of their communities. Of course, operating within the law—even if that behavior departs from the expectations of some community members—is also an important requirement that local police agencies are bound to respect.

Taken together, these results suggest that law enforcement leaders need more information

about best practices relating to the preparation of officers for their interactions with immigrants with and without legal status. For example, exchanges of information with other local police agencies regarding language training, internal policy development, and community relations with immigrant residents would be helpful, particularly for police departments in small cities. In short, our research indicates that more information would help law enforcement officials to cope with the complex challenges immigration poses to local police and their communities.

Endnote

[1] The material in this paper is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grants SES-0819082 and SES-0921202. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation.

Appendix: The Survey Samples

For each of the three surveys, we contacted local law enforcement executives by mail and asked that they either complete the survey themselves or assign it to a designated representative. Surveys could be submitted either by mail or via a secure website. The respondents were assured that their individual responses would remain anonymous; therefore, we only report aggregated data in this report. Waves of reminders were sent to encourage a high response rate. In each case, more than half of those contacted ultimately responded, and the respondents were reasonably representative of the overall group contacted along such dimensions as local population size, percentage of immigrants, and location by region of the country.

Small Cities

In this survey, we were interested in smaller communities, both in suburban and rural areas, which have in many cases become "new destinations" for immigrants. However, there are more

than 19,000 municipalities in the U.S., of which more than 18,000 fall into the smaller population category as we defined it (i.e., less than 65,000 residents as of the Census Bureau's 2006-2008 American Community Survey [ACS]). Further, a disproportionate share of these communities is very small, and many lack significant foreign-born populations. We hypothesized that immigration enforcement is unlikely to be highly relevant to many of the very small communities with few immigrants. Therefore, given limits of time and budget, we selected a survey sample of 450 municipalities, all of which were located in counties of 20,000 or more residents and where at least 6% of county residents were foreign-born at the time of the 2000 Census. To further ensure that the sample was nationally representative of this set of cities, we stratified the sample both by population size and by region of the country. Communities of each size range were selected in proportion to the overall percentage of residents who live in cities of that size.

In looking up contact information for police chiefs in these communities, we determined which of the localities lacked their own locally controlled police department (usually due to contracting relationships with the county sheriff or with a neighboring community). These municipalities without police departments were excluded and replaced with another city of similar size from the same region.

We mailed the survey to the police chief or other law enforcement executive in each of these 450 municipalities in March 2010. When the survey was closed in November 2010, we had received responses from 237 communities, for a response rate of 52.7%. The average city responding to the survey had a population of about 32,000 (median of 30,000) in 2008, with 14% of its population foreign-born (median of 10%).

Large Cities

A national survey of 452 law enforcement executives in large municipalities was initiated in November 2007. We received 237 survey responses (a response rate of 52.4%). In selecting the sample, we began with a list of

all U.S. cities and towns that were included in the Census Bureau's ACS in 2005; the Census Bureau aimed to include in the ACS all localities of 65,000 or higher population, although a few communities had slightly lower populations. We dropped from this list several communities that do not have their own police departments (such as certain townships and some municipalities that contract with other local governments for police services). This list yielded our 452 community sample, and ultimately, the 237 responses reported here.

Most of these communities have a substantial number of foreign-born residents. Sixteen percent of the residents in the average large city represented in our survey were immigrants (according to the 2005 ACS data). The share of immigrants in the cities we surveyed ranged widely from 1 to 60% of the population.

County Sheriffs

This survey, which was distributed to 449 sheriffs, was initiated in November 2009. By the time the survey closed the following June, 254 sheriffs had responded, a response rate of 56.6%.

Cost considerations required that we narrow down from the roughly 3,000 counties in the U.S. to a sample in which immigration issues are particularly salient. (Many U.S. counties have small populations and relatively few immigrants.) We limited our contacts to sheriffs in counties with (1) a foreign-born percentage of the county population that was at least 6% at the time of the 2000 Census and (2) at least 20,000 total residents. After identifying all 442 U.S. counties that met these criteria, we added seven additional counties that were slightly below the 6% threshold but that had at least 25,000 foreign-born residents as of 2000.

Among the respondents, 83% represent counties that manage or have authority to run a county jail system, while 17% do not have this responsibility. Additionally, the vast majority of responding sheriff's offices (91%) engage in patrols and investigations outside the jail system, either in a combination of incorpo-

rated municipalities and unincorporated areas of the county (70%) or in unincorporated areas only (21%). Nearly all of the sheriffs in these counties (97%) hold their position via a popular election. The average county represented by the survey respondents has a population of about 416,000 (median of 161,000) and has a foreign-born share of the population of 13% (median of 10%).

Scott H. Decker is foundation professor in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Arizona State University. His research focuses on gangs, criminal justice policy, and the context of offender decisionmaking.

Paul G. Lewis is an associate professor in the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University. His research focuses on public policymaking, particularly the ways that local governments respond to issues of community change and the effects of local policies on such change.

Doris Marie Provine is professor emeritus in the School of Social Transformation. Her research focuses on unauthorized immigration, comparative migration law, policy, race, and criminal justice.

Monica W. Varsanyi is an associate professor in the Department of Political Science at John Jay College. Her research focuses on migration and citizenship, urban and political geography, immigration and the state, geography, law, and public policy.

The Motivating Factors for Police Officers in the Enforcement of the DUI Laws

David J. Kerfman, Patrol Officer, Des Plaines (IL) Police Department

The purpose of this research is to formulate an exploratory study concerning the enforcement of Driving Under the Influence (DUI) laws by law enforcement personnel. This study involved a convenience sample of approximately 10% of the municipal police departments in a Midwestern county. It involved factors perceived by patrol officers regarding whether or not to initiate enforcement, employ officer discretion, or consciously avoid contact with potential DUI offenders. Officers were surveyed by questionnaire regarding these motivating factors as well as asked what they perceive as a method their respective departments could implement to motivate personnel to increase DUI arrests. Twelve departments from an urban area were surveyed.

The enforcement of the offense of DUI shall be defined as the actual custodial arrest of an offender who is determined by the officer to be "impaired." Traffic laws are the statutes that allow the police officer the most discretion in whether or not to employ enforcement. This study examined the DUI statutes, which entail more paperwork than the average violation. Although the paperwork may be daunting, there are numerous reasons that this statute should be enforced. Possibly the most glaring statistic cited by Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) (2007) is that the average first offender who is arrested for DUI has committed the offense 87 times prior to this arrest. Although often thought of as a "victimless crime," automobile crashes (specifically fatalities) involving alcohol account for a relatively high percentage of these arrests. Jesse White (2010), Illinois Secretary of State, defines DUI as

> operating a motor vehicle while impaired by alcohol, other drugs or intoxicating

compounds and methamphetamine. In Illinois, a driver is legally considered to be under the influence if he/she has a blood-alcohol concentration (BAC) of .08 or more, has used an illegal substance, or is impaired by medication. A driver's BAC is based on the ratio of alcohol to blood or breath. (p. 5)

The *2010 Illinois DUI Fact Book* (White, 2010) lists the following data from 2008:

- 408 people were killed in alcohol-related crashes, which is 39% of the 1,043 total crash fatalities.
- More than 48,000 DUI arrests were recorded by the Secretary of State's office
- 92% of all drivers arrested for DUI, who were eligible, lost their driving privileges.
- 2,187 drivers under age 21 lost their driving privileges due to "Use It & Lose It" law violations.
- 21% of those arrested for DUI are women, who represent 50% of all licensed drivers.
- Males age 21 to 24 had the highest DUI arrest rate (about 26 per 1,000 licensed drivers). This rate was four times greater than that of all other drivers arrested for DUI (6 per 1,000 licensed drivers).
- 83% of all drivers arrested for DUI are first offenders.

These numbers are similar to many of the statistics cited by national organizations such as MADD. The Illinois Secretary of State's website states that nationwide, there were 13,294 alcohol-related crashes in 2008 (the lowest number since 1961), which accounts for 36% of all crash-related fatalities. In fact, on their website, MADD cites that, as of 2008, approximately every 40 minutes a drunk driver kills a person. This statistic indicates 13,000 deaths

per year caused by impaired drivers. The 2009 statistics have shown those numbers have dropped to approximately 12,000 deaths per year (as of this writing, the 2010 statistics have not yet been posted on MADD's website). Considering the magnitude of this data, a DUI cannot be considered a "victimless crime," and it further indicates that law enforcement should develop a strategy targeting the reduction of DUI incidents.

A number of states have taken increased steps toward reducing the number of DUI offenders. Examples of these methods include enhancement of DUI to a felony offense under the appropriate circumstances (in lieu of a misdemeanor), the installation of the Breath Alcohol Ignition Interlock Device (BAIID) in offenders' vehicles, etc. Additionally, many states award hundreds of thousands of dollars in grant money for DUI saturation patrols and roadside safety checks as a method of curbing the DUI epidemic. Specifically, the State of Illinois and the Illinois Department of Transportation (IDOT) have taken advantage of and are dispersing federal grant monies to various police departments to step up the enforcement of the DUI statutes.

There may also be some concern over the officer's confidence level in making the DUI arrest. Does the individual officer's confidence level that the offender will be found guilty affect the rate of arrests? Does the average patrol officer feel that he or she has enough training/experience in this area to be effective? Does making the DUI arrest require the officer to become a specialist?

Though many successful programs have been implemented to reduce the number of DUI offenders on the road, it remains to be determined what method will reduce the number of DUI offenders/traffic fatalities related to the offense of DUI. Even though there are numerous theories related to employee motivation, this study explored perceived motivational factors concerning the enforcement of DUI laws. No attempt was made to generalize the results of this study to all types of police

officers who enforce DUI laws. This study characterizes the perceived motivating factors concerning the enforcement of DUI laws by municipal police officers from 12 departments assigned to an urban area in a Midwestern county. Such information could assist in the development of programs for professional police training. This study also explored the reasons that police officers either employ their discretion when dealing with the DUI offender or charge the offender with DUI and enforce the appropriate laws. The literature in the next section discusses various aspects of police officer motivation and, more specifically, the police officer's motivation to enforce DUI laws.

Literature Review

There is little research concerning the motivation of police officers to enforce DUI laws. There is a vast amount of research on general motivation of employees; however, very little specifically involves police officers. The number of theories pertaining to employee motivation is limited only by the number of authors willing to record their thoughts on paper. Some of the issues explored in this chapter include the issues of motivating employees, efficacy of rewards, or the relationship of the importance of respect to the individual in contrast to monetary rewards. Additional examination of employee morale, methods to curtail the potential morale problems of individual employees, and reduction of the spread of poor morale throughout the organization were examined.

Police departments are, for the most part, similar to many business organizations. Police departments operate on a budget (i.e., cost of equipment, salaries, fringe benefits, etc.). Although there is no tangible product that police departments manufacture, agencies are in the "business" of public service and, to some degree, the results are quantifiable. To determine if the services performed by the local police are adequate, the municipalities often utilize citizen surveys. A major difference is that the citizens, who in this instance

might be thought of as customers, have no choice in who provides their service. The local police departments have a monopoly on their service area in that they are the only source of law enforcement service available to the community.

Employers in general are always looking for methods to motivate less productive employees, and police administrators are no different. In other words, police departments' budgets do rely to some degree on call volume, calls for service, arrests made, and citations issued.

According to Gellerman (1992), "What managers like to call the 'real world' is, quite simply, wherever work is actually done" (p. 1). For purposes of this study, the real world can be defined as the communities that are patrolled by police officers 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Managers will be defined as personnel in the police chain of command above the rank of patrol officer (excluding detectives). The personnel within the police department may be, but are not limited to, the following ranks: sergeant, lieutenant, commander, captain, deputy chief, and chief.

Gellerman (1992) further states, "In the all-too-real managerial world, it is seldom very smart to follow simple formulas in your dealings with people, because the formulas hardly ever fit the facts" (p. 1). As much as applying formulas to the general population does not work, applying them to police officers would appear to be an even more difficult task. Police officers, either by their own nature or what they become through their line of work, are generally more independent and strong willed than the population they serve. Thus, it is more difficult to apply a "cookie cutter" approach to the type of character found in law enforcement.

Several different views exist concerning the motivation of employees. *Webster's II New College Dictionary* (2005) defines "to motivate" as to provide with an incentive (p. 732). Numerous types of incentives exist in today's

organizations and include monetary rewards, fringe benefits, work hours, etc. For example, Mitchell (2008) makes the point that managers should be "nice" to and "hug" their employees. The "hug" Mitchell is speaking of is more metaphorical than anything else. "Nice" may work with the average employee; however, in the realm of police work, "nice" is often seen as a sign of weakness. Police departments are mostly paramilitary organizations, which are structured much like the military in that they have a "chain of command" (lower level members must go through their immediate supervisors to contact supervisors higher in the chain of command), and orders are to be followed (short of those orders that are illegal or immoral).

Showing "respect" for your police department employees is probably a better route to travel than being "nice." For example, Haughton (2004) concluded that "more respect creates more initiative" (p. 205). This statement is the crux of police work. Police officers demand respect from the public in many ways—that is, the uniform and the badge are symbols that are expected to garner automatic respect. Additional examples of respect include the authority that is displayed by the police officer, the power of arrest, the power of life and death (under the right circumstances), and the power of discretion which is inherently in the police officer's daily arsenal (the ability to decide whether or not to arrest/cite/warn, etc., depending on the circumstances; i.e., severity of the violation, etc.). Use of these powers/symbols will bring more respect to the individual officer; the path to receiving respect from one's superiors is not always easily attained. Will superiors respect the officer who displays great arrest or ticket numbers, therefore employing less discretion? Will superiors respect an officer based on their handling of service calls, which may result in fewer arrests/tickets? Will superiors respect an officer who receives few complaints? Too few complaints may indicate that the officer is not aggressive enough in his enforcement of the laws, whereas too many complaints may indicate that the officer is too aggressive in his enforcement actions. Since departments are

paramilitary organizations, respect is virtually the core of police work, and lower ranks are expected to show respect for their superiors.

According to Montana and Mitchell (2005), "Love what you do" (p. 13). During the examination of the beginning of one's career, a person would be hard pressed to find an officer who would not say that he or she "loved their job." When police officers start as rookie patrol officers, there is almost an intoxication that comes with the job, putting on the uniform, the shiny new badge, the exhilaration of wearing a gun. Walleman (2011) addresses the issue of police morale. As police officers become more senior, morale and productivity tend to decline, while the expectation of promotion becomes greater. If he or she is not promoted in as timely a fashion as he or she believes he or she should be, morale tends to drop even more. Virtually every patrol officer starts out in his or her career with a "save the world mentality" or, at the very minimum, the desire to "help people." As time goes on, the shine wears off and the career is reduced to merely a job. Other factors become evident that impact the officers view of what he or she is doing: disgruntlement with the court system, lack of support from administration, being passed over for promotion, mistreatment by the general public, and so on. There is less and less desire to make arrests on a daily basis, and other avenues are explored as a means to use up a shift while completely avoiding "work." Within the framework of modern-day policing, there is a great amount of autonomy and discretion.

Pink (2009) discusses the topics of autonomy and control and recommends allowing employees to have the autonomy to take control of their workday, their careers, etc. A great amount of autonomy exists in police work. Police officers have virtually total control over where and when they patrol their assigned areas, which cars they stop, and whether or not they cite driver(s), mostly conducted without direct supervision. The traffic aspect of the patrol officer's job is extremely autonomous in that rarely if ever is there a supervisor on the scene for individual traffic stops. In fact, Mastrofski, Ritti, and Snipes (1994) address this very topic: "Supervisors and administrators remain as ignorant of passed-up enforcement opportunities as the patrol officer wishes to make them, since they become aware of offenses only when the *officer* decides to report them" (p. 114). This is a very telling statement. Short of one's supervisor or administrator working side by side with the individual officer, they will never know how often the individual officer employs his or her personal discretion—not only in the enforcement of the DUI laws, but of any laws. If the officer is "running radar" in a particular area, at what point does he or she make a traffic stop? Personal discretionary limits are employed. As an example, stopping every car that is exceeding the speed limit by 1 mph would not be feasible. It may strike the individual officer (depending on time, location, etc.) to stop the driver that is exceeding the speed limit by 15 mph or more.

When specifically examining the possible offense of DUI, depending on time and location, the officer may choose to employ his or her discretion when observing lane, traffic sign/signal violations, etc., whether he or she believes the driver may or may not be impaired. Some officers may choose to spend the "prime" hours seeking drunk drivers at locations other than main streets. This may be due to the officers' personal opinions regarding the offense of DUI and the belief that it is no big deal and only the result of the current day political climate. O'Connor (2007) touches specifically on the topic of why officers do or do not enforce the DUI statutes. He also proposed three reasons that police officers make these arrests: (1) the "rate busters," (2) the "moralists or drunk-haters," and (3) the "bounty hunters" (p. 4). Furthermore, O'Connor discussed officers who do not enforce the DUI statutes. He concluded this was often related to "laziness," the "opinion that DUI is not serious," and a "lack of faith in utility of arrest—no point to it" (p. 4). Discretion is the cornerstone of police work. Opportunities exist for a police officer to employ his

or her discretion. O'Connor defines *discretion* in the following way:

Philosophers such as Ronald Dworkin and H. L. A. Hart have referred to discretion as the "hole in the doughnut" (doughnut theory of discretion) and "where the law runs out" (natural law theory). In this perspective, discretion is the empty area in the middle of a ring consisting of policies and procedures. In addition, remember Davis' definition—the making of choices from among a number of alternatives? The freedom of being able to make choices is called a strong sense of discretion by Dworkin. In the weaker sense, we would consider cases in which not only the rules do not apply, but also the officer makes individualized judgments. In both senses, it is the problem of loose definition. The following analysis of terms may be helpful:

- *Discretion-as-judgment* – Discretion is the opposite of routine and habitual obedience. It brings knowledge, skill, and insight to bear in unpredictable ways. Police are not soldiers who must blindly follow orders (Theirs is not to reason why/theirs is but to do or die). Police must be more than competent at applying the rules; they must adapt those rules to local circumstances in a rule-bound way.

- *Discretion-as-choice* – Discretion is not just a matter of realizing when you are in a hole of the doughnut, or a "grey area." It involves making personal contributions, judgment calls, exercising autonomy, and individual solutions. It is about the courage to make your own decisions, to have personal input, following your conscience, even if a superior reverses those decisions later.

- *Discretion-as-discernment* – Discretion is not just about making "safe"

choices, or being "soft." It is about making good, virtuous choices by habit or the wisdom that comes from age (The better part of valor is discretion). Prudence, foresight, the ability to size up people, arguments, and situations. Tactfulness, tolerance, empathy, and being discreet are all forms of discernment.

- *Discretion-as-liberty* – Discretion is not where the law ends, nor is it the same as intellectually deriving principles from rules. It is about permission to act as a free and equal agent, and using that permission in extending the rights and duties of [the] office (under color of law) toward a vision of liberty, inalienable rights, and the kinds of things that no majority, rule, or principle can ever take away.

- *Discretion-as-license* – Discretion is the opposite of standard expectations. It is the privilege to go against the rules, disobey your superiors, be less than optimal or perfect all the time, all without degenerating the rules or eroding the trust between you, your superiors, or the public. License (not licentiousness) involves a sense of accountability that does not have to be formally recognized or structural.

Discretion is not doing as you please. Discretion is bounded by norms (professional norms, community norms, legal norms, moral norms). The future of policing as a profession depends upon whether discretion can be put to good use. (p. 1)

Under O'Connor's (2007) definition of discretion, the complexity of this issue can be seen within the framework of modern-day policing. There are very few occasions in which a police officer lacks discretion to enforce the laws. A police officer may employ discretion when it comes to traffic laws. However, for more serious offenses, the police officer may

not have the ability to employ discretion (in the instance of a victim who wishes to pursue criminal charges) or truly would not want to employ discretion (serious infractions that merit criminal charges regardless of the availability of a victim, i.e., murder). The traffic arena is truly the one place that the police officer has autonomy over arrests. In fact, again, O'Connor addresses these particular issues in that there are certain variables that affect the police officers' discretion: "offender variables" (who is the offender and what his or her demeanor is), "situation variables" (as stated above, the seriousness of the crime, presence of weapons, etc.), and finally "system variables" (how bogged down is the local court system, etc.). In considering the frameworks of discretion, the police officer's motivation must be studied. Discretion is not merely the act of either citing a violator (or not) for the particular violation. In some instances, discretion may very well be the intentional act of the individual officer to not place him- or herself in the position of encountering a particular violator—in this case, the DUI violator. The other aspect of police officer discretion may be the use of a cab or depending on the violator's location relative to his or her residence, possibly the violator being driven home by the officer.

Bolton (2007) specifically targets employee motivation:

> To perform effectively, employees must have the functional ability to do the job, a work environment conducive to executing job duties, and the desire to see their duties through. To a large degree, agencies determine officers' general ability during the selection and probation period. Providing a good work environment involves making sure officers have the tools they need to do their job, as well as an understanding of what is important to management about their job performance. For the purposes of this discussion, that understanding is communicated through policy and training. (p. 2)

Bolton (2007) outlines the agency's responsibilities in making sure their individual officers understand their role within the department. The scope of this statement includes activities completed by patrol officers, detectives, sergeants, and so on, during their day-to-day operation. Without guidance from management, how are the officers of the department expected to know what goals are to be attained? Bolton goes on to discuss that "personal desire to perform job duties is a performance dynamic that can be influenced by many factors." Some of these factors are "personality traits," "positive reinforcement," and "recognition programs" (p. 2). However, what works for one individual officer may not work for another. Bolton gets to the crux of what motivates many police officers to enforce various laws:

> The IACP chose to include "Incentives and Recognition" among the cornerstones of a good traffic safety program in the National Law Enforcement Challenge. The reality is that there are substantial differences between the glamour and adrenaline rush for an officer interrupting a burglary in progress, for instance, and that experienced by an officer who diligently enforces impaired-driving laws, consistently removing drunk drivers from the road. Even though such diligent enforcement may not be very glamorous, officers who undertake this duty have a greater potential to save lives and prevent injuries than officers participating in any other law enforcement activity. (p. 1)

Officers who produce the occasional arrest for burglary often receive more recognition as opposed to the officer who generates substantial numbers of DUI arrests even though this officer's efforts truly can be life-saving. The world that the police operate in is substantially different from the general public; the situations that police officers deal with on a daily basis are not the average situations dealt with by the average employee on a day-to-day basis. A crisis for a businessman may be

the loss of a sale. However, a crisis for a police officer is generally a life or death situation—that is, a hostage situation, armed robbery, etc. When placed in the proper perspective, the magnitude of the events that take place in a person's life takes on a different perspective when examining the crisis level for a police officer when dealing with the average citizen. Virtually every time the average citizen calls the police it is because there is some crisis in her or his life. The police officers have to sift through the day-to-day problems of the average citizen and determine which problem is truly a crisis. Very rarely do the calls that police officers respond to rise to the level of a true crisis. However, when dealing with the public, the officer does have to recognize that whatever the problem may be, it is of a high level of importance to that citizen at that point in time.

Matrofski et al. (1994) cited Westley's 1970 study of police officers and the difference between police work and other careers:

> These studies focused on features of police work that distinguished it from other occupations. Westley identified a subculture of secrecy and violence, which isolates the officer from the public and strengthens workgroup norms that often conflict with the law and department rules. Skolnick elaborated a police "working personality" shaped by danger and authority, both of which alienate police from society and rationalize an ends-justifies-the-means approach to law enforcement. (p. 115)

This statement indicates that police officers are different from the average employee in that their experiences are substantially different. The average employee's workday is not surrounded by secrecy, violence, and danger. These different work experiences will mold the individual police officer into a substantially different type of employee compared to other professions. Whether the officer adopts this as merely his or her "working personality"

or makes this his or her persona in general is up to the individual officer.

Discussions of employee motivation in several independent sources have indicated financial gain will likely not have a direct motivational effect on employee productivity. In many cases, the managers have to find what works for each officer on an individual basis to turn that person into the type of officer that the department wants.

Mastrofski et al. (1994) believe "arrest oriented" officers view the offense of DUI solely as a violation of the law that most often necessitates an arrest. The motivation behind this mentality may not be the same for every officer. Although, generally speaking, monetary gain is not considered a reliable motivator, there is always the exception to the rule, and some officers may be motivated by monetary gain in that the DUI arrest will garner them overtime as well as paid court appearances. In fact, Mastrofski et al. refer to these officers as "bounty hunters." They also indicate that there are some officers who will actively seek out the DUI offender because they believe they are a threat to public safety. When referencing the officers who enforce the DUI laws more diligently, Mastrofski et al. have employed some of the same terms that O'Connor (2007) used in his article about police discretion. If management cannot rely on financial gain as having a motivational effect on their personnel, then what incentives work? Other programs currently in effect are designed to motivate officers to increase their enforcement of the DUI laws through recognition of the officers who enforce the DUI laws with greater frequency. IDOT, the Alliance Against Intoxicated Motorists (AAIM), and MADD present awards to officers for their efforts to enforce the DUI laws. IDOT's program, which is based on a specific number of DUI arrests made by the individual officer(s) after attaining the level of 25, 50, 75, 100, 200, or more DUI arrests, the officer receives a certificate and a pin. The AAIM Award (2010) program is based on the top DUI officer(s) in each department per year for which the officers

are awarded a certificate. The MADD (2010) award is called "The Heroes Award," which is not merely for the number of DUI arrests made, but for other aspects of DUI enforcement such as the training of other officers, community outreach, etc. For all of these programs, it is up to the individual department to submit the officers' names who are worthy of these awards. The IDOT award is cumulative based on the individual officer, whereas the AAIM Award is based solely on the year and number of arrests. The count for the AAIM Award starts over on January 1 every year.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) has also introduced their "Law Enforcement Challenge." Directly from their website, the IACP (2011) states, "Highway Safety Initiatives . . . It's about saving lives." These incentives are aimed at the various departments rather than the individual officers. If we are going to make a case for enhanced DUI enforcement, the rationale for enforcing these laws should be about public safety, not awards or monetary gain (i.e., overtime to do nothing but seek DUI arrests).

Mastrofski et al. (1994) address the issue of motivating factors. They touch on the police subculture and the informal structures and forces that are often characterized as the police subculture: "There are also many official constraints on management's capacity to offer positive incentives to officers in contemporary police departments because of civil service rules, state and federal regulations, union contracts, and limited availability of desirable job assignments" (p. 127). There is no way for a police administrator to offer specific monetary incentives or bonuses for making DUI arrests. This would cause controversy from several groups, including the union, the citizens, and others. In fact, Mastrofski et al. touched specifically on this point: "Managers can distribute rewards and recognition in a number of ways: pay, promotions, desirable job assignments, favorable performance appraisals, special awards and commendations, and providing a number of career enhancing opportunities, such as additional education or training"

(p. 131). The rewards that Mastrofski et al. addressed have to be subtle by design and are not for any specific enforcement action. This goes back to the earlier discussion about rewarding officers for doing their job. However, if officers are rewarded with training, etc., this becomes a much more subjective type of reward. This may also lead to a discussion about which came first: the chicken or the egg. Did the officers perform better because they received better/more training or did they receive better/more training because they performed well? As stated above, there are organizations that are dedicated to the enforcement of the DUI laws that offer the patrol officers awards for their service. However, these awards are given based on the officers' performances, not arbitrarily.

If officers stated that more time off or more money would motivate them to take greater enforcement action, there could be collective bargaining issues. For example, grievances could be filed by officers who do not have the opportunity to enforce the DUI laws by virtue of the shifts they are assigned. In addition, officers could file grievances depending on how overtime is assigned for the various "details"—that is, roadblocks, saturation patrols, etc. The overtime for these types of enforcement details should be distributed. Oftentimes, these details are limited by the budgetary restraints of the department. If there is no grant money available, it may not be cost effective, especially for smaller departments, to implement a roadblock.

Mastrofski et al. (1994) also discussed the issue of time on the job. They cited a 1974 study by Dunlap & Associates in which initiative was believed to decline with length of service, while job skills and self-confidence were believed to increase. Consequently, it is not surprising that the literature on DUI enforcement shows conflicting results, with some studies finding a negative relation, others finding a positive one, and one finding no relationship at all. Mastrofski et al. refer to the officer who makes more than the average number of arrests for DUI as being a

"rate buster" in that he or she goes above and beyond the department's requirements and/or his or her peers' norm: "The rate busters' motivation for arrest productivity appears to be independent of the organization's extrinsic reward system" (p. 142). In fact, Mastrofski et al. believe

> Whatever the causal order of factors that determine the rate buster phenomenon, it stems from an interesting combination of features: high capability, opportunity, and estrangement. This mixture makes a potent "cocktail" for stimulating arrest productivity—and one that may discomfit those who expect public servants to execute laws as a consequence of their commitment to the law itself or at least in anticipation of organizational approval. (p. 142)

Bolton (2007) makes an interesting conclusion regarding the motivation of officers:

> Even for officers who understand the positive impact of consistent, aggressive traffic law enforcement on crash death and injury rates, educating the public with a ticket book is still a thankless job. When agency management publicly recognizes the value of traffic law enforcement, it reinforces for all officers and the public the agency's dedication of safer streets. (p. 3)

This is a very profound statement since few people think highly of the officer who "educates the public with a ticket book." Often, the officer who is aggressively enforcing the DUI laws will hear statements such as "slow down or they will expect all of us to make those kinds of numbers." Peer pressure in many cases can be a very strong influence on an individual's day-to-day activities. Depending on the departmental attitude, one's peers may encourage or discourage the individual officer to enforce the DUI laws. If the culture of the individual department supports DUI arrests, then individual officers will be encouraged and even praised by their peers to continue

enforcing DUI laws. Whereas in a department whose culture tends to discourage DUI arrests, the officers will tend to shy away from these arrests so that they do not become the brunt of peer ridicule. Most people, including police officers, want to fit into their respective groups and virtually nobody wants to be a social outcast.

Depending on the activity level of the individual department, making a DUI arrest can be time-consuming and may be frowned upon by the officer's coworkers: "Peer pressure is brought to bear on the high arrests just because DUI enforcement is discretionary and thus represents an attempt by peers to control officers who choose to emphasize DUI enforcement at a level beyond the informal norms of the workgroup" (Mastrofski et al., 1994, p. 140).

There is little research addressing the motivation of police officers concerning the enforcement of specific laws, let alone DUI laws. This study next explored other police officers' perceptions of motivational factors related to the enforcement of DUI statutes.

Findings and Conclusions

Motivational factors continued to be discussed—not only in relation to the field of police work, but also among the general population. The current literature contains various citations regarding employee motivation from being "nice" and "giving hugs" to allowing more autonomy to individual employees. This study involved a survey of perceived motivational factors of police officers from selected departments in Cook County, Illinois, concerning the arrests of DUI offenders.

Police departments are similar to other businesses in that they have to rely on their respective budgets as well as call volume, calls for service, arrests, and citations issued to operate efficiently. Police departments do not produce a tangible product; however, "productivity" is expected of the individual police officers through gathering statistical

data surrounding the number of arrests or citations issued by those officers. However, the job of police officer is a highly autonomous position. Discretion is an inherent part of the police officer's day, especially when it comes to traffic-related offenses and the enforcement of those offenses. Police officers have discretion concerning whom they stop and whether they issue citations to those violators. They regularly "pass up opportunities for enforcement" under the guise of discretion. For example, in this study, several factors were cited concerning the enforcement or lack of enforcement of DUI statutes: "laziness," the opinion that "DUI is not a serious offense," and that there is "no point" to enforcing these laws. In other words, there appears to be as many reasons not to enforce the DUI statutes as there are individual officers on the street not enforcing these laws. Discretion is a freedom of sorts; however, there are parameters in which discretion may be employed. Boundaries in which the police officers operate often involve several norms: professional, community, legal, and moral to name a few. In addition, other factors affect the dynamics of discretion. For example, one factor is personal desire to perform the job, which is influenced by personality traits, positive reinforcement, and recognition programs.

The response to this research was approximately 37.6%. The individual officers in this study may not have truly believed that their responses would be confidential. The response rate may have been affected by the perception that the officers' administration would have access to individual surveys, which was not true. The reader should be cautioned that the probability of a sampling error in this study is high due to the use of a purposive sample. Furthermore, due to the low cell frequencies, many of the Chi-Square tables' results may be distorted and should be interpreted only as tentative results.

There have been countless studies regarding the relationship between financial incentives and employee motivation. This topic has been studied with virtually the same results.

Most agree money is not a primary motivator. Short of being provided with a living wage, human beings have little motivation to work overtime. If the individual officers are making enough money to support their families and pay their bills, there is little motivation to work longer hours.

Utilizing the 13 hypotheses, seven of the null hypotheses were accepted and six were rejected. The research in this study found no significant relationship between the following variables: (1) professional advancement and of rank; (2) professional advancement and the average number of DUI arrests made by the individual officers; (3) overtime worked with the goal of affecting a DUI arrest and the average number of DUI arrests made per year; (4) officer recognition and awards received; (5) jurisdiction population and perception of resident priority; (6) years of service and the average number or arrests per year; and, finally, (7) the categories of self-motivation and training hours in the past two years. Conversely, the null hypothesis was rejected, and there appears to be a significant relationship between the following variables: perceived officer's recognition and rank, perceived self-motivation and officer's gender, professional advancement and overtime worked with the intended goal being the arrest of a DUI offender, the highest number of arrests for one single year and awards received, perceived supervisory priority and self-motivation, and, finally, years of service and highest number of DUI arrests in one year.

The examination of the compared variables will begin with the variables in which the null hypothesis was accepted. Table One examined the comparison between the respondents' perceptions of the possibility for professional advancement (i.e., promotion) and the various ranks (i.e., patrol officer, sergeant, etc.) within this study. From this study sample, it did not appear that the respondents, regardless of their respective rank within their departments, believed enforcement of the DUI statutes increases the probability of future promotions. In fact, the critical value was 12.592 and

the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result for this particular comparison was only 6.177, which is well below the critical value. The respondents in the survey, regardless of rank, do not believe promotions are tied to DUI arrests. In fact, supervisors in this survey may not have made many DUI arrests during their careers and do not see this as an avenue for promotion for their subordinates. If this is the case, these particular supervisors may not encourage their subordinates to enforce the DUI statutes.

The null hypothesis was accepted in Table Five, which involved a comparison between the respondents' perceptions of professional advancement and the average number of DUI arrests the individual officers made during the course of a year. Again, it appears that the respondents of this survey do not believe that there is a relationship between future promotions and enforcing the DUI statutes. The critical value was 21.026, whereas the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result for this comparison was only 14.367. It appears that the respondents of this study do not feel that there is a connection between DUI arrests and professional advancement.

The next table was Table Six, which examined the respondents' perceptions of working overtime (with the goal of arresting a DUI offender) and the average number of DUI arrests per year. As with the previous tables, the null hypothesis was accepted. The critical value was 26.296 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 22.596. It would seem logical that the respondents' perceptions of working overtime with the goal of arresting a DUI offender would inherently cause the number of arrests made by the respondents' net number of DUI arrests to increase. The results of this test are below the threshold for the Chi-Square Test but not by a large margin. The sample size or the Hawthorne Effect, as discussed earlier, could affect this.

The null hypothesis was accepted in Table Seven, which displays the respondents' perceptions of officer recognition as compared

to awards received (specifically for arresting DUI offenders; i.e., from AAIM, MADD, IDOT, etc.). The critical value for this comparison was 10.351, which is below the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result of 15.507. It appears from these data that the respondents of this survey do not perceive a relationship between officer recognition and awards from the following organizations: AAIM, MADD, and IDOT.

In Table Nine, the null hypothesis was accepted which examined the relationship between jurisdiction population and the respondents' perceptions of the priority placed on the arrest of DUI offenders by the residents of the communities. The critical value was 21.026 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 15.882, which was below the critical value. There was no relationship between the size of the population and the priority placed on the arrest of DUI offenders.

In Table Eleven, the null hypothesis was accepted. The table examined the relationship between respondents' years of service and the average number of DUI arrests per year. The critical value for this comparison was 26.296 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 17.223, which is below the critical value. The literature cites "rate busters" or officers who go out of their way to throw off the curve for the average number of DUI arrests per year. There was no relationship between the size of the population and the priority placed on the arrest of DUI offenders.

The final null hypothesis that was accepted was in Table Thirteen, and it involved the respondents' perceptions of self-motivation and the training hours completed over the past two years. The critical value for these data was 21.026 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 16.292, again below this value. There appears to be no relationship between the hours of training and the officers' self-motivation to make more DUI arrests. Ordinarily, it might be inferred that there would be a relationship between these variables in that training would increase the

officers' self-motivation to produce higher numbers of DUI arrests. In this study of selected police agencies in Cook County, this was not the case for this particular function of police work.

Next, this study examined the six significant relationships between the variables that were tested. In each case, the Chi-Square value exceeded the critical value. Table Two in Chapter Four illustrates the respondents' perceptions of recognition as compared to rank. It appears that there is a relationship between these two variables in that the critical value for this comparison was 15.507 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 50.141. The respondents in this study believed that an increase in arresting DUI offenders comes with a commensurate raise in supervisory recognition for the work performed.

Table Three discusses the relationship between the perceived self-motivation of the police officer respondent and gender. It appears that there is a relationship between self-motivation and the individual officer's gender. The critical value for this comparison was 15.507 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 68.355. It appears from the data that by virtue of the officer's gender, the research can predict whether the officer would exhibit self-motivation to actively arrest DUI offenders.

Next, Table Four revealed a significant relationship between the respondents' perceptions of professional advancement as compared with working overtime (with the goal being that of the arrest of a DUI offender). The critical value for this comparison of values was 21.026 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 54.667. It appears from the comparison of these two variables that the respondents' perceptions are that there may be some professional advancement associated with working overtime (with the goal of the arrest of a DUI offender). The null hypothesis was accepted when professional advancement was compared to rank and the average number of DUI arrests per year. Diaz (2010), who concluded that working overtime

gives employees a better chance of advancement, supported this finding. She reported that those perceived as hard-working, who go the extra mile while showing initiative, are often those who advance through promotion in most organizations.

Table Eight compared the respondents' year with the highest number of arrests (time in service) and awards received. There appeared to be a relationship between time in service (or in this case, lack of time in service) and having received awards for the enforcement of the DUI statutes from agencies, including AAIM, IDOT, and MADD. The critical value for this comparison was 15.507 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 55.190. The respondents in this study appeared to receive more of these awards for their DUI enforcement with less time in service. There may be a number of reasons for this finding. Depending on the structure of the departments, it is possible the officers with greater seniority will be assigned to the day shift where the opportunity to enforce the DUI statutes is inherently less. The officers with less time on the job not only may gravitate to the midnight shift where DUI offenders are prevalent, but they may also be more willing to work overtime related to these offenses. These officers may merely be more willing to work overtime in any capacity due to financial constraints, love of the job, newness of the job, etc.

The next null hypothesis that was rejected is exhibited in Table Ten and involved perceptions of supervisory priority in making DUI arrests and the individual officer's self-motivation. The critical value for this comparison was 26.296 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 35.649. This result is consistent with the literature. Durbin (2010) concluded that goal prioritization focuses efforts of employees in a consistent direction, improving their chances of success along with motivation and satisfaction. Furthermore, he found that one explanation for the contribution of goal prioritization by supervisors is that they create a discrepancy between what the individuals have and what they aspire to

achieve (self-motivation). Self-dissatisfaction with this discrepancy serves as an incentive to achieve.

Table Twelve explored the relationship between the years of service and the highest number of DUI arrests per year (time in service). The critical value for this comparison was 26.296 and the Chi-Square Test of Independent samples result was 59.262. There was a relationship between less time in service and higher DUI arrest rates. The respondents in this study reported that the highest rate for most were within the first six years of their respective careers. As seniority and age increase, the desire to work the midnight shift generally decreases. In addition, within the first six years of one's career, the fascination with the job is still present. Furthermore, employees with fewer years of service often report higher levels of self-initiated motivation (Pascarella, 2005).

This study revealed the results of a police officers survey in Cook County that explored the professional advancement that might be gained by arresting greater numbers of DUI offenders. In addition, there appeared to be a relationship between recognition for arresting greater numbers of DUI offenders and rank. In this study, gender was also a factor in the officers' self-motivation to make DUI arrests. Officers surveyed perceived a relationship between professional advancement and willingness to work overtime details with the goal of arresting DUI offenders. In addition, there appears to be a relationship between the highest number of arrests, time in service, and awards received by the individual officers. The results also indicated a relationship between the level of supervisory priority placed on arresting DUI offenders and the self-motivation of police officers to make arrests. Finally, this study found a relationship between years of service and the highest year (time in service) for DUI arrests for the individual officers. As previously discussed, it is possible that the officers in the study responded according to the expectations of their supervisors, otherwise known as the "Hawthorne Effect." The

officers may have been answering in a way that would place them in a favorable light with supervisors.

This study involves 10% of the municipal police departments in Cook County, Illinois. For the purposes of this study, it is only representative of the 12 departments that were included in the purposive sample. This study would have been more representative of police agencies in Cook County if a random sample of all departments had been utilized. However, the results of this study may assist police administrators in developing innovative motivational techniques to facilitate more effective enforcement of the DUI statutes.

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David J. Kerfman has been working for police departments in various capacities for the past 29 years. He has been employed as a patrol officer for the Des Plaines (IL) Police Department for the past 16 years. He received his Bachelor of Arts in Criminal Justice (minors in Psychology and Sociology) from the University of Illinois at Chicago in 2005, and he graduated from Western Illinois University with a Master of Arts in Law Enforcement and Justice Administration in December 2011. He has received awards from AAIM, IDOT, and MADD for his efforts to combat the DUI epidemic on Illinois' roads.

Designing Law Enforcement: Adaptive Strategies for the Complex Environment

John A. Bertetto, Police Officer, Chicago Police Department

Crime Control Strategies

As law enforcement professionals, we often hold two things as fact. First, we acknowledge that the world in which we operate is ever changing and different than the one we were familiar with in the past. Second, when designing strategies to combat crime and criminal activity, we look into the past for strategies that have proven successful and reimplement them. That the contradictory nature of these two things is rarely recognized and even more rarely reconciled continues to be a source of mystery. However, by placing these two statements side by side, it should be clear that they stand in direct conflict with one another. If today's operational environment is different than that of the past, how can any previously implemented strategy have any real hope of being successful? Crime and criminal organizations may be similar to those that came before them, but the players and their relationships with each other are different. This dramatically affects our existing framework for understanding these problems. Understanding this change in the operational environment is the first step toward designing new strategies that have the opportunity to be proven successful, but it is still not enough for operational success. The designing of successful law enforcement strategies must be an evolutionary process that occurs in real time in response to and, in the best of circumstances, *before* the evolutionary and adaptive environmental changes occurring at the same time. To design such strategies, law enforcement agencies must change the way they think, evaluate, understand, and implement enforcement strategies. They must use design thinking to create adaptive strategies that evolve in real time with the operational environment.

Proof, Logic, and the Environment

Before any adaptive strategies can be implemented, the nature and relationship between proof, logic, and the environment must be clearly understood. For law enforcement, proof is typically described through statistical data: percent increase or decrease in crime or enforcement activity. These statistics are the yard mark from which we measure operational success. It is important to understand that this form of proof comes at the conclusion of a process; it is its end state. Even proof of a purely philosophical nature must come at the conclusion of a logical process. The point to understand is that one cannot prove something beforehand.

Logic involves the cognitive process that allows for reliable inference. One thinks logically when a judgment that is made is based upon what has been known to happen in the past, is likely to happen again, and can be inferred to occur in the future. Reliability requires that conditions be constant, or fairly constant, so that outcomes of like processes remain the same.

The environment that we in law enforcement operate in is, of course, the real world. Our operational environment is that portion of the real world in which we seek to implement any strategy. The environment is an open and complex system. Complex systems, unlike merely complicated systems, are dependant in nature and based upon relationships. Complicated systems are composed of multiple, interacting components that can be broken apart into their respective pieces and examined independently. Aircraft and wristwatches are complicated systems. Complex systems rely on relationships, and the whole of the system turns upon changes in those relationships. When

any relationship is affected, the whole of the system is affected. Complex systems all share the trait of emergence, which means they can change without any outside influence. Consider as an example the criminal street gang. The gang itself is a complex system, relying on relationships to function and exist. It shows the quality of emergence as internal gang conflicts result in the shifting of allegiances within the gang, and power struggles result in internal gang violence. It is also an open system in that it is affected by outside influence. Conflicts with other gangs and enforcement activities from law enforcement affect it as a system.

The relationship between proof, logic, and the environment has critical implications for the design of effective crime strategies. Given that the environment is a complex system and in a constant state of evolution and that prior strategies, no matter how successful, are based upon an understanding of relationships that likely no longer exist, it is not logical to think that a strategy proven successful in the past will prove successful today. Rather, those early strategies serve, at best, as a starting point for designing new strategies for today's environment.

Design Thinking and Adaptive Campaigning

Design thinking and the concept of adaptive campaigning are not new. Roger Martin, the dean of the Rotman School of Management at the University of Toronto, has written extensively on design thinking. In his book *The Design of Business*, Martin (2009) describes the idea of design thinking as that of using what we know to look to what *might be*, rather than what has been done before. Design thinking, then, is itself the practiced application of logic to strategy.

Adaptive campaigning is a similar concept that has been used by the Australian military for some time (Australian Army, 2006, 2009b). In *Adaptive Campaigning – Future Land Operating Concept*, the Australian Army (2009a) indicated the key themes of adaptive campaigning as

the influencing and shaping of perceptions, allegiances, and actions of populations through a persistent, pervasive, and proportionate response; the orchestration of a whole-of-government effort across five interdependent and mutually reinforcing conceptual lines of operation; warfare as a continuous meeting engagement and competitive learning environment requiring a flexible, agile, resilient, responsive and robust Land Force; [and] a command climate that challenges understanding and assumptions founded in the philosophy of "Mission Command." (p. 1)

The goal of adaptive campaigning is to understand the complex environment and to design strategies specific and adaptive to diverse and diffuse threats. This is a theme that can be traced back still further to an article written by Marine Corps General Charles C. Krulak (1999). In "The Strategic Corporal: Leadership in the Three Block War," General Krulak describes future battles as being complex in nature, in which operators "may be confronted by the entire spectrum of tactical challenges in the span of a few hours and within the space of three contiguous city blocks" (p. 4).

Design thinking and adaptive campaigning have also recently been included in the U.S. Army's operational planning. In a very thorough and well-presented article, Brigadier General Wass de Czege (2009) describes both the need and the practice of design thinking in strategic planning. Referring to the kind of thinking needed to address complex missions as "operational art," Wass de Czege states, "Fundamentally, operational art requires balancing design and planning while remaining open to learning and adapting quickly to change. Design is not a new idea" (p. 2). Owing to the efforts of military thinkers, such as Wass de Czege, the latest version of the U.S. Army's (2010) *Field Manual 5-0: The Operations Process* contains a chapter devoted to design thinking as part of the creation process of military strategies.

It should be clear from these documents that design thinking and adaptive strategies have real and demonstrable value in addressing the challenges encountered in today's complex and evolving environment. Though the language is decidedly military, the operational applicability of design and adaptive campaigning to law enforcement is inherent.

Designing Adaptive Strategies

Understanding the complex system that is the operational environment is a daunting task. It requires a full set of data, involving all the criminal offenders and criminal organizations in a given operational environment and the relationships they have within that environment, with each other, and within their organizations. Law enforcement has been very good at "doing things right," but at times it has struggled with "doing the right things." The procedural nature of law enforcement operations—tactical applications such as street stops, warrant sweeps, search warrant execution, and enforcement actions—has refined the practice of "doing things right." However, "doing the right things" involves receiving and recognizing relevant information and acting upon it. When designing adaptive strategies, "doing the right things" must delve still further. Law enforcement must also understand the causal relationships between the various operators in the environment and design strategies that exert direct influence upon these relationships in a manner intended to cause a specific or desired response.

The understanding and exertion of influence is the very heart of designing adaptive strategies. All strategies are designed to create a desired end state, but the adaptive strategy is designed to repeatedly exert influence on the causal and dependent relationships. Adaptive strategies have at their core a cycle of understanding the environment as it currently exists, designing strategies to affect relationships in the environment, influencing those relationships to change the environment in an intended manner, and evaluating the environmental response. As the environment changes with each cycle, the designers recognize the

changes in real time and adapt the strategy in response. In this cyclic manner, the strategy itself is evolutionary, and the designers guide the environment to the desired end state.

Understanding, Predicting, and Preventing Adaptation

The first step in the design process is the assembling of a team of competent and creative individuals. Members should be chosen for their ability to think critically, recognize salient data and relationships, understand the complex nature of the studied system or systems, and to be creative. Once this team has been established, it is necessary to develop a complete understanding of the targeted system. This involves direct contact with the environment itself and the front-line officers who have day-to-day contact with the operators. Complex systems change often, and the design team must have a real-time understanding of the operational environment in order to develop an accurate framework. Design strategies will only be successful if they affect relevant relationships. Historical data serves a purpose in understanding context and may give an indication of possible future actions but should not be relied upon extensively.

The goal of an adaptive strategy is to affect causal relationships so as to disrupt, destabilize, and eventually dismantle a criminal organization. Unfortunately, most law enforcement strategies are reactive in nature: law enforcement agents recognize a trend, act to combat that trend, and change both strategy and tactics as new trends emerge. With design and adaptive strategies, there exists the opportunity to become proactive, combating a given criminal organization before it has a chance to establish any trend. Human beings are creatures of habituation. Patterns of behavior are often repeated, and this same habituation is prevalent in systems that are governed by humans. As the understanding of the operational environment and the criminal organizations within it grows, this type of habituation may be recognized and often predicted. To understand this most simply, consider the relationship between

spouses. Years of cohabitation and interaction have created an understanding that allows one spouse to adequately predict the other's reaction to an action or behavior. With this prediction, one spouse can determine the other's likely response to any given course of action. This can, in some instances, be applied to select criminal organizations. Once a thorough understanding is achieved, law enforcement strategies can be created that not only affect targeted relationships but also have a predictable expectation of the criminal organization's response. By anticipating the response, the designers can have the next evolution in their adaptive strategy prepared in advance. This type of logical inference accomplishes two things: first, it allows the agency to get "in front" of the criminal activity rather than always reacting to it, and second, it prevents the organization from ever fully adapting to the changes in the environment.

For these criminal organizations, which operate in a manner where habituation allows for prediction, the ability for the law enforcement agency to prevent adaptation will in short order dismantle that organization. The criminal organization will not be able to settle into any routine behavior but will always be in a reactive mode itself; the ground upon which it attempts to operate will be unstable. Without this stability, control of the organization and its ability to efficiently conduct its "business" will be lost.

Adaptive strategies have another critical benefit when used against criminal organizations like street gangs. In law enforcement operations where the senior leader or leaders of the street gang are removed, a power vacuum within the gang is created. Middle-tier gang members often increase acts of violence as they struggle both with each other for control over the criminal organization and with rival gangs who see a weakened organization. However, by focusing on relationships, individuals targeted using adaptive strategies are most often these middle-tier operators. Their removal from the operational environment via incarceration prevents the kind of power vacuum that is created when the senior leader

or leaders of the gang are removed. Their removal from the organization also creates a "management" gap between senior gang leaders and street-level operators, resulting in further internal instability that can be exploited to collapse the gang.

The designed instability and collapse of a criminal organization can be difficult. Many street gangs can often be impossible to predict due to their fragmented and young leadership, which can lead to a form of constant instability. For these organizations, the designing of adaptive strategies may be most effective. The unpredictability of an institutionalized instability aids in the dismantling of the organization; chaos leads to inefficiency, both in criminal activity and the ability to conceal that criminal activity. By understanding the operational environment and the criminal organizations within it, and then designing adaptive strategies that target relationships, a constant pressure is created that will serve to disrupt, destabilize, and ultimately dismantle those organizations.

Command and Leadership

Most law enforcement agencies, being hierarchical in design, lend themselves easily to the implementation of adaptive strategies. The question is, at what level in the organization should command of the design team be inserted? Command must be high enough within the organization to allow for the holistic overview of all interagency assets and the authority to use them and to coordinate all agency efforts with whatever external law enforcement agencies, intergovernmental supporting agencies, and nongovernmental agencies are required. At the same time, command must have the ability to work directly with those agents engaged in the day-to-day interaction and enforcement efforts. For larger agencies, where regions inside their jurisdictions have operational environments and criminal organizations distinct from those in other regions, command should be separated into different efforts. For smaller agencies, command may be consolidated.

Command should also welcome a difference in opinion from members of their design team. Dissent is not negative so long as it serves to either increase the understanding of the operational environment or advance the understanding of the problem. If the environment is not thoroughly understood or the problem is not properly framed, the developed strategy will be limited in its success. Command should not see these types of questions as a threat to their authority but as the necessary part of the design process.

Conclusion

By using design thinking as the primary process for creating adaptive crime control strategies, law enforcement agencies will find themselves increasingly effective in disrupting criminal activity and reducing crime. Command staff members in charge of such strategic planning should assemble a group of critical and creative thinkers who can take the necessary time to understand the complex network of relationships in their operational environment and who can use this knowledge to design adaptive strategies that target those relationships. The endeavor requires a substantial time and resource commitment, but in doing so, agencies may eventually find themselves with a thorough enough understanding of the various criminal organizations within their operational environment that they can predict likely responses to enforcement actions and plan the next wave of enforcement actions in advance. By understanding the environment as it exists in real time and continuing the cycle of understanding, designing, influencing, and evaluating, designers can guide their target through a series of intended responses. When used against criminal organizations, such as street gangs, adaptive strategies target and exploit the relationships among middle-tier operators resulting in their incarceration and removal from the operational environment. Without these middle-tier operators, the ability for the criminal organization to effectively conduct its criminal affairs is lost, resulting in the disruption, destabilization, and dismantling of the organization

in a way that prevents a power vacuum and the violence typically associated with it.

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John A. Bertetto is a sworn member of the Chicago Police Department. He is the co-author of "Leadership for the Patrol Officer," a course of instruction taught at the Chicago Police Academy, and "Toward a Police Ethos: Defining Our Values as a Call to Action." Officer Bertetto holds a Master of Science degree from Western Illinois University and a Master of Business Administration from St. Xavier University.

Court of Appeal Rules Names of Peace Officers Involved in Shootings Are Not Confidential

Michael P. Stone, Founding Partner, Stone Busailah LLP
Melanie C. Smith, Attorney, Stone Busailah LLP

In December 2010, Long Beach police officers shot and killed an intoxicated man who was holding a garden hose nozzle that, from a distance, the officers believed to be a gun. A reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* made a request to the City of Long Beach under the California Public Records Act (CPRA) for the names of the officers involved in that shooting, as well as the names of Long Beach officers involved in shootings for the preceding five years. *Long Beach Police Officers Association v. City of Long Beach*, Case No. B231245, February 7, 2012 (California Court of Appeal, Second Appellate District), slip op. at 3.

The Long Beach Police Officers Association (LBPOA) brought a complaint against the City, seeking a temporary restraining order and preliminary and permanent injunctions to prevent the City from releasing the officers' names. After a temporary restraining order was issued, the *Times* intervened and opposed the request for an injunction. The City essentially sided with the LBPOA, arguing that the officers' names should be protected. The trial court ruled in favor of the *Times* on the issue of a preliminary injunction. The court determined that the officers' names were not protected as a part of the officers' "personnel records" and that the public interest in keeping the names private did not outweigh the public interest in disclosing the names. The LBPOA and the City appealed. Slip op. at 3-5.

Stone Busailah, LLP attorneys Michael P. Stone and Melanie C. Smith joined in the case as *Amici Curiae* ("Friends of the Court") on behalf of the Los Angeles Police Protective League, in support of the LBPOA.

The question for the Court of Appeal was whether the CPRA, *Government Code* § 6250 *et seq.*, requires disclosure of the requested names, or whether an exemption under the CPRA applies to prevent disclosure of the names. Specifically, the Court considered whether the names of officers involved in shootings are considered confidential "personnel records" under *Penal Code* § 832.7 and § 832.8, and therefore exempt from disclosure under *Government Code* § 6254(k). The Court also considered whether the disclosure of the names constitutes an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy under § 6254© or whether the public interest in nondisclosure outweighs the public interest in disclosure under § 6255. The Court ruled that none of these exemptions apply to protecting the names of officers involved in shootings.

The CPRA declares that "access to information concerning the conduct of the people's business is a fundamental and necessary right of every person in this state" (§ 6250), and it provides that local and state agencies must make copies of public records available to a person who requests them (§ 6253). However, the CPRA also contains provisions safeguarding certain privacy interests. The provisions at issue in this case are as follows:

§ **6254:** Except as provided in Sections 6254.7 and 6254.13, nothing in this chapter shall be construed to require disclosure of records that are any of the following:

. . .

© Personnel, medical, or similar files, the disclosure of which would constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy.

. . .

(k) Records, the disclosure of which is exempted or prohibited pursuant to federal or state law, including, but not limited to, provisions of the Evidence Code relating to privilege.

§ 6255: (a) The agency shall justify withholding any record by demonstrating that the record in question is exempt under express provisions of this chapter or that on the facts of the particular case the public interest served by not disclosing the record clearly outweighs the public interest served by disclosure of the record.

The LBPOA and the City argued that the names of officers involved in shootings are exempt from disclosure under § 6254(k) because they are part of the officers' confidential personnel records under *Penal Code* § 832.7 and § 832.8. Section 832.7 provides in part that "[p]eace officer or custodial officer personnel records maintained by any state or local agency pursuant to Section 832.5, or information obtained from these records, are confidential. . . ." Section 832.8 defines personnel records as records relating to personal data (e.g., marital status, home addresses, family members, etc.); medical history; election of employee benefits; employee advancement, appraisal, or discipline; complaints or investigations of complaints; and "[a]ny other information the disclosure of which would constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy."

In rejecting the application of § 6254(k) (*see generally* slip op. at 9-20), the Court relied in part on *Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training* (2007), 42 Cal. 4th at 278 ("*POST*"), which held that the mere identification of an individual as a police officer is not part of a confidential "personnel record" under § 832.8 and that the CPRA requires disclosure of peace officers' names in connection with the basic fact of their employment as peace officers, their employing department(s), and dates of their employment. *POST* stated that "the legislative concern [behind § 832.7 and § 832.8] appears to have been with linking a named

officer to the private or sensitive information listed in section 832.8." 42 Cal. 4th at 295.

POST made it clear that the mere identities of peace officers are not confidential, but the LBPOA and the City argued that since shootings by police officers are investigated internally, releasing the names of officers involved in shootings necessarily reveals the names of officers under internal investigation. *Copley Press, Inc. v. Superior Court* (2006), 39 Cal. 4th at 1272, held that a peace officer's identity is confidential when it is sought in connection with information concerning an internal investigation or discipline because records of disciplinary matters, including administrative appeals of discipline, are confidential under § 832.7. Under *Copley Press, Inc.*, a department could not release the names of officers who, for example, have been disciplined or are appealing discipline.

In the *Long Beach* case, the Court of Appeal concluded, as did the trial court, that releasing the names of officers in connection with an event like a shooting is not the same as releasing the names of officers in connection with internal disciplinary matters, even though shootings are internally investigated. The Court held that an officer's identity cannot be "transform[ed] . . . into confidential information by asserting that the officer's involvement in a shooting has resulted in an appraisal or discipline." The fact of an officer's involvement in an activity like a shooting does not reveal any information about what may have ultimately resulted in terms of internal discipline. Slip op. at 18, *citing POST*, 42 Cal. 4th at 291 ("we do not believe that the Legislature intended that a public agency be able to shield information from public disclosure simply by placing it in a file that contains the type of information specified in section 832.8"). The Court then pointed out that an investigation following a shooting is not the same as a "complaint" under § 832.8(e). Slip op. at 19-20.

The Court also considered an Attorney General opinion which concluded that the names of police officers involved in a critical incident

must be disclosed in response to a CPRA request unless under the facts of a particular case the public interest in nondisclosure outweighs the public interest in disclosure. *See* 91 Ops. Cal. Atty. Gen. 11.

Turning its attention to § 6254© and § 6255, the Court rejected the LBPOA's and the City's arguments that safety concerns justify withholding the names of officers involved in shootings. *See generally* slip op. at 20-26.

The Court affirmed that "[t]he public interest in the conduct of peace officers is substantial" (slip op. at 21) and that police officers "carry upon their shoulders the cloak of authority" and "the public must be kept fully informed of the activities of its peace officers" (slip op. at 21, *quoting POST*, 42 Cal. 4th at 297). Moreover, the Court recognized that there is a "heightened public interest in disclosure when an officer is involved in a shooting." Slip op. at 21, *citing New York Times Co. v. Superior Court* (1997), 52 Cal. App. 4th 97, disapproved on another point in *Copley Press*, 39 Cal. 4th at 1272.

While in particular cases the facts and circumstances may demonstrate that anonymity is essential to an officer's safety, in this case the Court of Appeal agreed with the trial court that the safety concerns presented by LBPOA and the City were too generalized and speculative to justify withholding the officers' names; there were no facts suggesting that the specific officers whose names were requested in this case have been threatened. *See generally* slip op. at 22-25.

The *Long Beach* holding, while no doubt disappointing to many, and with widespread impact on tens of thousands of peace officers in California, is not wholly surprising or unexpected based on the holdings of previous cases, particularly *New York Times Co.*, *POST*, and *Copley Press, Inc*. Indeed, many law enforcement agencies in this state or across the country routinely choose to release the names of officers involved in shootings or other critical incidents even without a formal request.

Even in this case, the names of the officers involved in the December 2010 shooting were released when the District Attorney's Office completed its criminal investigation, which is *not* confidential.

It should be kept in mind, however, that officers' names in connection with a critical incident *may* still be withheld from disclosure if the agency can *specifically* demonstrate on a *case-by-case basis* that an officer's anonymity is essential to his or her safety and that the need to protect the officer outweighs the considerable public interest in disclosure.

Note: *Since this paper was submitted, the California Supreme Court agreed to hear this case to review the Court of Appeals' decision. As before, the firm will be appearing as Amicus Curiae on behalf of the Los Angeles Police Protective League and in support of the Long Beach Police Officers Association. Whatever the Supreme Court does with this case will be very important to interested media, agencies, the public, and the officers, and it will be the subject of a future paper as soon as the Supreme Court rules in this case.*

Michael P. Stone is the founding partner and principal shareholder of Stone Busailah LLP. He has practiced almost exclusively in police law and litigation for 32 years, following 13 years as a police officer, supervisor, and police attorney.

Melanie C. Smith is an associate with Stone Busailah LLP and is a graduate of Loyola Law School, Los Angeles.

Law Enforcement Officers: Perspectives on Race, Credibility, and the Community

David J. Thomas, PhD, LMHC, Associate Professor, Justice Studies, College of Professional Studies, Florida Gulf Coast University
Tony A. Barringer, EdD, Professor, Interim Dean, College of Professional Studies, Florida Gulf Coast University

Professional law enforcement has had an image problem within minority communities since its inception. Monkkonen (1981) presented the following two hypotheses for looking at policing in America and its relationship with minority communities: (1) the growth of American policing was in response to a rise in crime and civil disorder or (2) the growth in American policing was in response to the needs of the elite of American society to have the police act as a buffer between them and what he describes as the dangerous class. The dangerous class can be defined as the faceless in U.S. society and include the poor, minorities, criminals, and tramps (p. 87). Still the question remains which hypothesis is correct or, more importantly, who will be on the front line to protect the citizens from the dangerous class? What is their value system? Where do their loyalties lie?

Brief History of the Police and the Minority Community

There has always been a basic mistrust of police within the minority community. Historically, police have been viewed as an occupying army with one goal: arresting or, better yet, suppressing the activities of what can be described as an embattled community that is plagued with a number of social ills which were and are much bigger than the police. The first examples can be seen during the 1800s wherein the sheriff's responsibilities included slave patrols, quelling slave uprisings, and recapturing runaway slaves (Thomas, 2011). The trend and image have continued since the 1800s well into this millennium with complaints of excessive force and brutality. One

major difference now versus in the past is that officers' actions are being captured on video, with the Rodney King incident setting the precedent.

Monkkonen (1981) argues that the growth of American policing was not out of need but more about protecting the elite Americans from what he describes as the dangerous class which are described as minorities, the poor, criminals, and tramps (p. 87). To support Monkkonen's hypothesis historically, there have been a number of government-sanctioned commissions which detailed the conduct of police within the minority communities. Below are a few examples of their findings:

- *Wickersham Commission (1931)* – The *Report on Lawlessness in Law Enforcement* detailed police misconduct in the forms of protracted questioning, threats and methods of intimidation, physical brutality, illegal detention, and refusal to allow suspects access to counsel.

- *The Kerner Commission (1968)* – This commission was established by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1967 to examine the causes of the inner-city riots of which two of the most violent were in Detroit and Newark. The Commission noted, "The abrasive relationship between the police and the minority communities has been a major—and explosive—source of grievance, tension and disorder. The blame must be shared by the total society" (p. 14). The real cause of the tension was the demands on police service as a result of a higher crime rate, aggressive

patrol practices, and no effective mechanism for grievances to be heard because of poor police practices.

- *FBI Counterintelligence Program (COIN-TELPRO, 1956-1971)* – COINTELPRO was charged with targeting foreign intelligence agencies operating in the U.S. during the Cold War. However, the mission changed in the 1960s when the FBI became the political police in the U.S. The FBI mounted counter-intelligence programs to disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the civil rights, black liberation, Puerto Rican independence, and anti-war and student movements of the 1960s. In 1964, the FBI authored a number of forged documents and letters to destroy the credibility of activists in order to sway their supporters. They even went as far as sending a letter to Dr. Martin Luther King suggesting that he commit suicide (Churchill & Vander Wall, 2002).

- *The Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department (The Christopher Commission) (The City of Los Angeles, 1991)* – The Christopher Commission was established in 1991 after the beating of Rodney King by the Los Angeles Police Department and the resulting Los Angeles Riots. The Commission completed a survey regarding ethnic bias and excessive force. The survey included 960 officers, and the results are as follows:

  - 24.5% of the 650 officers who responded agreed that racial bias (prejudice) on the part of the officers toward minority citizens contributes to a negative interaction between police and the community. 55.4% disagreed, and 20.1 % had no opinion.

  - 27.6% of the respondents agreed that an officer's prejudice toward a suspect's race may lead to excessive force. 57.3% disagreed, and 15% had no opinion (p. 69).

  - The Commission also noted that this issue dates back some 25 years after the 1965 Los Angeles Riots. The McCone Commission of 1965 observed that there were many reasons for the riots. However, police brutality in the African-American community was a reoccurring theme as to one of the causes of the riots. In 1965, the McCone Commission noted that there must be open communication between the African-American community and the police.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative Action legislation was designed to give minorities and women an opportunity to enter the workforce in careers where access had been denied. The origins of Affirmative Action began in 1966 when President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order 11246. It was later passed into law in 1972 and is now known as the *Equal Employment Opportunity Act*, which extended coverage to local and state governments. The purpose of Affirmative Action was racial desegregation of the American workforce, access to skill and professional training, as well as granting a place in the hierarchy of the American workplace (Dipboye & Colella, 2005; Eastland, 1997; Ezorsky, 1991).

One theory that has been out there for years suggests that if agencies hired more minorities, then it would make a difference in how the minority community perceives police and that the community would be more accepting of police actions if the officers looked like them. What the pundits never figured is that the minority community looks at minority officers as sell-outs; and in the African-American community, they are considered "traitors or Uncle Toms" or as one African-American father stated to me regarding his son, "My son is a sellout. When my son became the police, he turned his back on the community and his family. The police have done nothing but hurt our people and our community" (Thomas, 2011). Bolton and Feagin (2004) note that the barriers are twofold: (1) acceptance within the agency where black officers have to prove to their white counterparts that they are deserving of the uniform and (2) tearing down the

wall that the community has built after years of mistrust and abuse (p. 43). The reality is that no one trusts the minority officer, and he or she has to prove his or her worth on both fronts.

As a result of the Kerner Commission's report in 1967, agencies began recruiting and hiring minority officers into their ranks. This transition was not smooth, and some agencies had to be sued by the Justice Department or decrees mandating the hiring of minority officers had to be made. This was not limited to minority males but to females as well. When minority officers were hired in these cases, the process was deemed as tainted by the white officers. More importantly, minority officers were not seen as equal or, even worse, they were not viewed as being qualified (Dale, 2002; Delattre, 2011; Gaines & Worrall, 2012).

Demographics and Hiring Trends

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) (2004), there are 836,787 full-time, sworn, law enforcement officers serving in the U.S. Of the 836,787 listed, 731,903 worked at the local and state level(s), and the remaining 104,884 worked in federal agencies. The BJS also disclosed that of the federal officers, 33.2% were members of racial or ethnic minority groups. In regards to the local and state agencies, 42.4% were members of ethnic or racial minority groups. The above numbers look encouraging until there is greater scrutiny based on factors such as community population and future projections.

Passel and Cohn (2008) project that by 2050, minorities, collectively, will make up more than 50% of the U.S. population (p. 3). That is compared to the current 32% that currently makes up the minority population. A problem with taking the above numbers as a true representation is that many communities are still "segregated"; thus, we have a high concentration of minorities in some neighborhoods, and with that high concentration, it would be expected that a high number of minority officers would be needed in order to maintain fair representation in that community. Also,

the high concentration of minorities should influence/increase the number of applicants from minority groups.

Saltzstein (1989) suggested that a large population of African Americans in a city means more minority candidates are going to apply for and be selected to receive a police officer's job notwithstanding any other factors that may come into play. Saltzstein went on to offer that the African-American population in a city was the strongest predictor of the increase in the hiring of African-American officers. Although Saltzstein provides some very valuable insight(s), his offerings implicitly discount the importance of other factors argued to be significant in minority inclusion in American policing. Below you will find numbers which are specific to Florida and the number of minorities who are actively in law enforcement there. The datasets are dated because of 9-11 and are not published on an annual basis.

The Socialization Process

When an individual decides to become a police officer, the indoctrination begins with the application, background check, pre-employment testing, as well as psychological testing with the understanding that each phase is designed to eliminate candidates who do not meet the agency's minimum standards. The candidate is offered a job and enters the academy. While in the academy, they are indoctrinated into the police culture. Upon graduation from the academy, the candidate enters the Field Training Officer Program, and this is where a new candidate learns the challenges of the street and seeks acceptance of senior training officers. In order to be accepted, the candidate must accept the agency's culture, mores, and values, and the candidate's failure to do so may just mean that he or she does not fit. This is quite likely to result in the candidate being eliminated from the field training, or the candidate might decide to leave due to his or her personal values being in conflict with those of the agency.

Snapshot of Minority Representation in Florida's Law Enforcement Agencies

Chart 1. Comparative 5-Year Report of Criminal Justice Officer Population by Minority and Gender (ATMS)

	Minority and gender breakdown			
	2007	% of total	2002	% of total
Asian	637	0.81	362	0.52
Black	15,629	19.89	12,830	18.43
Hispanic	8,538	10.87	6,297	9.05
White	52,508	67.29	49,788	71.54
Other	559	0.71	336	0.48
Male	61,127	77.79	55,315	79.46
Female	17,452	21.31	14,298	20.54

Chart 2. Number of Full-Time Law Enforcement Officers Employed by Sheriffs' Offices and Police Departments Reported by Agency Size (ATMS)

Range	# of sheriff's agencies	Sheriff's FT officers	# of PD agencies	PD's FT officers	Total number of agencies	Total 2007 FT officers	% of total officer population
<10	6	40	59	305	65	345	1%
10-49	19	518	136	3,316	155	3,834	10.3%
50-99	6	414	34	2,422	40	2,836	7.7%
100-200	9	1,364	31	4,601	40	5,965	16.1%
201-300	16	4,396	7	1,731	23	6,127	16.5%
>301	11	12,320	10	5,605	21	17,925	48.4%
	67	**19,052**	**277**	**17,980**	**344**	**37,032**	100%

Data for charts obtained from the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (2007)

It is important to note that organizational values are most often associated with ethics and morals and that they become deeply entrenched within the personnel. It is also important to note that a community may appear to have several different value systems, and this is often how police enforce the law. Cities are composed of multiple value systems which are built upon issues of race, community, and conflict (Massey, 2002; Rex, 1973). For police to be effective, they must understand that each of these value systems is in play, and it is important for them to know the difference(s).

When there is a case of police misconduct, individual and agency police values seem to be challenged. The question for every chief goes beyond the agency's internal value system to also include those that the agency has communicated publicly. The most common forms of communication of an agency's value system

are the actions of agency personnel. It should be noted that this does not happen in a vacuum. Personnel actions are coupled with administrative decisions, and they solidify organizational values and public opinion (Barrett & George, 2006; Manning, 2003; Mawby, 2002).

The concepts of crime, crime prevention, and police are relative to the community, and the perception is different based on the department's efforts and communication. Any response to crime must take into account the diversity of circumstances characterizing each locality (Levine, 2007; Lewis & Salem, 1988). Failing to make such adjustments allows different segments of the community to view police practices as biased, which was noted by Weitzer and Tuch (2006). A 2006 survey administered by Weitzer and Tuch determined the following: 77% of African Americans, 63% of Latinos, and 47% of whites surveyed believed

socioeconomic status was synonymous with the type of police service an agency provides (p. 80). The data reflect the notion that a community's perception is their reality.

The Police Personality

The police personality is unique within American culture and is also responsible for the development of certain traits that are ostensibly found in policing. Skolnick (2004) offers an analysis of the police personality stating that it consists of two elements: (1) danger and (2) authority. Danger is associated with potential violence and lawbreaking, and, as a result, the officer is suspicious and becomes isolated socially because of his or her role. The element of authority is associated with enforcing laws and regulating public activity (p. 101).

In contrast, Jones (1995) asserts that there are at least six attributes that are unique to the police subculture:

1. *Conservatism* – Police are generally more conservative than the general population, and this isn't necessarily negative. However, it is often seen as being closed-minded with traditional views of the world and American culture (p. 209). What reinforces this belief system is training, enforcing the law, and their peers.

2. *Machismo* – Policing is a profession that requires the ultimate in physical and mental toughness (p. 209). This aspect of the personality can hamper the negotiation process because it may keep the negotiator from utilizing empathy as a way to reach the offender.

3. *Pragmatism* – By nature of the profession, police are very practical, look for functionality, and are response oriented. By being pragmatic, the mission is less complicated. However, in doing so, police overlook such concepts as innovation, experimentation, and/or research (p. 209). As an organization, change is very difficult and slow. In the past, change did not take place unless it was associated with tragedy.

4. *Mission Orientation* – Police view themselves as protectors or guardians of society. There is a tendency to stereotype, and this is especially evident in minority communities (p. 209). If this is a tendency, then how can an officer effectively negotiate with a minority offender?

5. *Prejudice* – Although this issue is hotly debated, organizations are consistently attempting to defend their actions to minority communities. It is important to understand that the community's perception is their reality, and it may not be consistent with that of the agency. Unfortunately, this issue is not limited to the agency in question. One major incident can make every department and officer suspect.

6. *Suspiciousness* – This is the cornerstone of all policing. However, in many cases, this is not just an aptitude used in dealing with suspects or the public, it is the line officer's feeling toward the administration and a general lack of trust. The feeling is that the administration will bow to city or county fathers rather than support the officers and, in so doing, will compromise the integrity of the department to do what is politically correct or expedient. In essence, in some agencies, this creates an "us versus them" mentality, dividing the department.

At face value, the aforementioned attributes presented by Skolnick (2004) and Jones (1995) appear to be contributing factors to the minority community's view of police departments as a whole. In addition, one has to wonder if these personality traits are the source of tension between the many subcultures within policing and the established majority.

Research Question and Methodology

In 2006, the authors developed and administered an eight-question survey, which was distributed to 100 Florida law enforcement officers to examine their opinions of race and how they were viewed within their agencies and their communities, respectively. Each

officer had a minimum of ten years of service within their respective department.

Officer Profiles:

White males	N = 70
African-American males	N = 15
White females	N = 10
African-American females	N = 5
Total	**N = 100**

Research Question: Is there racism in policing, and are there different operational standards for Caucasian officers versus minority officers?

Hypothesis: There is no racism in policing, and there are no differences in the operational standards between Caucasian officers and minority officers.

Null Hypothesis: There is racism in policing, and there are different operational standards for Caucasian and minority officers.

Limitations of the Study: The limitations of the study are the lack of minority participation; however, based on the numbers of minorities in policing, we would be hard pressed to have a study which included equal numbers. In addition, the population was limited to white and African-American males and females, excluding every other ethnicity. The final limitation is that this study is a representative sample of Florida law enforcement and excludes federal law enforcement officers as well as local, county, and state law enforcement in 49 other states.

1. Is there a difference in being a white officer and a minority officer?
   a. 100% (N = 70) of the white male officers replied that there was no difference and most noted that a police officer is a police officer.
   b. 100% (N = 30) of the minority officers replied that there were differences, and some even detailed a hierarchy in the following order:
      (1) White males
      (2) Black males
      (3) White females
      (4) Black females

2. Have you personally witnessed acts of discrimination by your fellow officers?
   100% (N = 100) of the officers were aware of acts of discrimination by their fellow officers.

3. Is the administration aware of these acts of discrimination and was there ever disciplinary action taken as a result?
   a. 90% (N = 70 white males, $n = 5$ black males, $n = 3$ white females, $n = 2$ black females) responded that the administration was aware of the situation and nothing had been done in any of the cases— not even corrective counseling by the first-line supervisors.
   b. 10% of respondents ($n = 10$ black males, $n = 7$ white females, $n = 3$ black females) did not know if the administration was aware of the acts of discrimination.

4. What was the most common form of discrimination that you witnessed?
   a. 76% of respondents ($n = 54$ white males, N = 15 black males, N = 5 black females, $n = 2$ white females) noted the most common form of discriminatory act were racial slurs.
   b. 24% ($n = 24$) did not answer the question.

5. Were racial slurs ever associated with acts of excessive force? For example, punching and kicking after a suspect was in custody and offering no resistance.
   80% ($n = 12$) black males and 100% (N = 5) black females noted the use of racial slurs and went on to describe acts of excessive force which they had witnessed. None of the white officers (male or female) were aware of any incidents of excessive force or brutality.

6. Those of you who witnessed excessive force, did you report the officers?
   100% of the officers who witnessed the acts of excessive force did not report the violations, noting it was easier to intervene or stop the acts than to report the white officers for fear they would be ostracized.

7. What do you believe your role is in your community and do you police differently based on your assignment in the community?

a. 100% (N = 100) of the officers believed that their role was to protect and serve the citizens of their respective communities.

b. 45% (*n* = 32) of white males believed that they had to be more cautious when dealing with the minority community, noting that it is where the most violent crime occurs.

c. 55% (*n* = 68) of the remaining respondents noted that it does not matter and that policing is the same no matter what.

8. Has your agency participated in discriminatory hiring, promotions, and/or assignments?

   a. *Hiring Practices*
      - 100% (N = 70) of white males noted that their agency had discriminated in hiring practices by hiring minorities who weren't qualified and, in doing so, they lowered the professional standard.
      - 60% (*n* = 9) black males and 20% (*n* = 2) white females also noted that the agency had discriminated in its hiring practices.
      - 20% (*n* = 19) noted that the agency had not participated in discriminatory hiring practices.

   b. *Promotional Practices*
      - 100% (N = 100) noted that the agency consistently changes the promotional process depending on who they want to promote. Although promotions are sought by many, it is believed that it is not about qualifications but who the agency likes the most or if it is trying to meet a quota when promoting a minority.

   c. *Assignments*
      - 100% (N = 70) white males noted that the agency had participated in discriminatory assignments stating preference had been given to females and blacks to such assignments as training, personnel, detectives, and administration.
      - In contrast, 80% of the white females (*n* = 8) and black males (*n* = 12), and 100% of the black females (N = 5) did not perceive this as a problem within their agency.

In evaluating the data, it is clear that there are differences in the white majority and the minority officers in perception as well as in practice. What is most disturbing is that the African-American officers both male and female witnessed acts of discrimination and excessive force within the community but failed to do anything about it. Yet, the minority officers complain that they have to work twice as hard to change the perception of the minority community. However, when examining the data, the white officers refuse to acknowledge that there is a problem or that they have witnessed acts of excessive force. As we noted earlier, the community's perception is their reality.

Observations: When addressing the issues associated with minority officers and balancing their career between the community and the agency, there are several issues which are associated with a minority officer's survival:

1. *Qualifications*
   a. Minority officers are of the belief that to be accepted, they must acquiesce to the demands of the majority and accept their values even when they are wrong and even when it hurts the community that they serve. Yet, it is clear that the white majority do not respect the minority officers because they are viewed as not being qualified, continually having to prove themselves, and as being there because the agency lowered their standards from hiring to promotion.
   b. Regarding education, most agencies are now requiring at least an associate's degree. The opinion is that even with degrees, minority officers still find that they are continually fighting for the respect of their peers.
   c. Many minorities are eliminated from the applicant pools due to being school dropouts. Stinchcomb and Terry (1995) indicated that white applicants, rather than ethnic minority applicants, were more likely to score higher on written tests, which might simply reflect the applicants' educational experience.

2. *Sociological Aversion*
   Many minorities are taught that the police are the enemy and should always be avoided. This belief system impacts the number of minority applicants who are willing to enter the profession.
3. *Background*
   a. *Criminal Record* – Minorities carry a larger burden of the criminal records held in American society. Whether just or not, these records are disqualifying applicants at an alarming rate—even for minor, nonviolent offenses.
   b. *Drug Use* – Many departments have a stipulated time period in which the applicant must have been drug free. The time period varies from agency to agency.
   c. *Felonious Family Members* – Due to the level of crime in most minority communities, it is very likely that applicants will have family members who have been convicted of a felony.
   d. *Psychological Testing* – Ho (2001) found that racial minority applicants are less likely to be recommended by a psychologist on the basis of psychological testing and assessment. He went on to suggest that a psychologist's recommendation does not have any significant impact on police recruitment decisions among the non-white group.
4. *Unequal Application of the Rules*
   a. The minority participants in the study expressed a concern over the lack of consistency when it comes to screening and processing applicants. The concerned participants suggested that, oftentimes, non-minorities are allowed to continue in the application process even though their records had been flagged by the background investigator(s). The participants announced that this practice was pretty much non-existent with minority applicants.
   b. One participant revealed that although they [the administration] may not consciously block the hiring of blacks, females, Hispanics, Native Americans, or Asians, it appears that executives tend to hire, retain, and promote individuals who have qualities similar to themselves: similar economic background, similar culture, similar ideology, and same gender.
   c. Even though the chief administrator of an agency may espouse his desire to hire, retain, and promote minorities, the people in positions to have an impact on hiring, retaining, and promoting may not share that commitment.

Recommendations and Possible Solutions:
1. Minority groups should assume partial responsibility for the dilemma.
2. Expose minority youth early on to positive experiences with the police.
3. Help the youth to understand how decisions in their youth can have lasting consequences.
4. Require of the agencies that they have hiring committees that are racially and ethnically balanced, even if civilians are needed to create the balance.
5. Encourage minority youth to see the importance of education as the standards for entrance are being raised in all job markets.
6. Agencies should attend career fairs at educational institutions that have high numbers of minorities in an effort to show that the agencies are serious in their efforts to hire minority officers.
7. Hiring practices should continue to be monitored and scrutinized until significant gains are made in the hiring of minority officers.
8. To eliminate issues associated with hiring, transfers, and promotions, develop a series of committees in which the officers assist in the development of standards which will best suit the needs of the organization. This will do two things: (1) it makes the officers responsible and (2) it gives them ownership in the agency and the process. Ultimately, this validates the process for future candidates.
9. We have completed training assessments of several law enforcement agencies throughout the country, and each agency has their own definition of *community policing* and how it works. Funding/permitting agencies need to find a common definition of

community policing and institute new programs which involve community/police partnerships. These efforts reduce tension and suspiciousness in the minority community and provide youth with positive images of the law enforcement role. To institute such a policy, it will require a change in value system, which has to begin at the top.

Conclusion

From a practical perspective, it could be argued that police are police no matter the race or gender. This is supported by the data, and there are three striking points: (1) white officers note that the police are the police no matter what and there are no differences; (2) minority police officers fail to report acts of discrimination or excessive force when they are witnesses to the violations; and (3) when these acts are perpetrated in the minority community, all officers are viewed as one. Minority officers do not understand that by failing to respond in either situation, they have lost the respect of their white counterparts. In addition, a minority officer's malfeasance of duty within the minority community allows the officer to be seen as a traitor. The irony in this situation is that the minority officer truly believes that he or she is balancing the agency and their career but, in actuality, they have lost the respect of their peers and the community.

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David J. Thomas, PhD, currently serves as an associate professor in the College of Justice Studies at Florida Gulf Coast University. Dr. Thomas earned his doctorate in Forensic Psychology, and his Master of Education is in Curriculum Design and Instruction. He retired from the Gainesville Police Department after 20 years of service. During his tenure as a law enforcement officer, Dr. Thomas served in patrol, detectives, community-oriented policing, SWAT, hostage negotiations, and training. Dr. Thomas is a certified law enforcement trainer in the State of Florida, with over 25 years of training experience. His training expertise is in firearms, defensive tactics, driving, diversity, and general subjects.

Dr. Tony A. Barringer currently serves as the Interim Dean in the College of Professional Studies at Florida Gulf Coast University (FGCU). He has also chaired the Division of Justice Studies and has over 18 years in the criminal justice field. Dr. Barringer is a Full Professor of Justice Studies, and he welcomes collaboration on research projects as he has varied interests. He has a keen interest in the interaction of criminal justice personnel and the citizenry, and he has had numerous articles published on issues involving minority groups and the criminal justice system.

Contact Information
Dr. Tony A. Barringer
College of Professional Studies
10501 FGCU Boulevard South
Florida Gulf Coast University
Ft. Myers, FL 33965-6565
Fax: (239) 590-7842

An Examination of Police Corruption in Russia

Thomas J. Jurkanin, PhD, Assistant Professor, Department of Criminal Justice Administration, Middle Tennessee State University
Vladimir Sergevnin, PhD, Assistant Professor, Director of the Center for Applied Criminal Justice, Western Illinois University, Editor of the *Law Enforcement Executive Forum*, Editor of the *Western Journal of Criminal Justice*

This paper is an outgrowth of discussions and research presented at a conference entitled "Corruption in Mexico, Russia and the United States," which was conducted at Vanderbilt University on October 13 and 14, 2011. The authors served as presenters.

Introduction

When comparing the nature and forms of police corruption in the United States and the Russian Federation, we find many similarities; however, there are obvious cultural differences that must be examined. The authors realize that intercultural comparisons are difficult and risky due to such factors as the absence of a universal definition of corruption, differing legal systems, unique cultural interpretations of survey research results, and lost meaning in translation.

Despite considerable differences in law enforcement organizational structures (centralized in Russia vs. decentralized in the U.S.) and citizen attitudes toward the law (legal nihilism in Russia vs. generally accepted obedience to law in the U.S.), Russia is similar to the U.S. with respect to the impact of police corruption. Universally, police corruption, in all of its forms, diminishes public trust in the police and in government and undermines the states' ability to exercise democracy (U.S.) and democratic transformation (Russia). One distinguishing difference between police corruption in the U.S. and Russia is that in the U.S., corruption is usually committed by one or two rogue cops; while in Russia, corruption is commonplace and systemwide, with many conspirators.

Public corruption is global. Transparency International's 2010 Global Corruption Barometer found that 60% of those surveyed in 86 countries and territories indicated that corruption has increased over the past three years (Beyerle, 2011). In Russia, as in many other countries, corruption is not going away, despite multiple governmental efforts of reform. When U.S. Vice President Joe Biden visited Russia recently, he cited corruption as the number one impediment to better economic relations and pointedly mentioned Sergei Magnitsky, a lawyer who died in custody in 2009 after accusing the police of corruption (Colvin, 2011). Members of the U.S. Congress introduced legislation in 2010 that would impose financial sanctions and visa bans on Russian officials implicated in the case of Sergei Magnitsky. The measure's sponsors—including Senator Benjamin L. Cardin, a Maryland Democrat, and Representative Jim McGovern, a Massachusetts Democrat—said it was intended to spur the Russian government to properly investigate Mr. Magnitsky's death. His defenders contend that he was jailed in an effort to force him to falsify testimony against Hermitage Capital Management, a major foreign investment fund that once had large holdings in Russia. His death caused widespread outrage and focused renewed attention on police tactics and corruption in Russia.

Governance under the Medvedev-Putin Regime has been marked by an inattention to "state quality"; the goal of the efficient government and meeting the needs of the people has not been a priority (Taylor, 2011). Decentralized police and security agencies have remained relatively unchanged from the former totalitarian regime and, in fact, have been more effectively utilized by those in power to protect the private interests of government leaders and the interests of their business allies (Gudkov, 2011).

Data on Police Corruption

Public corruption and misconduct in Russia is highly latent, especially within empowered law enforcement agencies. The Ministry of Interior in Russia is very protective with regard to the release of data on public corruption. In addition, it is not clear that such data would be useful due to the fact that only a few corrupt police officials are caught, charged, and convicted of specific public corruption-related crimes. It is estimated that only 1% of such violations have been recorded. In short, the latent character of corruption makes it difficult to gather data. The lack of hard data on police corruption, generally, and on reported cases and investigative and judicial outcomes, specifically, requires that researchers seek out alternative qualitative methods (such as surveys and public opinion polls) designed to gather indirect information on the extent of the problem.

What is well-known within law enforcement circles and in the experience of the Russian people is that police corruption is widespread, systemic, and institutionalized. Indeed, corrupt police behavior is the norm rather than the exception in the majority of law enforcement agencies.

The Law and Public Corruption

As previously noted, corruption is a universal phenomenon in government; no country is immune. The dynamics of power, authority, and access set the stage for dishonest public officials to gain personal advantage. In short, public corruption is "the abuse of public office for private profit" (Senturia, 1968). Government accountability measures ideally would require that the interaction between those holding authority (public officials) and the client (citizen, institution, corporation, etc.) be formalized and based upon law, policy, and protocol. In reality, however, an undetermined number of clients seek to contravene such formal and legalistic procedures for purposes of (1) gaining more prioritized and personalized attention from state authorized personnel and agencies; and/or (2) maximizing

their personal involvement and influence in the state empowered decisionmaking process, thereby gaining personal power with state-authorized institutions and personnel. In exchange for personal influence and access, such clients are willing to provide remuneration (in many forms) to those in power.

Article 1 of the Federal Law of Russia is entitled "On Combating Corruption" (2008). It provides the definition of public corruption and reads as follows:

> (a) abuse of power, bribery, receiving bribes, commercial bribery, or other unlawful use of a natural person of his official position contrary to the legitimate interests of society and the state in order to obtain benefits in the form of money, valuables or other property or services, property nature, or other proprietary rights for itself or for third parties or illegal provision of such benefits to the specified person or other individuals; (b) the commission of acts referred to in subparagraph "a" on behalf of or in interests of the legal entities.

In reviewing the above cited legal definition and further analyzing Russian criminal law, it is clear that corruption includes a number of elements and offenses such as the following: (1) Abuse of Power (Article 285 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation [CC RF]); (2) Bribery (Articles 290 and 291 CC RF); (3) Forgery (Article 292 CC RF); (4) Threat or Violent Actions in Connection with Execution of Justice or a Preliminary Investigation (Article 296 CC RF); (5) Involvement Known to Be Innocent of Criminal Responsibility (Article 299 CC RF); (6) Illegal Exemption from Criminal Responsibility (Article 300 CC RF); (7) Illegal Custody or Detention (Article 301 CC RF); (8) Being Forced to Testify (Article 302 CC RF); (9) Falsification of Evidence (Article 303 CC RF); (10) Provocation of a Bribe or Commercial Bribery (Article 304 CC RF); (11) False Evidence, Expert Opinion, Specialist, or Mistranslation (Article 307 CC RF); (12) Bribery or Coercion to Testify or to Evade

Testimony or Wrong Translation (Article 309 CC RF); (13) Disclosure of Information from a Preliminary Investigation (Article 310 CC RF); (14) Disclosure of Information Regarding Security Measures Used Against a Judge Involved in Criminal Proceedings (Article 311 CC RF); (15) Illegal Actions Against the Property Subjected to Inventory or Subject to Arrest or Confiscation (Article 312 CC RF); and (16) Concealment of Crimes (Article 316 CC RF).

The first four legal articles cited above pertain to crimes against the government (local/state/federal) or civil service. The remaining legal articles pertain to crimes against the interests of justice (Sopneva, 2009). There is certain vagueness in Russian legislation concerning corruption. The *Criminal Code* provides liability for corruption-related offenses such as receiving (Article 290) and giving (Article 291) a bribe, and for other misconduct such as abuse of power (Article 285), excessive use of official powers (Article 286), and forgery (Article 292). Federal laws "On the Basis of Public Service of the Russian Federation" (Article 11) and "On the General Principles of Local Self-Government " (Article 60) prohibit municipal and state employees from accepting fees, including money, gifts, or services (from individuals or entities). Similar prohibitions can be found in the regulations on law enforcement services pertaining to control over drug trafficking, drugs, and psychotropic materials. Ironically, Article 575 of the *Russian Civil Code* permits civil servants and employees of municipal governments to accept gifts in connection with their official position and performance of duties, with the restriction that the gift value shall not exceed the combined total of the employee's wages over five pay periods.

Oftentimes, law does not translate into practice. In spite of what appears to be extensive federal law prohibiting acts of public corruption, Russian law enforcement has been described as following a paradigm of "predatory policing"—enriching themselves and the Ministry of the Interior as a whole rather than protecting the public interest (Gerber & Mendelson, 2008).

Dimensions of Police Corruption

In analyzing corruption in Russia, it is useful to review and note several related dimensions of the problem such as the political, ideological, and moral realities.

Political Dimension

So-called Kremlin-controlled *sovereign democracy* in the last decade has failed to establish an open and lawful society. The Russian government and law enforcement agencies continue to operate under Soviet-style secrecy.

Ideological Dimension

The current Russian state did not develop a clear and coherent reform ideology in relation to law and justice inasmuch as the politically elite fully recognize the exigent benefits of corruption. The politically elite and their party in the new regime failed to promote loyalty to a new idea or paradigm (as was the case in the transitional period from czarism to communism) and, instead, promoted an atmosphere that emphasized personal loyalty and cronyism.

Moral Dimension

The demise of the Soviet Union was followed by a period of moral devaluation of governmental practice. Rising political leaders failed to establish an operating governmental environment built upon a foundation of moral and ethical values. Ostensibly, the new Russian state was created in an environment which could best be characterized as a moral vacuum—void of clear laws, ethical standards, and a desire and commitment to do the right thing.

The operative word in characterizing the last two decades of Russian government operations is *obogashaiytes!* (enrich yourself!). As a result, the damaging effects on law enforcement and all government institutions have been significant. Establishing ethical leadership is the first step in fighting police corruption and instituting reform. However, following the demise of the Soviet Union and during the Yeltsin-Putin-

Medvedev transitional period, police leaders were selected based upon their loyalty in protecting the personal interests of the politically elite.

In a study of militia cadets and recent police officer academy graduates, Beck and Lee (2002) found that many of those surveyed believed that corruption is morally acceptable/justifiable under certain circumstances or for purposes of achieving particular goals—generally, when the crimes were victimless or when it was necessary to help friends and/or family members (McCarthy, 2010). Citizen opinion polls show that the majority of Russians, particularly Russian youth, do not consider bribery to be a crime.

Police and Corruption

In 2000, the Ministry of the Interior (*Ministerstvo Vnutrennykh Del* [MVD]) employed approximately one million people—roughly five times the number of combined personnel employed in prosecutor's offices and the courts. Prior to the well-published reforms of 2011, there were approximately one-and-one-half to two million people employed in the Russian police force. In 2007, the number of police officers employed in the new Russia eclipsed the number of law enforcement officers employed in the former Soviet Union. In Russia today, there is one police officer for every 75 citizens. Policing is one of Russia's largest professions (Gladarev, 2008b). The rule of law in Russia is enforced by local divisions of the MVD. Fifty percent of all territorial law enforcement departments operate in rural areas.

Widespread corruption is an obstacle to the progressive development of Russian society. Public corruption in Russia is so pervasive that it has effectively penetrated all political, economic, judicial, and social institutions (Cheloukhine & Haberfeld, 2011). In his annual address to the federal assembly, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev (2010) conservatively estimated the annual cost of public corruption and "kickbacks" to be one trillion rubles (approximately $34 billion) per year. A leading

Russian sociologist who specializes in corruption estimated that the value of bribes paid annually by Russians rose from $33 billion when Putin came to power (1999) to more than $400 billion at the end of his presidency in 2008 (Freeland, 2011). Transparency International (an anti-corruption watchdog group) estimates that one-third of Russian businesses have been targeted by police in attempted bribery schemes and corporate raids. Moscow's City Hall established an anti-corruption hotline for the reporting of suspected public corruption and noted a tenfold jump in complaints in 2009 alone, up from 200 complaints to more than 2,000 complaints (Matthews & Nemtsova, 2010).

Factors Related to Corruption

While the form and structure of the Russian government changed dramatically over the past two decades, law enforcement is one social institution that largely remained the same, retaining Soviet structures, traditions, and work techniques. Russian police are faced with many day-to-day problems that collectively contribute to the problem of police corruption, including budget deficits and low wages; poor working conditions and excessive workloads; poor recruitment, selection, and training; and imperfections in the system of laws pertaining to the administration and oversight of the police (Gladarev, 2008b).

Many police researchers contend that other factors relating to police corruption are at work, creating a working environment which fuels and reinforces police officer dependency upon corruptive practices. Alcoholism in policing is a persistent problem, and it affects the judgment and working habits of police; police often seek out and cultivate relationships with business owners, clubs, restaurants, and grocery stores to negotiate payoffs and kickbacks; many police officers maintain informal and friendly relations with the criminal underworld, accepting cash payoffs and other valuables; and, finally, police officers often enter into personal and business relationships with suspects, defendants, witnesses, victims, lawyers, and other criminal

justice or government employees to influence cases and legal proceedings (Sopneva, 2009).

The Police and Public Trust

A basic tenant of guaranteeing justice is the establishment of trust in the system. All public officials must adhere to a strict code of ethical and moral conduct in the performance of their duties. The police must earn the respect and trust of the people they serve. As previously stated, the demise of the Soviet Union did not spur any major police reforms. It is a widely accepted fact that the Russian citizens do not trust the police. Russian citizens view the police as being outdated, inefficient, corrupt, and lacking basic systems of accountability at every level within the organization. In one citizen survey taken in 2002, the following question was posed: "If you encountered a threat to your property, or were a victim of physical violence, whose protection would be the most reliable?" Only 29% of respondents said that it would be the police. Twenty-eight percent said friends and relatives, and 10% said other criminal authorities (Kliamkin & Timofeev, 2002).

Transparency

The Russian police have retained the secretive atmosphere of the Soviet-style system in order to hide weaknesses and inefficiencies. Law enforcement data and especially information regarding cases of police misconduct and criminal activity, such as those cases reported, investigated, and prosecuted, are most often held as "classified information" for office use only. Information is restricted, and public and press information requests are denied.

Culture of Corruption

Police corruption in Russia today is not characterized as a problem of a few rogue officers choosing to gain personally from the powers of their position. Rather, corruption is systemic and embedded in the operating structures of police institutions; there exists a culture of corruption.

Fine (2010) conducted an extensive cross-cultural study of public corruption in 27 countries and found that Russian government workers scored relatively low with respect to assessments of professional integrity as compared to workers in the other countries studied. In another study, 435 Russian police officers were interviewed, representing various regions of the county (Sopneva, 2009). Thirty-two percent of the police officers interviewed reported that it was a common practice for police officers to violate the law and be involved in practices of corruption.

In analyzing cases involving police disciplinary actions that were reported by the Russian MVD, there is evidence of a dramatic increase of police misconduct. In 1993, the Russian MVD reported 2,204 disciplinary actions against police officers; and in 1998, it reported that such cases had increased to 4,075. While disciplinary cases may involve behaviors which do not necessarily rise to the level of criminal misconduct, reported numbers nonetheless provide evidence of a working environment in which officers routinely disregard professional protocol.

In terms of verified criminal cases against police officers involving corruption, there was a two-fold increase in such cases from 1992 through 1996. In analyzing all criminal cases filed against the police, there is evidence that criminal violations include not only acts of official misconduct, but they also include the commission of serious common crimes. Dolgova, Vanyushkin, Il'in, and Romanova (1997) reported that from 1991 to 1998 there were 634 police officers charged with murder, 1,094 charged with willful infliction of injury, 1,300 charged with looting or robbery, and 400 charged with rape. From 1996 to 2002, the number of crimes by police officers against persons or property doubled. In the same time period, the number of crimes committed by the police against the interests of public service increased eightfold. Bribery charges against the police have increased nearly sevenfold. Many of the criminal acts committed by the police are related to their increasing involvement with organized criminal gangs. Altukhov (2000)

reported that in 1998 he identified 400 cases linking police officials or groups of police officers to the criminal acts. Many cases identified police officials as leaders of organized criminal gangs/enterprises/networks. The statistics on police corruption and police involvement in organized criminal networks are staggering. Almost every third crime against the interests of public service is committed by the police and is associated with graft (Hajiyev, 2009). In one survey, 92.1 Russian citizens reported that they believed that police officers took bribes on a regular basis (McCarthy, 2010).

In 2009, the MVD reported approximately 104,000 offenses committed by officers of the interior. The Central Register (State Information Analytical Center of the MVD) identified approximately 60,000 police employees who were involved in some form of misconduct. Of this number, 4,202 involved formal criminal investigations—an increase of 11% from 2008. In 2009 a total of 2,717 police officials were indicted in criminal court. In further analyzing the data, it is clear that most of these cases were related to corruption—abuse of power, bribery, and forgery.

Russian citizens universally understand that the police operated within an environment/structure of corruption. As such, citizens fully recognize that when they are stopped or questioned by the police, a bribe may well be expected. According to a sociological survey on corruption conducted by the INDEM Fund (Information Science for Democracy, Russia), citizen entrapment into some form of police-related corruption is a very likely occurrence. This study calculated "corruption risk" as an index of the amount of pressure exerted by authorities upon citizens. In addition, the study measured "readiness to bribe" as an index of the citizens' willingness to comply with the corruptive pressure. In other words, to what extent are citizens willing to pay a bribe in order to avoid receiving a citation or further involvement with the police? The study found indexes of both "corruption risk" and "readiness to bribe" to be at such significantly high levels that it is logical to conclude

that corruption is an expected and common practice (Satarov, 2005). On June 14, 2011, the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation published a report which was prepared by a Moscow-based think tank, the INDEM Foundation entitled *Conditions of Everyday Corruption in the Russian Federation*. This research included a large-scale survey of 17,500 Russian citizens in 70 geographical regions of the country. Although the study examined corruption in all public institutions, it was noted that Russian citizens have the highest risk of being exposed to corruption during interaction with traffic police officers (Shuvalov, 2010).

Prevalent Forms of Police Corruption

Police corruption in Russia is executed in a number of ways. However, all forms of corruption involve using the authority and access of public office for personal gain. The following is a discussion of the most prominent corruption schemes.

Expediting Service Bribes

Police officials use their office and professional status to manipulate legally prescribed procedures on behalf of citizens and, in the process, collect unauthorized fees for their services. Examples would include taking bribes to issue driver's licenses, firearm permits, or approve other government documents or services; or it may include taking money to provide special protection to private property.

Systemic Bribery

Police officials systematically accept bribes from offenders in exchange for the unauthorized manipulation of the criminal justice system. In other words, the officials make the charges go away or otherwise protect the offenders from the legal system. This creates a two-tier system of dealing with legal problems. Citizens can subject themselves to the criminal justice system and the associated fines and penalties, or they can simply pay off officials to relieve them of their legal problems.

Roofing

This form of corruption involves extortion and/or the taking of bribes for offering protection to groups and businesses who are involved in illegal or unauthorized activities such as organized crime, gambling in public places, operating retail trade without a license, or trading or selling items that are prohibited by law. Sopneva (2009) found that 21% of the police corruption cases he studied fell into this category.

Illegal Investigations

Police officials independently launch unauthorized investigations on citizens or businesses for the purpose of extortion. They often act as private detectives and use state information and resources to facilitate their investigation and extortion scheme. It is common in such cases for police to target such activities as the acquisition, possession, or sale of drugs or weapons, fraud, the purchase or sale of property knowingly obtained by criminal means, consumer fraud, vandalism, poaching, and rape. Of course, the purpose of the police investigation is not to bring offenders to justice but to cultivate targets for extortion and bribes.

"Fishing"

Police officers utilize their state powers and resources to stop vehicles to inquire about compliance with administrative law. It is common for Russian traffic police to stand near a road in uniform and wave people over. While this is an authorized and standard police practice, officers are in a position to accept bribes in exchange for a pass. A bribe may be accepted by the officer for not taking official action related to registration, driving violations, and violations of the criminal law such as driving without a license, driving while intoxicated, possession of drugs and narcotics, the possession of weapons, and other such violations. Many of these stops occur at night.

Corrupt Collaboration with Private Detective Companies

Police officials refuse to provide police services by intentionally denying citizens or businesses government-guaranteed legal protection and alternatively directing potential customers to private investigators or private security firms (especially in tracing missing persons, the return of stolen property, and other possible contractual services). The police are then compensated by the private investigators/contractors for business referrals.

Organized Corruption Networks

According to Cheloukhine and Haberfeld (2011), beginning with the end of the Yeltsin era and the start of the Putin era (late 1990s), Russian organized crime groups have transformed into a new structure, the Organized Corruption Networks (OCNs). This transformation saw a shift in the balance of power from organized criminals (*avtoritety*) to organized clans of government authorities, transcending different branches, including the Federal Security Service (*Federalnaya Sluzba Bezopasnosti* [FSB]) and the MVD, customs service, courts, and municipal and regional administrations. These government authorities work in collaboration with private business—those that are legitimate and those that are not legitimate. Russian law prohibits ownership of private businesses by civil servants but that does not deter public officials from secretly owning and operating businesses.

The OCN is a well-planned and highly organized operation involving long-term participation of police managers receiving profits from various structures of the shadow economy and illegal profit sharing with other law enforcement entities such as tax agencies, the prosecutor's office, courts, and local administrations. Such self-serving abuse of power accounted for 3.2% of all uncovered cases by MVD units between 1994 and 2008 (Sopneva, 2009). The following diagram in Figure 1 provides an illustration of such corruption cases.

Recruitment, Selection, and Training

Certain attractive appointments and assignments within the Russian police are sold (Bobrova, 2010). At the level of recruitment, for instance, the assignment to study at a law enforcement educational institution and the initial job appointment are often influenced by bribes. Likewise, once on the force, promotion, assignments, and special rank become subject to corruptive practices. Police officers can purchase fake bachelor's degree diplomas to get retention and/or promotion (Akimova, 2009). According to the Committee of the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Consumer Rights in Education Services, there are about 500,000 fake diplomas bought annually in Russia, including 100,000 with so-called "assistance." All the associated documents related to exams, term papers, and theses are forged, and it is very difficult to verify that the diploma was not earned. The Chief of Staff of the MVD recently announced that 30 officers working in the MVD office in Tobolsk and 35 traffic police working in the MVD office in the Southern District of Moscow were fired because they presented fake educational credentials (Dodonov, 2010).

Moonlighting

Many police officers hold additional jobs while on duty. Kolennikova, Kosals, and Ryvkina (2004) reported that approximately 18% of police officers from eight different regions in Russia reported being engaged in personal economic activities during regular work hours. Additionally, the officers reportedly worked an average of 12 hours per week at their additional job. The study found that it was possible for virtually every officer to earn additional outside income while on the job and in various assignments. The three activities and assignments identified as presenting the greatest opportunity for generating additional "easy to earn" outside income were (1) economic crime (27%), (2) organized crime (26%), and (3) the juvenile unit (21%). The researchers reported that acts of misconduct and corruption by police officers resulted in an average monthly increase of 72% in income over their authorized police salaries (Wilson, Kolennikova, Kosals, Ryukina, & Simagin, 2008). These results demonstrate that there is ample opportunity for police to establish corruptive schemes with individuals, business entities, and organized crime to significantly supplement their police salaries. They essentially use state time and resources to engage in money-making endeavors.

Figure 1. Russia Ministry of Interior (MVD) Abuse of Power Cases Against Public Employees, 1994-2008

Year	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
Cases	312	513	398	487	517	534	596	344	373	298	442	317	347	335	425

Adapted from Sopneva (2009).

Table 1 summarizes the percentage of officers who reported having outside income, comparing the source of income by educational level, years of service, and assignment.

Combating Police Corruption

The Russian government developed a two-phased national plan for combating corruption. The Russian MVD approved and implemented their initial departmental plan for the time period of 2008-2010 and subsequently implemented a second phase for 2010-2012.

Recertification of Police

A major initiative of the plan to fight corruption included an evaluative review and recertification of all law enforcement agencies and personnel. The purpose was to evaluate officers' total fitness for duty, including a review of performance and past disciplinary actions. On August 1, 2011, the Russian MVD announced that a total of 227,000 officers failed the certification standards for various reasons and were subsequently relieved of their duties. As stated previously in this article, it is difficult to get reliable information regarding MVD actions and activities. As a result, it is not specifically clear how many officers were not recertified as a result of issues relating to unethical and/or corruptive practices. However, there is some data to suggest that approximately 199,500 officers were fired for

disciplinary infractions or for involvement in criminal activity. This data reflects the magnitude of corruption that exists in Russian law enforcement and points to the systemic nature of the problem.

The Kremlin Commission anticipates that the recertification process will eliminate an additional 177,000 uniformed officers by a target date in 2012. This continuing purge of incompetent or corrupt police is designed to enhance police service delivery and to establish an embedded procedure for holding the police accountable for their behaviors and actions.

Internal Affairs

Similar to the U.S., the Russian government and police agencies utilize MVD units to monitor and investigate police corruption. Of the total number of found cases of police corruption, 62% were initiated and investigated by the MVD (Hajiyev, 2009). The remaining roughly one-third of found cases of police corruption were initiated and investigated by prosecutors and other government agencies (Sopneva, 2009).

MVD departments in Russia have been strengthened, beginning with reforms initiated in 2003. The management structure of the MVD was centralized. Previously, there were 34 major departments of internal affairs. As a result of the reorganization, 15 independent

Table 1. Types of Sources of Income by Police Employees (In % of Group Respondents)

Group	Private security	Unlicensed taxi driver	"Informal" services provided	"Informal" fines	Bribes
All groups	58	36	18	17	14
Education secondary	49	30	6	16	4
Education university	56	38	25	17	18
Years of service: 3	54	31	14	17	11
Years of service: 3-6	62	36	20	20	13
Years of service: 6-10	54	39	16	13	16
Years of service: over 10	66	39	21	21	15
District inspector	56	34	18	15	13
Police subdivision	44	30	22	24	17
Patrol	62	40	14	15	12
Contract security	67	38	15	21	18
Detectives	54	36	21	14	17

Adapted from Kolennikova et al. (2004) and Gudkov & Dubin (2006).

departments of internal affairs now exist. The mission and goal statements of internal affairs departments were also revised, and many personnel changes were effectuated to best match personnel expertise with the newly established mission (Krylov & Nalivaiko, 2008).

To illustrate the impact of the reforms to reorganize departments of the MVD in Russia, the number of criminal and disciplinary cases brought against police officers rose from 28,000 to 44,735 from 2004 to 2005—a dramatic 48.6% increase (*Lenta Ru*, 2006). In 2009, MVD departments received more than 100,000 complaints and resolved 57% of the cases. In 2008, the MVD initiated more than 30,000 inspections of personnel, resulting in the dismissal of 1,642 employees.

One significant legal and administrative change initiated by the MVD of the Russian Federation (2009) makes it easier to detect possible acts of public corruption. An amendment to Order N 680 requires that all law enforcement officers, internal troops, and federal civil servants must submit information regarding their income, assets, and liabilities of a material nature as well as information regarding the income, property holdings, and the property obligations of their spouse and minor children.

The Public Fights Back Against Police Corruption

As indicated at the beginning of this article, the Russian citizenry view police corruption (and public corruption generally) as one of the most significant features/problems of the modern-day Russian state. In some regions of the country, the situation is so bad that citizen groups are taking vigilante actions to fight back. In 2010, in Primorye, regional police received an anonymous manifesto that announced a retaliation campaign against law enforcement. The statement proclaimed that a band of citizens were seeking to end the lawlessness, corruption, and tyranny of local police officers, prosecutors, and judges. The authors of the letter pronounced themselves

"defenders of Russia" who "have come up against the evil that has enslaved our country and brought the Russian nation to its knees." Moscow also saw a series of attacks against the police when unknown attackers set fire to several police stations in various districts of the Russian capital. Videos of the attacks were distributed on the Internet, accompanied by a commentary indicating that the torching of police stations was meant as retaliation for police corruption (Stolyarova, 2010).

Given the increased citizen dissatisfaction with the police, coupled with their willingness to fight back against corruptive practices, there seems to be a national citizen campaign focused on the problem of public corruption. The press is taking notice. In 2009, there were 2,470 news articles dealing with issues of police corruption (Draguntsov, 2011).

Summary and Conclusions

Through this analysis, several facts seem apparent regarding public/police corruption in Russia: (1) the Russian government publicly condemns police corruption and proclaims significant reforms, but it silently nurtures a system of corruption for personal profit and advantage; (2) public/police corruption in Russia has reached a boiling point wherein Russian citizens are no longer willing to tolerate a government that so blatantly manipulates, disregards, and "tramples on" individual rights and contravenes a fair and just democratic process; and (3) it is clear that the personal interests of the political-elite will win out in the foreseeable future and that Russian citizens will continue to suffer the injustices of a corrupt government. Vladimir Putin is posed to return to the Presidency within days; while President Medvedev simply safeguarded the corrupt system of government that Putin views as effective and profitable.

The current state of affairs regarding police corruption in Russia is reminiscent of police corruption in the United States from 1840 to 1919, the so-called "Political Era," during which politics were entrenched in police

operations and corruption was the rule, where the slogan, "to the victor goes the spoils" was well-understood. The Political Era was followed by the Professional Era, during which significant reforms were initiated. So, in a comparative analysis, Russian law enforcement is more than a century behind the U.S. with regard to dealing with police corruption. Given the fact that Russia is only two decades into this new government experiment, it is likely that reform will come slowly.

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Thomas J. Jurkanin, PhD, is an assistant professor in the Department of Criminal Justice Administration at Middle Tennessee State University. Dr. Jurkanin has over 36 years of experience in the policing field. He is currently Senior Editor of the *Law Enforcement Executive Forum*. Jurkanin is the author of four books on policing and numerous journal articles. He received his doctorate from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

Vladimir Sergevnin, PhD, earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from Leningrad Pedagogical University in History and a Doctorate of Philosophy in History from the Moscow Institute of National Economy. He is the Director of the Center for Applied Criminal Justice at Western Illinois University and Editor of the *Law Enforcement Executive Forum* and the *Western Journal of Criminal Justice*. Dr. Sergevnin has published over 70 articles, chapters, and brochures, and he has authored or co-authored 11 books pertaining to terrorism, law enforcement training, leadership, recruitment, history, and education.

Advancing Police Professionalism Through Higher Education

Richard H. Martin, EdD, Associate Professor of Public Safety,
  Department of Leadership Studies, Mercer University

Introduction

Police administration and resource development have fundamentally changed over the last century. Today, dedicated, determined police administrators spend their time, energy, and effort helping their departments create the right learning environment, design performance management systems, and implement change initiatives. It is no longer acceptable to simply provide training programs and hope that officers will mysteriously improve their knowledge and skills and that organizational effectiveness will magically blossom. The *police preservice certification process* will provide an enhanced benefit to law enforcement when integrating basic training learning outcomes with higher education criminal justice learning outcomes. The result is a professional police officer who is better prepared for policing, has a college degree, and has completed police basic training certification combined into a unique police education delivery system learning experience.

For decades, police leadership has been advocating a college education for those interested in policing as a career. Such examples as August Vollmer in 1916, the Wickersham Commission in 1937, and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in 1967 (Hess & Orthmann, 2012, p. 519) stress the philosophy and practice of academic initiatives in police officer development; yet, progress on a national level has been slow. While a few states have established pre-entry level academic programs for those interested in professional policing such as Minnesota's mandated degree requirement for all entry-level candidates and Illinois' degree requirement for those applying for state police positions.

Equal Opportunity

Discrimination against minorities used to be a reason for not requiring college education for police recruits, but it is no longer a valid reason. Courts have upheld the college education requirement—for example, in *Davis v. City of Dallas* in 1985 (as cited in Gaines & Worrall, 2012, p. 291). In this case, the justices agreed that the job of a police officer was complex enough to justify the requirement (Gaines & Kappeler, 2012, pp. 107-108). Departments may state other reasons for not establishing the college education requirement—for example, a college-educated officer shortage, fear of missing other good applicants, or that recruits will be more educated than their supervisors (Carter, Sapp, & Stephens, 1989). Nonetheless, about 78, or 1%, of agencies required a four-year degree and about 8% required some college. It appears that tougher standards become applicable depending on the availability of a sufficient number of applicants (Gaines & Kappeler, 2012, p. 107). Aggressive recruiting strategies can overcome these reasons (excuses). The number and quality of entry-level officers who are successful in policing will improve with higher standards of recruiting.

Progress

There is progress in promoting academics as a precursor to officer hiring or development, but it has been slow. As mentioned, while approximately 78 police agencies (1%) require a four- year degree, the majority of officers with a four-year degree are in agencies that do not require a degree. (The 1% was an approximate number of all police personnel [Gaines & Kappeler, 2012, pp. 106-107]). A few states have mandated a two-year degree for entry-level officers—for example, Minnesota requires it for all officers; and Illinois initially instituted a two-year degree for state police, but

in 2003, they began requiring a four-year degree. Several municipalities have also mandated a two-year degree or equivalent in credit hours (e.g., Chicago). The Elgin Police Department in Illinois now requires a four-year degree for entry after first implementing a two-year degree for supervisors in the late 1990s (City of Elgin, 2012). Other cities, such as Tulsa, require a degree, and San Jose requires 60 semester credits. Multnomah County, Oregon, has required a four-year degree for several years. These are just a few examples.

A study in 2000 by the U.S. Department of Justice (USDOJ) found that about 40% of large police agencies required some college education (Hess & Orthmann, 2012, p. 519), and a later study by USDOJ in 2003 found that 22% of large agencies serving a population of more than 100,000 required at least a two-year degree. In all, according to Gaines and Worrall (2012), it was found that departments of all sizes requiring a two-year degree accounted for only about 9% (p. 292). Gaines and Kappeler (2012) reported the findings of a 2007 USDOJ study that 79% of agencies over 100,000 require some college. A study by Reaves (2010) found that 197 agencies with a population between 100,000 and 499,000 required some college. Eleven percent of these required four-year degrees (Gaines & Kappeler, 2012, p. 108). Based on these data, there has been progress since 1913, but we need to accelerate it. Answers to questions, such as the following, need to be addressed by the research: What is the best way to prepare applicants for policing within the college experience? Do college-educated officers perform better than non-college-educated police officers? What is the value of police officers having a college degree? What kind of degree should they have? Are officers with a degree more professional? These questions are often asked, and research is gradually answering them.

Better Performance

Some research indicates that a college education allows officers to perform a wider range of tasks and have fewer complaints filed against them, but studies also indicate that these officers are dissatisfied with their jobs and suffer from burnout sooner than the non-college educated officers (Hess & Orthmann, 2011, p. 8). In addition to sometimes earning more salary, education improves mediation skills; sensitivity to diversity; communication skills, both oral and written; open-mindedness; critical thinking and problem solving; and technology skills. Communities want to hire officers who can work effectively within the diversities and complexities of today's society. These officers also appear to have more self-confidence and much less swagger. A college education requirement for police officers fosters a "culture of responsibility" (Mayo, 2006, para. 7), which has a positive impact on the culture of the department as a whole (Mayo, 2006).

Are officers with a college background more professional in performance? According Larson (as cited in Perez & Barkhurst, 2012), there are six key mutual elements of a profession. One element of a "true" profession is having a "structured body of knowledge" (p. 108). There is certainly a structured and systematic body of knowledge in the academies and in college curricula. Another element is collective decisionmaking. This element relates to the community policing philosophy that emphasizes problem solving by a team of officers in a process of collegial decisionmaking rather than the traditional top-to-bottom authority (Perez & Moore, 2013, p. 29). Both of these key elements are moving policing closer to professionalism (Perez & Barkhurst, 2012, p. 108). These two elements are becoming more evident in modern-day police agencies, especially in agencies dedicated to community-oriented policing. The other elements that make up the concept of a profession are the elements of *education*—learning an organized body of knowledge, *regulations* established by a professional organization, *discipline* by peers within the professional organization, and *ethics* that includes a code of conduct supported by the professional organization (Perez & Moore, 2013, pp. 29-33). Communities want to hire officers who can work effectively in today's society.

Many police officers with a college education are successful in their jobs, but having a college education remains mostly optional as a way to changing policing from an occupation to a profession (Buerger, 2012, p. 1). In 2002, Johnston and Cheurprakobkit learned from police chiefs in Arkansas and Arizona that college education

improves attitudes and decisionmaking and that there are fewer citizen complaints against the police (see also Gaines & Kappeler, 2012, p. 108). Perez and Moore (2002) argued that attending college exposes officers to both procedural and substance oriented information important to those in police work (p. 196). They also argued that officers learn to appreciate other persons' points of view (Perez & Moore, 2013, p. 265), develop an ability to argue logically, experience making moral decision by sometimes getting involved in ethical dilemmas of moral versus immoral decisionmaking, and that officers with a college education are exposed to the latest theories and practices (Perez & Moore, 2002, pp. 196-198).

A study conducted by the Police Association for College Education (PACE) (2012) looked at several studies dealing with police officers having college degrees. PACE reviewed 13 different studies between 1967 and 2004. Of the first three studies, one of them noted a correlation between number of citizen complaints and college-educated officers. The other two, the 1967 President's Commission Task Force Report and the 1972 National Institute of Mental Health study, recommended a baccalaureate degree and a master's degree, respectively, for entry-level police officers. PACE also reviewed a 1972 study by the RAND Corporation. That study found a correlation between education and citizen complaints. The remaining studies unanimously stated the same correlation—that college-educated officers received fewer complaints from citizens than their non-college-educated counterparts. In addition, other findings found better performance, fewer absences, less use of force, better communication, and better decisionmaking, especially in situations calling for discretion (Scaramella, Cox, & McCamey, 2011, pp. 90-91).

Another question frequently asked is, should the degree be a bachelor of science or a bachelor of arts? Bostrom conducted an empirical study in 2005 in which three years of records were examined for 452 police officers of the St. Paul (MN) Police Department. Through cross-tabulation of work habits, he found that those with a BA used less sick time, followed policies and procedures, and received commendations more

than any other group. His explanation was that a BA emphasis offered diversity of opinions and analytic skills for problem solving and that officers did not become frustrated in ambiguous situations. They had a better world-view understanding (Scaramella et al., 2011, p. 91). However, since textbooks used in both BS and BA degree programs are often the same, many BS programs now include problem-solving and diversity issues in their curriculum as well.

In 2006, Cunningham conducted a study in Florida where he found that almost 60% of the police officers who were cited for disciplinary actions were responsible for about 75% of the total complaints resulting in disciplinary action. These were officers with only a high school education. Police officers with associate degrees accounted for 16% of the disciplined officers, and those with bachelor's degrees (24% of the total officers) accounted for 11% of those who received disciplinary actions. The high school-only group accounted for almost 80% of certification revocations. Police chiefs are now recognizing the desirability of having a degree (Scaramella et al., 2011, p. 83). According to Carter and Sapp in their 1992 study, Criminal Justice was the major 50% of police chiefs in cities with a population over 50,000 wanted future officers to pursue (Scaramella et al., 2011, p. 88). It is clear that having a bachelor's degree is a definite advantage for the community police officer of today. The more education officers have, the fewer the number of disciplinary actions.

CALEA Recognition

Bowman (2011) indicated that the Arlington, Texas, Police Department benefited from college-educated officers by making them more professional and innovative (i.e., problem solvers). Finally, the Commission for Accreditation of Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) added a new standard in July 2011 to their standards manual for agency accreditation. The standard is not mandatory, but this addition by CALEA is a positive step forward and shows that the professional accreditation organization recognizes the value of a college education as the basic criteria for entry into policing. The standard reads, "A written directive

establishes the agency's commitment to higher education through one or more of the following: a. a requirement of all candidates for full-time sworn positions to possess at a minimum a bachelor's degree" (Bowman, 2012, para. 2).

Combining Education and Basic Training

Many students interested in a law enforcement career begin their education at a community college and later attend a four-year college or university to earn a bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice with the hope of securing a position in law enforcement. About 25 states (e.g., Alabama, California, Georgia, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wyoming) have established police preservice basic training certification programs within their community colleges, for example, Ferris State and Metropolitan State Universities (Ferris State University, 2012; Metropolitan State University of Minnesota, 2012; Minnesota POST, n.d.). Colleges in Michigan and Minnesota offer preservice basic training in some of their four-year degree programs. There are many websites about police preservice certification, but few, if any, integrate certification with an associate's degree. The majority of preservice police basic training programs exist mostly in community colleges. Students earn credit from the academies that are applied toward the degree. Sometimes the academy experience serves as an internship, sometimes students receive elective credits, and sometimes the credits substitute for Criminal Justice core requirements, depending on the discretion of the academic department and school policy. However, the academic credits earned for certification training are not integrated with the Criminal Justice core or general education core curriculum learning outcomes. The training credits are add-ons from academies associated within the colleges. Earned credits come from separate courses in basic training and academic programs. By combining the learning outcomes of basic training with the learning outcomes of the Criminal Justice core, the professionalization of the police force increases at a faster rate. Students can become certified and earn a degree before applying for police work. Criminal Justice core courses typically include the following eight course topics: Introduction to Criminal Justice, Community Policing, Corrections, Criminal Justice Management, Ethics, Juvenile Justice, Criminology, and Courts. Having training and academic curricula with mutual learning objectives or outcomes makes sense by furthering the status of policing professionalism. It also makes sense by developing marketable students through shortening the process of becoming a police officer after leaving school. Integrating the learning outcomes is also possible with general education requirements such as ethics and communication courses. An exception is in Minnesota where police candidates must complete a prescribed program of preservice education and training (Hess & Orthmann, 2011), although for the most part, learning outcomes have to be placed into the course structure and syllabi to count. These objectives and outcomes are in the syllabus and course outline for verification of accomplishing specific outcomes for POST boards (Martin & Gruber, 1995). One different method of delivery combines the learning outcomes of training board certification curricula with academic course learning outcome curricula. The result is an associate degree and police preservice basic training certification at graduation. The Police Education Delivery System (PEDS) Model is one such approach. The PEDS Model is also adaptable to corrections and telecommunication basic training.

Future Research

Future research is needed to find answers to the following questions: Is a PEDS Model as a preservice certification program more cost efficient? Are police officers who have been through this training more effective in dealing with community problems? Are there police officers more professional or are they perceived by the citizens as being more professional? These are just a few of the questions to determine whether this approach is more or less effective for police preservice certification.

Summary

Although several studies are beginning to show the advantages of a college education for police officers, too many communities still do not support the idea of requiring college-educated

police officers. Many communities have implemented the college-related police preservice education programs; however, these are separate programs. They address the cost of training and grant college credit to use toward a degree without requiring the degree. They do not produce the police candidate who has both the degree and certification. The PEDS Model is different from these. It offers several advantages that will further the professionalism of policing. Completion of the PEDS Model provides officers with the characteristics and aptitudes desired for the type of policing necessary for the successful performance of entry-level police officers who are responsive to the needs of agencies and citizens, especially in an environment of community policing. Martin and Gwynne (2010) conducted a study of Alabama chiefs asking them about their attitudes regarding what makes a successful police officer. The desired aptitudes and characteristics that the chiefs desired in police recruits as necessary for them to be successful were

> [t]he ability to recall the essence of previously studied material; . . . take appropriate action after considering alternative approaches; . . . read and effectively respond and/or take action on written instructions/material; . . . recognize objects/people after they have undergone physical change; do foundational arithmetic and solve mathematical word problems; . . . analyze incomplete information to make decisions; . . . make logical inferences from stated propositions; . . . understand, analyze, and evaluate arguments; . . . understand and properly use and spell words correctly; . . . understand the linguistics of drawn materials; . . . [and] effectively express their ideas in writing. (pp. 93-94)

These characteristics are probably similar to the characteristics desired by police chiefs in other states. Success as police officers is dependent on the aptitude of police officers to have these distinctive characteristics. How do agencies find candidates with these characteristics? One way is through the selection process. The police recruit selection criteria need to be overhauled to address these sought-after characteristics. Another way is the through the PEDS Model, which is designed to produce police candidates who have these qualities.

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Richard H. Martin is an associate professor of Public Safety in the Department of Leadership Studies at Mercer University. He earned an EdD and a Master of Science degree from Indiana University, and a Bachelor of Science degree from Lipscomb University. Martin was a police officer and a constable, both in Indiana; a police commissioner and sheriff's department merit commissioner, both in Illinois; and has been a department head at five institutions prior to his appointment at Mercer. He is a CALEA accreditation assessor and team leader, the chair of the IACP University and College Police Section Scholarship Committee, a past member of the IACP Research Advisory Committee, and the past chair of the University and College Police Section Training Committee. He is also a consultant with the Theoretical and Applied Forensics Working Group and a member of the advisory board for the new Command and Staff College of the Montgomery (AL) Police Department. Martin is a reviewing editor for the *Journal of Gang Research*, serves as a grant application peer reviewer for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) under the U.S. Department of Justice, and has had several articles and book reviews published, as well as having two textbooks published.

Alumni and Non-Alumni Agency Heads' Perceptions of the Training and Education Offered by the Georgia Law Enforcement Command College

Butch Beach, DPA
Rudy K. Prine, PhD, Valdosta State University

Introduction

The debate surrounding the need for and the value of higher education has continued among police executives since the early 20th century. The debate has resulted in a call for more integration of training and education in the professional development of police executives. One program that attempts to integrate training and education is the Georgia Law Enforcement Command College at Columbus State University (Command College). The purpose of this research was to determine if graduates of the Command College (1998 to 2010) believe they received quality education and training that positively impacted their job performance and provided them with the leadership skills needed for positions of greater authority and/or responsibility. The second objective was to determine if non-alumni agency heads believe that sending an officer or administrator to the Command College benefits the agency in a sufficient enough manner to justify the expenditure of financial resources.

Data gathered from the research provided both quantitative and qualitative responses for analysis, showing no statistically significant difference in the responses of the alumni and non-alumni agency heads surveyed. The data support the finding that alumni of the Command College perceive they have derived benefit from the education and training received and have a high level of satisfaction with the curriculum, program design, and the faculty of the Command College. The non-alumni agency heads provided similar responses, reporting a high degree of satisfaction with the results of the program. Satisfaction was widespread, diffuse, and not confined to any particular group or respondent characteristics.

Literature Review

August Vollmer, as Chief of Police in Berkeley, California, during the early 20th century, argued for the professionalism of police through higher education. Vollmer believed that the future of policing was a well-trained and educated police officer. His innovative work in Berkeley and through the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) was recognized nationally and, ultimately, resulted in his being asked to chair the Study on Law Enforcement Section of the 1931 National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, better known as the Wickersham Report (Carte, 1973).

While it is true that Vollmer did not specifically advocate that Berkeley officers have college degrees in his authorship and contributions to the Wickersham Report, he did advocate college education as one method of attaining the goal of a well-trained and educated police service. Any study of the professionalism of law enforcement will inevitably not only include, but also credit, the progressive thinking of August Vollmer. It was his progressive thinking that served as the catalyst of the movement to raise the standard for modern policing from one of "political meddling and inept leadership" to what O.W. Wilson, Vollmer's most well-known protégé, characterized as a police service that emphasizes "efficiency, law enforcement, aggressive street patrol, and honesty" (Carte, 1973, p. 275).

In 1967, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, often referred to as the "President's Commission," established preliminary ideas relating to minimum standards for police officers. Jeremy Travis, Director of the National Institute of Justice, captured

the Commission's vision in the following talking points from a speech he delivered before the Forum on Police and Higher Education, which was presented at the Center for Research in Law and Justice at the University of Illinois in 1995:

1. That some years of college be required for appointment to the position of police officer;
2. That higher requirements be set for promotion within the ranks of the police service;
3. That education programs be a matter of formal policy; and
4. That higher education should be viewed as an occupational necessity.

The Commission stated that by 1975, every police officer who entered the service should possess, at a minimum, two years of college education; by 1978, every police officer entering the police service should at a minimum possess a baccalaureate degree (Carter, 1978). Carter also predicted an increase in the number of officers with master's and doctorate degrees as postgraduate programs are developed for police studies. There are empirical studies that indicate Carter was correct in his predictions of the development of this type of curriculum (Paynich, 2009).

A seminal work by Carter, Sapp, and Stephens (1989) was completed as a project for the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF). The research evaluated the recommendations of several national commissions on higher education, and a profile of current practices developed and police issues likely to face police administrators well into the 21st century were discussed. A synopsis of the PERF study findings indicates college students are better communicators, are more flexible and adaptive, that they perform better than their non-college counterparts, and that national commissions have unanimously recommended police agencies should require some college education for promotion as a matter of policy. The study reports that 75.2% of agencies do not require college education to be eligible for promotion, but 82% of those agencies reported they recognized college education as important in promotion decisions. The PERF

study did not find prevailing agency beliefs and practices to be harmonious.

Law enforcement has experienced an evolution from the poorly trained and poorly equipped force of the first half of the 20th century to a highly trained and well-equipped force with advanced technology, and so the public has come to expect a highly educated and more professional police service (Napier, 2005). Whether the decision is made by the police executive of today to mandate a college education, or to simply encourage the attainment of higher education with various incentives, is not the root question. The heart of the matter is that the public has come to expect a better educated police service, one that is capable of addressing the critical issues that face police agencies as they protect and serve a complex society, and that the modern police officer values a college education. The issues that police leaders face today exceed the intellectual bounds of simply being a tenured member of the agency and being capable of competently doing police work (Napier, 2005). The need for the ability to solve complex problems necessitates critical thinking skills. Furthermore, economic pressures of shrinking resources require quality decisionmaking processes, and the ability to plan and execute strategies to allow the officers to continue the delivery of quality police services has never been more vital (Phillips & Burrell, 2008). The police leader of today will experience a need for the skills that are developed through higher education, and the research implies that higher education will enhance the ability of an officer to rise more quickly through the ranks, thus creating a leader with the skills needed to address contemporary issues in policing (Polk & Armstrong, 2001; Strock, 2007).

Officers with higher education are more sensitive to community relations, more understanding of human behavior, and hold higher ethical and service standards than their peers. They are more innovative in performing their work and are more often promoted than noncollege-educated officers (Roberg & Bonn, 2004). Additionally, Carter et al. (1989) called for more partnerships and collaboration between criminal justice practitioners and academics in developing curricula for police education.

One state organization that attempts to integrate education and training is the Georgia Law Enforcement Command College. The Command College was developed to provide law enforcement executive training as well as graduate-level coursework leading to a Master of Public Administration (MPA) degree through Columbus State University (CSU). The program began with collaboration between the Georgia Association of Chiefs of Police (GACP), the Georgia Peace Officers Standards and Training Council (GaPOSTC), and CSU. The Command College program is located within the Department of Political Science in the College of Letters and Science. The curriculum is structured in such a manner that the successful completion of the Command College satisfies the core requirements for the MPA degree. To facilitate the completion of the MPA degree program, the program offers additional graduate-level auxiliary courses, taught in the Command College format, which serve to satisfy the elective requirements of the MPA program.

The Command College curriculum is based on seven 40-hour modules. Each module is offered within a week, beginning at noon on Sunday and ending at noon on Friday. This delivery format has several advantages that are critical to the support needed for agencies and the officers who attend. First, the modular format is more adaptive to the scheduling of replacements to release the officer to attend. Second, and the most prominent benefit, is the encapsulation of the course into a 40-hour module. Because the modules are certified by GaPOSTC as separate training courses, each has its own course code, thus allowing for training credits for the officers. Finally, the scheduling of the classes to begin on Sunday afternoon benefits the traveling officer. This format of beginning on Sunday with the completion of the course at noon on Friday, allows the officers ample time to return to their respective jurisdictions.

This format not only meets the requirements of the Command College, but it also satisfies the attendance requirements of the MPA program. In addition to receiving three hours of academic credit per module, GaPOSTC awards full training credit for each class hour, resulting in 480 training hours over the span of the two and one-half year program. Having training and education be fully integrated at the Command College allows for completion of the Command College program while meeting the core requirements for a graduate degree and state-mandated law enforcement training, thus making sensible use of agency resources.

The logical research question concerns the retention of knowledge or skill that has been taught. Is the Command College program really effective? In the area of higher education, just as in law enforcement training, there has been little meaningful evaluation of the effectiveness of these types of specific programs, particularly as perceived by line officers and their supervisors.

Methodology

Evaluation research represents an attempt to measure how effective human or social intervention is in accomplishing its objective: "Much of evaluation research is referred to as program evaluation or outcome assessment: the determination of whether social intervention is producing the intended result" (Babbie, 2004, p. 351). Evaluation research refers more to an objective than to a specific method of data collection.

All social sciences, to one degree or another, utilize survey methodology to collect data from individuals or subjects. Babbie (2004) stated, "Surveys are also excellent vehicles for measuring attitudes and orientations in a large population" (p. 244). This study used survey methodology to assess the attitudes and perceptions of the graduates and the population of the non-alumni agency heads regarding the effectiveness of the program.

Since the inception of the Command College in 1995, 923 public safety executives have attended the first 41 classes. Eleven of the participants did not finish, four passed away before having the opportunity to finish, one was transferred by a federal agency and not afforded the opportunity to complete the program, and six chose to withdraw. After accounting for those 11 individuals, there is a remaining population of 912 participants who have finished the program:

829 of those who finished and remain active in the public safety community were the subject of the survey evaluating participants' attitudes.

The population of 829 represents a myriad of local, state, and federal public safety professionals. Represented in the population are 207 municipal police departments, 40 county sheriff's offices, 17 federal agencies, 14 prosecutor's offices, two local corrections agencies, two community colleges, four municipal or county fire agencies, and six state law enforcement agencies for a total of 292 agencies.

The agency head of 185 of the 292 agencies represented is a Command College graduate; thus, there remain 107 agencies with at least one graduate but whose chief executive officer is not an alumni. These 107 agency heads comprise the non-alumni agency head population that was surveyed to assess the perceptions of nonparticipants in regard to the program's effectiveness.

The questionnaires employed a request for nominal information, the use of a five-point Likert scale to rate the perceptions of the participants and non-alumni agency heads, and three open-ended questions to allow respondents to express the advantages and disadvantages of the program using their own words. The survey of both populations was accomplished through the use of an electronic distribution list. An announcement of the study and a request for participation in the survey was delivered over the Internet via e-mail. The format of the e-mail was such that it contained a hyperlink to the survey instrument.

The survey instrument for the alumni was delivered three times over a period of 15 working days. There were 454 responses to the alumni survey for a calculated return rate of 65.1%. The non-alumni agency head survey was also delivered via e-mail and remained open for five days, Monday through Friday. The nonrespondents received daily reminders until the survey was closed on the fifth day. The much smaller population did not require multiple mailings. There were 50 responses received; however, 10 of the responses were incomplete, omitting all data pertaining to program effectiveness. Thus, those

10 were eliminated, leaving 40 valid responses for a calculated return rate of 39.2%.

Archival data, specifically, information relating to the MPA program at CSU, was collected and analyzed to determine the graduation rate of the Command College participants as well as of the participants in the traditional MPA program.

Data Analysis and Findings

To determine the presence of and control for any bias in the separate waves of the alumni survey, the Alumni Composite Satisfaction Scale (ACSS) was created. The ACSS is comprised of six survey items relating to the effectiveness of the program in increasing the general knowledge and understanding of law enforcement principles, whether the content of the courses was current and relevant, whether respondents believed that the program resulted in more effective managers and leaders, whether the respondents believed the alumni were better prepared for positions of greater authority and responsibility, whether the instructors were knowledgeable in the subject areas, and whether or not the training and education proved cost effective for the agency. Creating such a dependent variable allowed comparison between the responses by wave of respondents identifying and controlling for any statistical difference in the attitudes of any particular group of respondents. The possible responses on the five-point Likert scale were as follows: Strongly Disagree = 1, Disagree = 2, Undecided = 3, Agree = 4, and Strongly Agree = 5. The ACSS had a possible score of six at its lowest level and 30 at its highest level. The survey items included in the ACSS and the frequency of responses are shown in Table 1.

It could be argued that nonrespondents to the e-mail survey possess more negative attitudes toward the program and, hence, the findings presented were artificially inflated or skewed toward the program favorably. In attempting to present data on this possible argument, the researcher performed a one-way analysis of variance on mean scores for those in each of the three waves who responded to the survey. Respondents who completed the survey in wave three were laggards and should resemble

Table 1. Frequency Distribution of Items Making up the Alumni Composite Satisfaction Scale

My general knowledge and understanding of law enforcement practices and procedures increased significantly by the time I graduated from the Georgia Law Enforcement Command College.

	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	248	180	6	12	1
Percentage	(55)	(40)	(1)	(3)	(< 1)

The content of courses taken during the graduate degree program was current and relevant to law enforcement.

	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	303	138	3	12	1
Percentage	(67)	(30)	(1)	(< 1)	(< 1)

I feel that completing the courses offered by the Georgia Law Enforcement Command College made me a more effective law enforcement supervisor or manager.

	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	296	142	7	1	1
Percentage	(65)	(31)	(2)	(< 1)	(< 1)

Instructors in the Georgia Law Enforcement Command College were knowledgeable of their subject areas.

	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	297	146	3	0	1
Percentage	(65)	(32)	(< 1)	(0)	(< 1)

Completion of the Georgia Law Enforcement Command College made me better prepared for positions of greater authority and responsibility.

	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	303	132	7	4	1
Percentage	(67)	(29)	(2)	(1)	(< 1)

The training and educational benefit of the Georgia Law Enforcement Command College is cost effective in terms of return on the investment.

	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	303	122	15	7	0
Percentage	(67)	(27)	(3)	(2)	(0)

nonrespondents more than early responders in waves one and two. The data indicate similar satisfaction scores between all three groups and the differences were insignificant ($\bar{x}_1 = 27.67$, $\bar{x}_2 = 27.77$, $\bar{x}_3 = 27.65$; F = 0.05; n.s.). These data would not allow the researcher to reject a null hypothesis that the three surveys came from different populations on satisfaction at an acceptable level (0.05) of Type II error. Hence, the three groups are equivalent to one another. $\bar{x}_1$

Mean averages were compared between categories on satisfaction. Group means and F-tests show that all groups are equivalent in average satisfaction, except for whether or not respondents have been promoted since completing the program. As one would expect, average satisfaction was greater for those who were promoted ($\bar{x}_1 = 27.97$; F = 5.92; $p = 0.02$) compared to those who were not promoted. The mean differences, however, are not substantively significant. The large sample size ($n = 454$) explains the significant F ration rather than any large or meaningful discrepancy between group averages. Four out of five categorical variables show no relationship to satisfaction and, hence, little fragmentation or segmentation between demographic groups exist in the sample.

Pearson's product moment correlation coefficients calculations present a similar picture. Very few independent variables—for example, agency size, age, and education level—have a significant relationship to satisfaction scores.

When controls are presented, the regression coefficients are all insignificant, except for years of supervisory experience. The greater the number of years of supervisory experience, the less favorable respondents evaluated

the program (b = 0.07; p = 0.01) after controlling for other independent variables (i.e., age, agency size, and years of public safety experience). In short, few variables predict or are significantly related to respondent satisfaction. Program satisfactions are widespread, diffuse, and not confined to any particular group or respondent characteristic.

Recognizing the need to control for the possibility of a confounding variable, such as effort justification or a Halo Effect, a secondary survey of non-alumni agency heads was conducted to allow the job performance of the alumni to be compared with the job performance of their peers. The survey of the non-alumni agency heads included four similar items to the survey of the graduates relating to the effectiveness of the program and was distributed to the 107 agency heads who were not graduates but whose agency did have at least one Command College graduate.

Using the four similar items a Non-Alumni Agency Head Composite Satisfaction Scale was established using a similar process as usual in creating the ACSS. The non-alumni

scale was also scored with the five-point Likert Scale, with Strongly Disagree = 1, Disagree = 2, Undecided = 3, Agree = 4, and Strongly Agree = 5. The four survey items were similar to the ACSS, and the frequency and distribution of the responses are illustrated in Table 2.

Summative scaling allowed comparison of the Alumni Composite Score to the Non-Alumni Agency Head Composite Score. Collectively, the alumni rated the program 4.61 on a five-point Likert scale, while the non-alumni agency heads demonstrated a summative satisfaction score of 4.13 on the five-point Likert scale.

Collapsing the strongly agree and agree responses into one category allowed the data to be subjected to the Chi-square test for independence to determine whether or not there is a statistically significant difference between the two respondent groups. The results of the Chi-square test for the four common items (χ^2 = 0.003; χ^2 = 0.103; χ^2 = 0.379; χ^2 = 0.940) do not indicate any statistical significance. Accordingly, one must accept the null hypothesis that there is not a significant difference between the responses of the two groups.

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Items Making up the Non-Alumni Agency Head Composite Satisfaction Scale

My officers/administrators were significantly more knowledgeable of law enforcement practices and procedures after completing the Command College.					
	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	15	20	4	1	0
Percentage	(38)	(50)	(10)	(2)	(0)

Completing the Command College made my officers/administrators more effective law enforcement supervisors or managers.					
	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	13	20	6	1	0
Percentage	(33)	(50)	(15)	(3)	(0)

Completion of the Command College made my officers/administrators better prepared for positions of greater authority and responsibility.					
	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	14	19	7	0	0
Percentage	(35)	(48)	(17)	(0)	(0)

The overall benefit of the Command College is cost effective in terms of return on the investment.					
	SA	A	U	D	SD
Number	10	22	7	0	1
Percentage	(25)	(55)	(18)	(0)	(2)

The data gleaned from both the primary and secondary surveys indicate a high level of satisfaction with the effectiveness of the Command College program. Further analysis indicates that the non-alumni as a group are more tentative in agreement, thus a higher percentage of undecided responses. However, the respondents do not disagree with the statements of satisfaction. The respondents seem to want more time to assess the full impact of the training and education. The number of respondents who expressed disagreement or dissatisfaction was minimal.

Comparatively, when the undecided responses are not considered, but the strongly agree and agree responses for the respondents who have decided are grouped, and the strongly disagree and disagree responses are grouped, the percentage of those responding positively on each survey is virtually the same. The data clearly demonstrated, through the request for quantitative information, both in the individual survey items and Composite Scores, widespread approval and satisfaction with the training and education received at the Command College and that satisfaction could not be linked to a particular group or set of participant characteristics.

While the quantitative data indicate a high number of participants finished the Command College program and that those who did complete the program were very satisfied, the question still remained in regard to the number who attain the MPA. Archival data received from the registrar of Columbus State University were also analyzed to determine the number of traditional students enrolled in the traditional MPA program. The traditional students graduated at a rate of 20%, while the Command College students graduated the MPA program at a rate of 65% during the same time period. Table 3 represents the findings of the archival data.

It could be argued that the remarkable difference in graduation rates between the traditional program and the Command College program suggests that the support given and the perceived value of the training and education does affect graduation rates in a positive manner.

Conclusion

The qualitative data gathered in the surveys are indicative of strong support for the program as delivered. Specifically, the comments of both alumni and non-alumni alike do not raise any quality issues, either with curriculum design or delivery, but, rather, tend to provide widespread and deep support for the results of the quantitative data. Both the quantitative and qualitative data support a finding that the alumni and non-alumni agency heads perceive that they have derived benefit from the education and training received and that the results in benefit to the respective agency is sufficient to justify the expenditure of agency resources. Both alumni and non-alumni agency heads have very high levels of satisfaction with the curriculum, program design, and the faculty, and they believe the graduates of the Command College to be better prepared for positions of greater authority and responsibility.

The attitudes reflected in this study are not only indicative of high satisfaction among graduates and non-alumni agency heads, but they also offer an alternative to the traditional bifurcated model of training and education. The "one or the other" approach has failed to find the support or success that has been achieved through total integration of training and education. The Command College program is part of a paradigm shift in the approach to executive development for the law enforcement agencies of the state of Georgia.

Table 3. Graduation Rate Comparison of Command College and the Regular MPA Program of Columbus State University: 1998-2008

Program	Total participation	Graduates	Graduation rate
Columbus State MPA Program	2,327	487	20%
Command College MPA Program	923	601	65%

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Dr. Butch Beach holds a Master of Science degree in Criminal Justice from Troy State University and a Doctorate in Public Administration from Valdosta State University. He served with the Columbus (GA) Police Department, retiring with the rank of Lieutenant after 25 years of service in 1999. Subsequently, he served 12 years with the Georgia Public Safety Training Center before retiring in 2011 as Deputy Director.

Dr. Rudy K. Prine is a professor in the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminal Justice at Valdosta State University. He received his doctorate in Criminology from the Florida State University School of Criminology and Criminal Justice. He serves as a research consultant to several police departments in Georgia and has published work in the *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, the *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, and the *Social Science Computer Review*. He can be reached at the Criminal Justice Program, Valdosta State University, Valdosta, GA 31698 or rkprine@valdosta.edu.

Functional Fitness Training for Police Recruits at the University of Illinois Police Training Institute

Kristin L. Allen, ATC, MS, NASM-PES, Physical Education teacher, St. Joseph High School, St. Joseph, IL, and Lead Instructor, Police Training Institute, University of Illinois
Michael D. Schlosser, PhD, Director, University of Illinois Police Training Institute

The University of Illinois Police Training Institute (PTI) has made significant changes in the recruit physical fitness training program. The PTI is leaving behind the quasi-military style of running and calisthenics and moving toward more functional exercises geared specifically for police officers. Athletes of any sport train using sport-specific exercises to excel in their particular sporting event. There is proven research that indicates it is important to train in a specific way to increase your ability for various sporting activities. For example, the training approach would vary greatly for someone who is training as a sprinter compared to someone training for marathons; and the training approach would vary greatly for someone training for the football position of offensive lineman compared to a defensive back. It is beneficial to consider the physical aspects of policing when implementing the best training approach to a fitness program for police officers.

Being physically fit is not only necessary to be able to perform the physical tasks in police work, it is also necessary for stress management and overall wellness: "Physical fitness is not a luxury for law enforcement officers; it's a basic requirement if they are to become emotional survivors" (Gilmartin, 2002, p. 124). In 2004, PTI staff partnered with a University of Illinois researcher to create the Wellness for Criminal Justice Professionals (WCJP) program (Wiley & Schlosser, 2006). Curriculum development included an in-depth research literature review as well as a series of focus groups and interviews with law enforcement officers at varying stages of their careers. Currently, this program which encompasses emotional and physical wellness strategies is a

four-hour block of instruction in the first week at the academy. This program has evolved into the implementation of informative wellness and stress management material on PTI's website as well as a two-hour informative interactive course for family members on the morning of graduation. It seemed logical that the next step for improvement of wellness and fitness for recruit officers at the PTI should be to re-evaluate and improve the physical training program.

Police officers use a variety of physical skills in their jobs that require the use of various types of strength and energy pathways. It is important to develop exercises for police officers following the law of exercise specificity: "The law of exercise specificity refers to the similarity between a training activity and the actual task(s) one is training for" (Di Naso, 2006). Physical abilities that correlate to a police officer's capability to perform work-related physical activities include aerobic power, anaerobic power, upper-body strength, upper-body muscular endurance, explosive leg power, and agility (Collingwood, Hoffman, & Smith, 2004). Some of the most common physical activities for police officers include running short distances, up and down stairs, and over uneven terrain; light, medium, and heavy lifting; jumping and vaulting over obstacles; climbing fences and stairs; dodging around obstacles; crawling under and through obstacles; dragging objects and victims; pushing heavy objects; bending and reaching; and short- and long-term use of force (Anderson, Plecas, & Segger, 2001; Collingwood et al., 2004). According to Wollack & Associates' 1992 Multijurisdictional Law Enforcement Physical Skills Survey, most tasks that involve

running are less than a minute, and the time it requires to subdue a resistive or combative suspect is less than two minutes (Hoffman & Collingwood, 1995). Understanding this information is crucial for implementing training approaches for recruit officers. Due to the dynamic nature of police work, it is vital that police officers implement a functional or "police" specific exercise training program in order to stay healthy. A functional exercise training program for police work must consist of full body strengthening exercises, aerobic cardiorespiratory endurance exercises, anaerobic power exercises (plyometrics and agilities), as well as core/trunk strengthening exercises. The following is an outline of such a program, which has been implemented at the University of Illinois Police Training Institute for academy recruit officers.

Basic Law Enforcement Police Recruit Class 2804, which began September 2011, was introduced to this new fitness program addressing sport-specific training for police officers. For Class 2804, the fitness program was changed from a three-day program to a five-day program that consisted of the activities that follow.

Tuesdays and Thursdays: Full Body Strengthening Exercises

Strength Circuit Training

Circuit training is used to not only increase strength (anaerobic) but also to improve endurance (aerobic), flexibility, and coordination (Baechle & Earle, 2008). Elite athletes use this type of circuit training for sport-specific conditioning due to its versatility. Just like these elite athletes, police officers need to be able to perform quick movements at any time. Unlike most athletes, however, police officers perform these movements in an uncontrolled environment which puts them at a higher risk of injury. For instance, a police officer's body needs to be able to respond quickly from a prolonged seated position in a squad car directly into a full speed sprint in all types of weather conditions and terrain.

The strength circuits vary for each workout and consist of exercises from each muscle group, including core/trunk strengthening for a full body workout. For example, the recruit officer's exercises for the chest vary from dumbbell bench press, to decline push-ups, to single arm bench press with stabilization. Varying the time recruit officers spend at each station and the time between each station can change the entire workout. For police officers, it is important to improve aerobic cardiorespiratory endurance; therefore, the circuits range between 30 to 45 seconds each with very minimal rest between each station. The rest is the time it takes to get to the next station and begin.

Mondays and Wednesdays: (Aerobic) Cardiorespiratory Endurance Exercises

It is not only important for a police officer to have the ability to perform these dynamic exercises but also to sustain them over a long period of time at a moderate to high intensity level. This is accomplished by incorporating aerobic exercises into the recruit officer's workout. Improving cardiorespiratory endurance through this type of exercise can also reduce the risks of heart diseases and diabetes, as well as help in weight control.

Aerobic Exercises:

- *Circuit Training* – Recruit officers benefit aerobically when they perform the circuits mentioned above with minimal rest for 45 seconds at each station for 20 to 30 minutes.

- *Long Distance Runs* – Recruit officers participate in 1.5- to 3-mile runs with proper warm-up and cool-downs.

- *Indian Running* – Recruits line up in single file lines, running one in front of the other at a consistent pace. The recruit who is at the end of the line will sprint to the front of the line, passing everyone, and then fall into place as the leader of the line, resuming the consistent speed. This is continued

for 20 to 30 minutes. The consistent speed should be a comfortable pace. To make this more challenging, a medicine ball of 10 to 12 pounds is passed backward from the front of the line to the back. Once the last person catches the ball, he or she will then sprint to the front of the line and pass the ball back down the line.

- *Interval Running (Aerobic and Anaerobic)* – Recruit officers run varying distances at varying speeds with varying rests in between for a prolonged time.

  - *Quarters:* Recruit officers run 6 to 8 400-yard sprints with 45 to 60 seconds in between runs.
  - *Whistle Running:* Recruit officers run at a comfortable pace for 1 minute and then on the whistle they increase their pace for 2 minutes until they hear the whistle again at which time they decrease their pace for 1 minute. This is continued for 20 to 30 minutes.
  - *200s:* Recruits gradually accelerate for 200 yards and then sprint for 200 yards; they then rest for 30 seconds and begin to accelerate for 200 yards into a sprint for 200 yards. This is continued for 4 to 6 repetitions.

Anaerobic Power Exercises (Plyometrics and Agilities): Fridays

Anaerobic exercises are performed at a high intensity for a short duration (up to 2 minutes). This type of exercise can help increase power (combination of speed and strength). Anaerobic exercises utilize the ATP-CP and Lactate energy systems which produce lactate as a byproduct, resulting in an increased amount of muscle soreness and fatigue. Anaerobic exercises should be performed with correct form with proper recovery time. For police officers, the ability to quickly sprint, jump, lift, and physically apprehend with enough power while at the same time staying injury free are necessary components for their work environment. Examples of anaerobic (power) exercises are plyometrics and agility training.

Plyometrics are exercises that result in a rapid stretching of a muscle that is eccentrically contracting (lengthening) immediately followed by a rapid concentric contraction (shortening of the same muscle) for the purpose of creating a powerful movement over a short duration (Baechle & Earle, 2008). Plyometric training, which includes unilateral exercises and horizontal movement of the body, can provide significant gains in sprint acceleration performance (Young, 2006). During the stretching of the muscle (eccentric contraction), energy is stored in the muscle and is then quickly used during the fast contraction (concentric contraction) which results in a more powerful "explosive" contraction of the muscle. It is important to perform plyometric exercises with correct form, remembering the principle of quality over quantity. These exercises can result in a higher production of lactate, which requires one to two days of rest before another plyometric workout is performed.

Examples:

- *Squat Jumps* – Recruit officers stand with feet shoulder width apart, then flex hips down to squat position, and immediately explode upward extending their hips and knees to full length. Recruits land in the starting position, making sure the hips and knees flex creating a "soft landing" (Price & Zimmer, 2008).

- *Tuck Jumps* – This is a progression of squat jumps. Recruit officers begin with feet shoulder width apart. They jump straight up as high as possible, pump their arms to help increase upward movement, drive their knees upward to their chest attempting to touch the top of their knees with their hands, and land in the same squat position with a soft landing (Price & Zimmer, 2008).

- *Split Jumps* – Recruit officers begin in the lunge position, jump straight up as high as possible, and land in the same position with a soft landing (knees should never be over their toes) (Price & Zimmer, 2008).

- *Power Push-Up* – Recruit officers begin in a standing or kneeling position, fall forward into a push-up, and immediately push themselves back up to the beginning position.

- *Squat Thrusts with Bands* – Recruit officers stand on a band feet shoulder width apart, both hands holding the band. They then squat down and immediately explode upward pushing their arms into a shoulder press with the band resisting. They return back to the squat and repeat. It is important that they use controlled movement.

- *Hurdle Jumps* – Recruit officers begin in the same position as the squat jump next to a small plyo hurdle. They squat down and immediately explode upward using arms to help pump, they jump over the hurdle, and then they land in the squat position with a soft landing. They immediately explode back up and over the hurdle in the opposite direction.

Agility training is the ability to change directions quickly and in a controlled manner (Baechle & Earle, 2008). A police officer needs to be able to react quickly with his or her body to a multitude of stresses, including uneven terrain in an uncontrolled environment. By utilizing agilities into a police officer's workout, the officer's risk of injury will be reduced, while he or she will learn to effectively perform these exercises in his or her job setting.

Examples:

- *Agility Ladder* – Recruit officers perform a variety of quick feet movements through the ladder without touching any part of the ladder:

  - *Quick Feet:* Recruit officers run through the ladder with both feet in each ladder space without touching the ladder.
  - *Grapevine:* Recruit officers perform the grapevine through ladder spaces without touching ladder.
  - *In and Outs:* Recruit officers jump with both feet in the ladder space and out of

the next ladder space and repeat this through the whole ladder.
  - *Side Shuffle:* Recruit officers side shuffle through the ladder spaces without touching the ladder.
  - *High Knees:* Recruit officers perform high knee running through ladder spaces without touching the ladder.

- *Agility Runs* – Recruit officers also perform high knees, glute kicks, grapevine, side shuffle, back pedal, high skips, and bounding.

Agilities can also be utilized as part of the active warm-ups before any type of exercise. Recruits perform them for 50 to 100 yards at a comfortable pace and gradually increase the pace for warm-up.

The University of Illinois Police Training Institute's police recruit officers will gain the physical abilities necessary to perform their job tasks at a high level with fewer injuries. Recruit officers will also learn the importance of this training as it applies to the tasks they will be performing on the job. It is the hope of PTI that recruits will continue a healthy lifestyle from lessons learned in the wellness course (e.g., emotional wellness, physical wellness, and proper nutrition) and in 12 weeks of functional police fitness training. PTI recommends wellness programs be implemented within all police departments to help promote healthy police officers throughout their careers.

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Kristen L. Allen is a physical education teacher at St. Joseph High School in Illinois. She holds a Bachelor of Science in Athletic Training and a Master's degree in Athletic Administration. Kristen is a graduate of the University of Illinois Police Training Institute and was a Champaign County Deputy for two years. She is also the lead instructor of physical training at the Police Training Institute.

Michael Schlosser is the Director of the University of Illinois Police Training Institute. He earned his PhD in Education from the University of Illinois in 2011. Michael is a retired lieutenant after 20 years with the Rantoul Police Department and has been with the Police Training Institute for eight years. During this time, Michael developed the current Control and Arrest Tactics Curriculum and teaches a variety of courses, including police officer wellness, use of force, and control and arrest tactics.

Students' Perceived Value of an Internship Program in Pursuing a Criminal Justice Degree: The Nexus of Theory, Experience, and Occupation

H. Dean Buttram III, EdD, Assistant Professor, Department of Criminal Justice, Jacksonville State University
Wade C. Mackey, PhD, Visiting Professor (Past), Jacksonville State University

Criminal justice careers are a growing segment of communities across the nation. However, Criminal Justice, as an academic discipline, is relatively new and, therefore, the academic preparation of the students is still in the development stage. Given the practical as well as theoretical facets of a career in the criminal justice system, the advisability and utility of an internship program within the Criminal Justice curriculum—from the perspective of the student—seems worthwhile to explore.

This article addresses graduated students' perceptions of the value of their own internship within their own Criminal Justice curriculum. The specific focus of this article is the putative influence that a completed internship would have upon the students' decision to continue within the criminal justice field.

Review of the Literature

Tovey (2001) suggests that the most common term which denotes practical experience combined with academic credit is *internship*. An *intern* is someone who is in training, who may be paid, but who is a temporary employee. The term *practicum* also incorporates the notion of practical experience in a workplace as does *cooperative learning* and *cooperative education*. The various terms may be used to designate an organized program (p. 226).

Participation in an internship program is considered by many in academia as being a fundamental component of the educational experience. The advantages of participation are largely two-fold: (1) it adds practical experience to the theoretical classroom environment, and (2) it provides an opportunity for students to make workplace connections that increase the possibilities of employment (Shaefer, 1996).

Experiential education programs have become more common in various college curricula. The reason for the increased inclusion, according to Taylor (1988), is that the work experience has been praised by academicians, students, and practitioners alike. Students in public service fields who graduate from programs without experiential education may be at a disadvantage in the recruiting process. Research shows that public administration students are very positive toward internship experiences and that they believe that such experiences are an important part of learning (McCaffery, 1979). Experiential education has been emphasized in many different academic programs. Beard (1998) found growth in internships and cooperative education in accounting. Barr, Walters, and Hagan (2002) surveyed registered dietitians and found that the respondents identified their internship as the most important factor in skill development. Rolston and Herrera (2000) found that, because of the heavy competition for jobs and of a general belief that interns are essentially free labor, an internship within the music business is valuable in securing employment. Similarly, Cannon and Arnold's (1998) research revealed that undergraduate marketing majors at three separate Midwest universities believed that, due to the recessions and consequent downsizing in the 1980s and 1990s, the job market applicant pool was saturated with experienced employees. In order for recent graduates to be competitive,

the researchers found that their participants viewed the internship program as assisting them in securing initial employment.

Meyer and Allen's (1988) crossdisciplinary research on recent university graduates focused on their initial employability at one, six, and 11 months after their employment began. Utilizing a structural regression analysis of the longitudinal data (p. 197), they examined the connection between work experiences and job commitment. The data suggested that the first several months of employment are important in developing work attitudes. Consequently, Meyer and Allen found that if employees were challenged, had support, and had a sense of independence within their first six months, then they were more apt to continue working with their current employer. Since the six-month time-frame falls within the normal internship interval, they argued the internship could be valuable in addressing these issues before post-graduation employment commences. In addition, research has found that if employees did not feel challenged and supported, and did not see the opportunity for advancement, then they might resign their positions (too) early (Dixon, Cunningham, Sagas, Turner, & Kent, 2005; Meyer & Allen, 1988).

Dixon et al.'s (2005) research focused on similar factors related to affective organizational commitment. However, rather than surveying recently employed graduates, they surveyed interns in sports and recreation within their final semester senior year. Their research further supported Meyer and Allen's (1988) findings concerning the impact of affective organizational commitment and challenging jobs as incentives. Moreover, they concluded that by providing challenging jobs and the training to conduct them properly, the internships tend to provide value to the workforce.

Internship programs in criminal justice also have become more numerous due to the benefits realized both to the agency and to the intern. Dale (1996), a former sergeant with the Spring Lake Park Police Department in the State of Minnesota, was instrumental in creating that department's internship program. In 1988, the Spring Lake Park Police Department collaborated with a local university in an effort to create college credit-bearing work experiences to Criminal Justice majors who were interested in a career in law enforcement by receiving hands-on training through their department. The program generally involved internship placement for one academic quarter. The department generally accepted only one student per quarter in an effort to ensure that the intern received the most experience possible.

Internship programs are not without critics—especially among those who believe that internships reinforce the idea that Criminal Justice programs are largely about vocational training and less about liberal arts education. There is a resistance among some academics to the idea that they are responsible for preparing students for the workplace rather than educating them in a more general or global sense. Some in the field believe that an emphasis on intern placement reinforces the "cop shop" mentality. This attitude is addressed by Ross and Elechi (2002) in research designed to discover what internship experiences were like for student participants. The authors discovered that many of the respondents did not fully appreciate the connection between the theory that they had learned in the classroom and the practical experience that they gained in the workplace.

Human capital is the life's breath of effective public agencies. Internship programs are perhaps the most convenient method of screening and recruiting potential employees. Currently, there is concern about the large number of impending retirements across the federal civil service system. It was estimated that 71% of government employees were eligible for retirement by 2010 (Clinton, 2003). According to Clinton, this figure could force agencies to face replenishing their workforces with employees who lack experience. One strategy for recruitment into the public sector is to emphasize internships and to use such

programs as a way to attract talented young people. This strategy is an approach that is being promoted in some quarters and may indicate a growing importance for internship programs in coming years.

This change will have to occur despite an attitude among many in the public sector who view interns as a nuisance. It takes a patient professional to provide the level of attention and guidance that is necessary to cultivate a productive intern. This is especially true during the first weeks when an intern faces a fairly steep learning curve. Assur, Goldberg, and Ross (1999) addressed the costs and benefits of interns in a probation setting and describe the need for assigning interns to the most appropriate case workers. Some officers are better equipped with the teaching skills required to develop young talent than are others. The authors also point out that an agency can provide for specific needs through tailored internship programs and that some interns have highly valued skills (e.g., students who can speak a foreign language or who have advanced computer skills). The authors further suggest that assigning a single contact person within the agency for internships can eliminate many (mis)communication problems.

It seems intuitive that internship participation would be a good predictor of employability, and there is some indication that this is the case. Nonetheless, not every study on this issue has come to that conclusion. Henry (1979) surveyed graduates from nine major programs in public administration and public policy. He received 588 responses from his questionnaire, and 234 of these had completed an internship as a part of the program. Henry's conclusions did not support the idea that internship participation is a predictor of overall career success. The data did reveal that interns were more likely to receive employment within the first three months of graduation (64%) than non-interns (57%). However, the conclusion of the research was that former interns are less likely to advance to a supervisory level at work than those who did not participate in an internship. The study also found

significant differences in the attitudes toward the public administration field and system between those students who were internship participants and those who were not. In general, the findings showed that former interns were more cynical about government agencies and less committed to agency goals.

Knouse, Tanner, and Harris (1999) conducted research with several similar findings. In a survey of approximately 1,100 business graduates, they found that the employment advantages of internship participation were limited. Specifically, they found that former interns were more likely to have employment at the time of graduation. However, their research indicated that the employment advantage realized by these graduates had completely disappeared within six months. Accordingly, the major accrued advantage was the speed with which these people could secure employment. Interestingly, this research also found that internship participants had significantly higher grade point averages when controlling for academic potential as reflected in ACT scores. The researchers indicated that internship participation may be a good predictor of college success. However, this is not typically deemed as a basis for investing in an internship program.

As a final point, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) (2010) is the certification body for college/university Criminal Justice baccalaureate degree granting programs. As a part of the certification process, they have implemented core and elective content requirements. Within these standards they require that "Programs have elective internship opportunities available to upper level students. Measures are taken to ensure that internships are integrated into the academic component of the program and related to educational objectives" (Section B.8).

Summary

There have been mixed findings concerning the effectiveness of internship programs and the impact that they have on employment opportunities for graduates. Generally, because an

internship is an elective component within the curriculum of most Criminal Justice departments and is often the only hands-on training and direct interaction with criminal justice agencies for the majority of full-time students, the perception of recent graduates regarding their own internship participation seems an important topic to be examined. To date, compared to the investigation of internships in other fields, there has been relatively sparse research that has a specific focus on criminal justice interns, especially as perceived by those interns. This article serves to address this gap.

Method

Subjects

As part of a larger study (Buttram & Mackey, 2010), Criminal Justice graduates (baccalaureate) from two state-supported universities in the southeastern U.S. were mailed a survey which was to assay their perceptions on the value of their degree in entering an occupation within the criminal justice system. As noted above, the ACJS has implemented core and elective course content requirements for Criminal Justice baccalaureate degree-granting institutions in an effort to be in line with their certification standards. The Criminal Justice programs at both the institutions involved in this study currently comply with these standards by offering internship opportunities as part of their elective courses.

The subjects were simply to fill out the enclosed survey and to mail the completed survey back to the researcher in a stamped, addressed envelope. To ensure anonymity, the subjects were instructed not to include a return address on the returned self-addressed, stamped mailed survey.[1]

Participation

Of the 671 mailed surveys, 220 were returned and appropriately completed for a response rate of 32.8%. The subcategories of areas of concentration were forensic investigation/science (45.5%), criminal justice (General) (21.4%), law enforcement (20.5%), corrections/probation and parole (8.6%), and security administration/loss prevention (4.0%), respectively. Aggregated demographic data are available, upon request, from the first author. Of focal interest to this article are the responses of 75 students who had participated in an internship program (or 34.1% of those who returned the survey). The percentage breakdown of these 75 respondents was law enforcement (52.0%), corrections/probation and parole (20.0%), forensic investigation/science (14.7%), criminal justice (general) (10.7%), and security administration/loss prevention (2.6%).

Survey

The entire survey consisted of 15 statements which allowed the subjects to evaluate—through their own perceptions—the value of their criminal justice education and their degree in their attempt to obtain employment in the criminal justice system. Of the 15 statements, 13 are germane to this article: one directly addresses the value of an internship, and 12 others serve to give context to that assessment. The survey was a revised version of the "National Law Enforcement Man-Power Study" (Copus & Johnson, 1979) and was subsequently updated by Evans (1981). Permission was sought and granted by all the authors to revise and implement the finalized survey.[2] Each of the statements was to be evaluated on a five-point Likert scale: (1) Strongly Agree, (2) Agree, (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree, (4) Disagree, and (5) Strongly Disagree.[3] The germane statement for this article was Statement #1: "Participating in an internship did not increase likelihood of seeking a criminal justice job."

Two questions were to be addressed with the results:

1. Overall, was there a central tendency in the graduates' evaluation of their own internship?
2. Did type of internship influence the graduates' evaluation? There were two types analyzed: Law Enforcement (LE) internships versus Non-Law Enforcement (Non-LE) internships.

The dichotomy seems reasonable from two vantage points: (1) numerically and (2) conceptually. Numerically, the two types were nearly even (52% vs. 48%). Conceptually, the LE internships represented a potentially higher exposure to being in harm's way. That is, the LE internships were more involved with the "thin blue line" which separates the public from unwanted (often dangerous) behaviors (e.g., sheriff and police departments, state police). The Non-LE internships, in the main, were in situations which presented less exposure to personal injury (e.g., lab work, incarceration maintenance, prevention of property loss).

Results

The means and standard deviations (SDs) for the 13 statements are presented in Table 1. Of the 13, ten reached statistical significance.

Accordingly, there is support for the notion that the survey was sensitive in the divination of the respondents' perceptions (see Table 1). Note that the survey in its original format is provided in Appendix I.

Question #1: Overall, was there a central tendency in the graduates' evaluation of their own internship?

The mean for the focal statement (Statement #1: "Participating in an internship did not increase likelihood of seeking criminal justice job") was 3.80 (SD = 1.04; N = 75). This mean differed significantly from the neutral value of 3.00 ($t = 6.67$; $p < 0.01$), with 36.7% of the variance explained (ω^2). Phrased a little differently, the results indicate that the students were not in agreement with the notion that their internship was a neutral event or was a

Table 1. Perceptions on Parameters of Employability by Graduates with a Criminal Justice Major Within the Criminal Justice System (N/Mean/SD per Statement); Note that Means Below Three Indicate Agreement, While Means Above Three Indicate Disagreement)[a]

Statement	N	Mean (SD)	t-value	Explained variance in % (ω^2)
1. Participating in an internship did not increase likelihood of seeking criminal justice job.	75	3.80 (1.04)	6.67*	36.7
2. Salary too low for BS Criminal Justice graduate.	220	2.23 (1.20)	9.01*	26.7
3. Education did not prepare me for the field.	220	3.83 (1.06)	11.69*	38.1
4. Lack of information in reference to criminal justice employment options.	220	2.65 (1.23)	4.22*	7.1
5. Criminal justice agencies do not stress educational attainment.	220	3.00 (1.17)	0.00 ns	--
6. Poor image of profession makes criminal justice employment undesirable.	220	3.18 (1.03)	2.61*	2.6
7. Non-college-educated criminal justice personnel have different attitudes than college-educated criminal justice personnel.	220	2.32 (0.92)	10.97*	35.2
8. Increase in rank or assignment is not enhanced by a college degree.	220	3.12 (1.15)	1.55 ns	--
9. Cannot enter field above entry-level rank, regardless of education.	220	2.51 (1.04)	6.99*	17.9
10. Criminal Justice degree is not more important than other degrees in gaining criminal justice employment.	220	2.73 (1.13)	3.54*	5.0
11. Available criminal justice positions farther away than willing to relocate.	220	2.75 (1.05)	3.52*	4.9
12. Criminal Justice degree does not help gain employment outside criminal justice field.	220	2.90 (1.20)	1.23 ns	--
13. Criminal Justice degree does not provide information on everyday living.	220	3.73 (0.96)	11.27*	36.5

[a] All dfs are 219 except for Statement #1, which was 74.
* $p < 0.01$

counterproductive event in continuing their career trajectory in criminal justice.

Question #2. Did type of internship influence the graduates' evaluation? Law Enforcement (LE) internships versus Non-Law Enforcement (Non-LE) internships.

Due to the small number of responses in Categories 1 and 2 (which indicated a negative evaluation), they were collapsed with the third category (which indicated a neutral evaluation). Similarly, Categories 4 and 5 (which indicated a positive evaluation) were collapsed with each other.

Thus, there were two resultant categories of the graduates' responses to be analyzed: (1) responses wherein the graduates did not evaluate their internships as being advantageous (Categories 1-3) and (2) responses wherein the graduates did evaluate their internships as being advantageous (Categories 4-5).

The results were significant. The graduates who had LE internships more often viewed their internships as being advantageous than the graduates who did not have the LE internships (χ^2 = 5.30; p < 0.05 [two-tailed]; df = 1). Although significant, the relationship was modest (C = 0.257) (see Table 2). There was no gender difference found (χ^2 < 1.00; p > 0.05; df = 1).

Conclusion

The argument being made is that any overall evaluation of the criminal justice profession, in general, and any Criminal Justice department, in particular, would include the perceptions of criminal justice graduates. A direct survey of those graduates is deemed an efficacious method to learn of those perceptions. The survey used in this study is proffered as a template or model for future studies in additional departments. The data indicate that the survey is sensitive enough to detect graduates' perceptual tendencies: both positive and negative. The key findings are that (1) students—from their perspective—aligned their participation in an internship program with an enhanced expectation of continuing a career in criminal justice and (2) although there was a consensus on the value of each of the internships, some internships are evaluated by the graduates as (even) more advantageous to them than others. The data indicate that the LE internship was (even) more advantageous to the graduates than the other internships that were sampled.

Framed a little differently, the internship, as evaluated by the graduates themselves, was valuable to those graduates. The relationship was fairly robust. Accordingly, the addition of an internship program to the students' curriculum would seem to be beneficial for the student, their department, and, thereby, to the community at large.

Endnotes

[1] Once the survey was returned, the data were aggregated. Accordingly, anonymity was, as promised, guaranteed.

[2] The questionnaire had previously been assayed and approved by two state-supported universities' Institutional Review Boards.

Table 2. Evaluations of Type of Internship: LE Versus Non-LE (N = 75)

	Evaluation Categories		
Type of Internship	1-3 (Negative to Neutral)	4-5 (Positive)	Total
LE	8	30	38
Non-LE	17	20	37
Total	25	50	75

χ^2 = 5.30; p < 0.05 (two-tailed); df =1; C = 0.257

[3] It should be noted that these data are ordinal in scaling but were analyzed with interval instruments.

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H. Dean Buttram III, EdD, University of Alabama, is currently an assistant professor in the Department of Criminal Justice at Jacksonville State University in Jacksonville, Alabama. Prior to transitioning into the academician's side of criminal justice, he spent eight years in law enforcement as a deputy sheriff, investigator, and a SORT tactical team member. Additionally, he also has taught numerous advanced classes at a police academy on topics such as medicolegal death investigation and advanced investigation of homicide crime scenes to law enforcement, coroner, and medical and first responder personnel for continuing education credit.

Wade C. Mackey, PhD, received his doctorate in Anthropology from the University of Virginia. At the time this study began, he was a Visiting Professor at Jacksonville State University, Jacksonville, Alabama, and has since retired. His special interests are biocultural evolution and the relationship between fathering and unwelcomed social behavior (e.g., violent behavior of fatherless sons). He has authored two books on fathering and has published in criminology, anthropology, and psychology.

Appendix I: Questionnaire

The following items are included in an effort to assist in determining the importance of a baccalaureate degree in Criminal Justice on your employment, advancement, and salary in the professional field of criminal justice. Your responses to these items are important in an effort to reach the overall goal of the study.

Please respond to the following by circling the most appropriate answer:

SD = Strongly Disagree   D = Disagree   N = Neither Agree nor Disagree
A = Agree   SA = Strongly Agree

A	At the time of initial employability, the position for which I was preparing academically was *not* available.		SD	D	N	A	SA
B	At the time of initial employability, the position I wanted required experience that I did *not* have.		SD	D	N	A	SA
C	At the time of initial employability, the salary for entry-level positions was *not* high enough for the college degree I have.		SD	D	N	A	SA
D	My education did *not* prepare me academically with the skills and knowledge required in my desired field.		SD	D	N	A	SA
E	There is a lack of information regarding criminal justice employment.		SD	D	N	A	SA
F	The current emphasis of criminal justice agencies does *not* stress educational attainment.		SD	D	N	A	SA
G	The poor image of criminal justice professions makes employment in criminal justice agencies undesirable.		SD	D	N	A	SA
H	Non-college-educated criminal justice personnel have different attitudes toward the criminal justice system from college-educated personnel.		SD	D	N	A	SA
I	All other things being equal (i.e., age, seniority, marital status, etc.), the increase in rank and/or preferential assignments is *not* enhanced by the attainment of a college degree.		SD	D	N	A	SA
J	Regardless of educational achievement, one cannot enter the criminal justice field higher than at entry-level rank.		SD	D	N	A	SA
K	A Criminal Justice degree carries no more weight in getting a job in a criminal justice agency than any other type of degree.		SD	D	N	A	SA
L	Since trying to seek employment in the field of criminal justice, available positions were farther away than I wanted to relocate.		SD	D	N	A	SA
M	The Criminal Justice degree is *not* valuable to securing employment in professions outside the criminal justice field.		SD	D	N	A	SA
N	A Criminal Justice degree does *not* provide valuable information relevant to everyday living, regardless of employment.		SD	D	N	A	SA
O	Participating in an internship program did *not* increase the likelihood that I would seek employment in my specified field of study.	Did not participate in an internship.	SD	D	N	A	SA

Fit or Fad? Making Police Fit: An Analysis of Physical Fitness Training at Florida Police Academies

Steven M. Hougland, PhD, Department of Criminal Justice, Southwest Georgia Technical College

Introduction

Fitness training has long been an integral piece of the recruit training process for new police officers. For years, recruit police training has followed a military model that includes physical exercise and defensive tactics training in an effort to prepare officers for the physical demands of the profession (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010; Gundy, 2007). Osborn (1976) identified the most common physical tasks for police officers as walking, climbing stairs, manipulating objects, twisting/turning, pulling/pushing, running, bending, squatting and kneeling, and lifting and carrying. Officers are required to engage in foot chases, physically restrain offenders, and otherwise engage in activities that require strength and cardiovascular capacity (Charles, 1982).

But these activities are performed infrequently, and the majority of an officer's average work day is spent in sedentary activities such as driving, sitting, or standing. Unlike professions requiring constant physical activity sufficient in itself to maintain fitness levels, a police officer must be capable of performing physical tasks that are rarely a part of their everyday routine. For many reasons, it is critically important for officers to participate in fitness training in order to maintain the ability to complete the required tasks of the profession.

As important, law enforcement agencies should monitor officers' fitness levels as another measure of job preparedness since an officer's inability to perform the required job tasks presents a liability issue for the employing agency (*Parker v. District of Columbia,* 1988).

In 2006, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) adopted a resolution recognizing the importance of fitness and wellness training (Quigley, 2008). Shortly thereafter, the Florida Criminal Justice Standards and Training Commission (CJSTC) implemented a mandatory fitness requirement in July 2008 for all police academy trainees. To meet the CJSTC requirement, Florida's law enforcement trainees must complete 60 hours of fitness training and demonstrate improvement in measurable fitness tests in order to graduate from the academy and receive state certification as a law enforcement officer.

The Current Study

The benefits of fitness training for police officers are well-documented (Bonneau & Brown, 1995; Cooper Institute, 2005; Copay & Charles, 1998; Norris, Carroll, & Cochrane, 1990). But the literature is silent on (1) the benefits of fitness training for females as a means to prepare them for pre-employment fitness tests and (2) if Body Mass Index (BMI) affects performance in the same tests.

The present study attempts to fill these gaps in the extant literature and determine the efficacy of mandatory fitness training conducted at Florida's basic recruit training centers. If it could be verified that Florida's fitness requirement is indeed providing a significant, measurable improvement in the various fitness categories, the finding would support the requirement's inclusion as a mandatory subject of instruction in the state's basic trainee curriculum. Additionally, it would provide academy staff, employing law enforcement

agencies, and participating trainees assurance that the training will improve the trainee's fitness level thereby preparing them for pre-employment fitness testing and the physical demands of police work. Conversely, if it is determined the current fitness training fails to provide an improved level of fitness, consideration should be given to altering or eliminating the requirement.

In 2009, 46 law enforcement academies throughout Florida collected fitness data to verify compliance with the CJSTC fitness requirement. Data were collected in the areas of vertical jump, the number of sit-ups completed within one minute, the number of push-ups completed within one minute, a timed mile-and-a-half run or walk, and a 300-yard sprint. The data were analyzed to determine the efficacy of Florida's new fitness requirement.

Literature Review

A lack of fitness and its associated health issues is common among law enforcement officers (Finn & Kuck, 2003; Quigley, 2008). According to Huang and Acevedo (2011), police officers have high overweight and obesity rates, which contribute significantly to the development of heart disease. A Cooper Institute (2005) study found that officers are less fit than half of all U.S. citizens, and officers have a greater mortality rate than the general public. The risk of having a heart attack doubles with each decade of law enforcement service. Further, Franke (1997) concluded that the rate of heart attacks and other related conditions for officers was 31.5% compared to the general population's rate of 18.4%. He found that police work poses a greater risk for heart disease than smoking or high blood pressure, and it poses about the same risk as diabetes or high cholesterol levels. Connaughton, Hausenblas, Dannecker, and Lovins (2000) reported that unfit police officers are more likely to suffer line-of-duty injuries, work-related disabilities, and early death.

Another study (Smith, Devine, Leggat, & Ishitake, 2005) suggests police officers use alcohol and tobacco to deal with job-related stress at higher levels than the general public. The authors confirmed this dependence on alcohol and tobacco within the law enforcement profession. They report that the rate of alcohol consumption among police officers in the United States is twice that of the average population, and that the law enforcement profession has one of the highest rates among all smokers (pp. 63-64). The authors suggest exercise and increased fitness as a means to combat stress and thereby reduce the use of alcohol and tobacco.

Anderson, Plecas, and Segger (2001) found the physical demands of police work are not rigorous enough to maintain an officer's fitness level. Additionally, they concluded that inmates are more fit than the average officer. Agencies that support fitness standards for their officers often opt for unsupervised programs due to their low cost even though supervised fitness programs are more effective (Boyce & Hiatt, 1992). Bonneau and Brown (1995) suggest that "the average police officer does not have the fitness capacity to face the average criminal" (p. 158). It makes no sense to select officers based on their fitness level and then have no requirement that fitness be maintained.

In *Parker v. District of Columbia* (1988), the Court addressed police officers' physical fitness and the agency's responsibility related to officer fitness. In this case, an unfit officer who was not physically able to affect an arrest due to his physical condition "resorted to use of his gun because he was unable physically to subdue (the arrestee) by less drastic means" (para. 39). The Court ruled the officer's poor physical condition "posed a foreseeable risk of harm to others" (para. 34).

The *Criminal Justice Agency Profile Report* (Florida Department of Law Enforcement [FDLE], 2010) indicates that 174, or 47%, of Florida's local and state law enforcement agencies require pre-employment physical testing. Lonsway (2003) reported that physical testing has a significantly negative impact on women and suggests that agencies using pre-employment physical testing

hire 45% fewer sworn women than men. Further, Cordner and Cordner (2011) concluded that most police chiefs and female officers "agreed that physical fitness tests tend to eliminate women and/or push them down the eligibility list (p. 213). Additionally, according to a report by the National Center for Women and Policing (1999), one of the single largest barriers to women entering a career in law enforcement is an over-emphasis on upper-body strength in entry-level physical fitness exams. Harr (2005) examined female and minority trainee resignations from training academies and cited strict fitness standards and demanding physical fitness regimens as a primary cause for female resignation during academy training.

Legislation

In 2003, the Florida Legislature passed Florida State Statute 112.18, which is commonly referred to as the "The Heart/Lung Bill." The law considers that if a law enforcement officer develops any cardiovascular disease or tuberculosis during his or her employment, that disease is considered a result of his or her employment, providing that the officer was free of the ailment prior to employment. Police officers are entitled to Workman's Compensation benefits for treatment in the same manner as any job-related injury if an officer suffers a heart or lung-related illness or injury even in an off-duty capacity.

Data

In order to become a Florida certified law enforcement officer, trainees must successfully complete an 834-hour basic recruit training program at one of the state's 46 certified training schools. Most schools are operated in connection with a state two-year college, and the curriculum is standardized by the Florida CJSTC. As such, all trainees receive the same number of training hours and course content regardless of where they attend their training. Included in the standardized curriculum is the requirement that all law enforcement trainees complete 60 hours of fitness training.

In 2009, training center staff collected data from police trainees attending the state's Basic Law Enforcement Recruit classes. Two datasets were collected. The first dataset was collected before trainees received fitness training. Trainees completed a battery of fitness tests to establish their baseline fitness level. All trainees completed a physical assessment in the areas of a vertical jump, sit-ups, push-ups, and a mile-and-a-half run or walk. Academy staff recorded the height in inches of the vertical jump, the number of sit-ups completed within one minute, the number of push-ups completed within one minute, and a timed mile-and-a-half run or walk. The second dataset was collected at the conclusion of the required 60-hour fitness program. Trainees were re-evaluated in the same fitness areas of vertical jump, sit-ups, push-ups, and a mile-and-a-half run or walk.

Methodology

The purpose of the study is to explore the efficacy of the fitness training currently being conducted in Florida's law enforcement training centers and evaluate its result on participants' fitness levels.

The study uses a pretest/posttest design to explore the result of fitness training on a group of law enforcement trainees attending Florida police academies in 2009. The study group is the population (N = 3,908) rather than a sample.

The dependent variable is participation in a 60-hour fitness program. The independent variables include the fitness test events (vertical jump, number of push-ups, number of sit-ups, and mile-and-a-half run/walk). There is no control group. The research question to be explored is based on the null hypothesis that no significant difference exists in a participant's fitness level between the first day of fitness training and the conclusion of training. Data are analyzed using a paired samples and an independent samples t-test as well as an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) test.

Descriptives

Male participants (*n* = 2,956) far outnumber females (*n* = 952). The mean height and weight for male participants was 70.5 inches and 206 pounds. The mean height and weight for female participants was 65 inches and 169 pounds.

Participants' BMI was calculated as a proxy indicator of pretest fitness. BMI is commonly calculated using the English formula, which is BMI = weight (in pounds) divided by the square of height (in inches) times 703—that is, (weight/height^2)* 703 (National Research Council [NRC], 1989, p. 563). BMI is "more highly correlated with body fat than any other indicator of height and weight" (p. 563). Participants' BMI was calculated using the English formula and interpreted by following the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2011) BMI chart below.

Ogden and Carroll (2010) analyzed the results of the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey from 2007-2008. Using the English formula to calculate BMI, the survey revealed that 34.2% of U.S. adults are overweight and 33.8% are obese. Trainees attending Florida's police academies closely mirror the BMI rating of the general population, with 34.6% overweight and 36.8% obese. The mean BMI for males and females was 29.0 and 28.3, respectively, indicating that, on average, participants began fitness training in the Overweight category.

While all trainees are required to complete 60 hours of fitness training, the training regimen was delivered across a wide spectrum of time. The number of calendar days reported to complete the fitness training ranged from a low of 11 to a high of 358. The mean number of training days was 115, and the mode was 103. About 90% of trainees completed their training between 54 and 177 calendar days.

Findings

The data were analyzed both in aggregate and in groups (Gender, BMI) in the fitness tests for vertical jump, sit-ups, push-ups, and the 1.5 mile run/walk. The aggregate findings are presented first followed by the group findings.

Aggregate Findings

First, we wanted to determine the result of training on the vertical jump. The vertical jump measures explosive power like that needed in foot pursuit tasks for jumping or climbing obstacles. For this test, we used a paired-samples *t*-test using pretest/posttest data.

The results of this test suggest a significant difference exists ($t(3,907)$ = -23.23, p = 0.00, α = 0.05) in the pretest/posttest data. On average, participants increased their vertical jump from 17 inches to 18.3 inches, or an improvement of about 7%, after participating in fitness training.

Next, we examined the result of fitness on the number of sit-ups completed within one minute. This event measures a participant's dynamic strength. For this test, we used a paired-samples *t*-test using pretest/posttest data.

The results of this test suggest a significant difference exists ($t(3,907)$ = -54.35, p = 0.00, α = 0.05) in the pretest/posttest data. On average, participants increased the number of sit-ups completed within one minute from 32 to 41, or an improvement of 22%, after participating in fitness training.

BMI Chart

Category	BMI	Participants	Percent
Underweight	less than 18.5	43	1.1
Healthy weight	18.5-24.9	1,064	27.5
Overweight	25.0-29.9	1,341	34.6
Obese	30.0 and above	1,427	36.8

We next examined the result of fitness on the number of push-ups completed within one minute. This event also measures a participant's dynamic strength. For this test, we used a paired-samples t-test using pretest/posttest data.

The results of this test suggest a significant difference exists ($t(3,907) = -59.31$, $p = 0.00$, $\alpha = 0.05$) in the pretest/posttest data. On average, participants increased the number of push-ups completed within one minute from 32 to 46, or an improvement of 31%, after participating in fitness training.

We also examined the results of fitness on the 1.5 mile run/walk. This event measures a participant's overall cardiorespiratory endurance. For this test, we used a paired-samples t-test using pretest/posttest data.

The results of this test suggest a significant difference exists ($t(3,907) = 30.9$, $p = 0.00$, $\alpha = 0.05$) in the pretest/posttest data. On average, participants reduced their run time from 18 minutes to 16 minutes and 18 seconds, an improvement of 10%, after participating in fitness training.

Group Findings by Gender

The data were also analyzed between groups using an independent samples t-test and an ANOVA test.

No significant difference was found in the level of improvement between males and females in the fitness tests for vertical jump ($t(3,906) = 0.22$, $p = 0.826$, $\alpha = 0.05$) or the mile-and-a-half run/walk ($t(3,906) = 0.77$, $p = 0.44$, $\alpha = 0.05$).

A significant difference was discovered, however, between males and females in the fitness tests for push-ups ($t(966) = 3.77$, $p = 0.00$, $\alpha = 0.05$) and sit-ups ($t(3,906) = 3.23$, $p = 0.00$, $\alpha = 0.05$). For males, performance improved from a mean of 36 push-ups completed on the pretest to a mean of 51 push-ups completed on the posttest ($t(2,955) = 51.34$, $p = 0.00$, $\alpha = 0.05$), representing a mean improvement of

about 28% following fitness training. Sit-up performance among males also improved from a mean of 32 pretest to a mean of 44 posttest ($t(2,955) = 34.54$, $p = 0.00$, $\alpha = 0.05$), representing a mean improvement of 27%.

For females, push-up performance improved from a pretest mean of 21 to a mean of 35 push-ups after training ($t(951) = 29.75$, $p = 0.00$, $\alpha = 0.05$), an improvement of 40%. Sit-up performance among females also improved ($t(951) = 29.83$, $p = 0.00$, $\alpha = 0.05$) from a pretest mean of 26 to a mean of 35 posttest, representing a mean improvement of 26%.

Group Findings by Body Mass Index

We also explored each fitness category for variability between the BMI groups (Underweight, Healthy Weight, Overweight, Obese) using an ANOVA test. No significant difference was found in the level of improvement between groups in the fitness tests for vertical jump ($F(3, 3870)= 1.52$, $p = 0.21$), sit-ups ($F(3, 3,871)= 0.17$, $p = 0.92$), or the 1.5 mile run/walk ($F(3, 3874)= 0.90$, $p = 0.44$).

A significant difference was discovered, however, in variability between the BMI groups in the fitness test for push-ups. A one-way, between-subjects ANOVA test was conducted to compare the effect of BMI on push-up performance. A significant effect was found at the $p < 0.05$ level between the groups Healthy Weight, Overweight, and Obese ($F(3, 3,869)= 7.38$, $p = 0.00$).

A Tukey *post hoc* test was used to determine the nature of the differences between the groups. This analysis revealed that Healthy Weight differed significantly from Obese (M = 2.69, SD = 0.61) and that Overweight differed significantly from Obese (M = 1.61, SD = 0.57).

Discussion

The current study employed the use of data from a population (N = 3,908) rather than a sample. One goal of the study was to obtain insights on the efficacy of current practices

rather than to externally generalize the results.

When measured in aggregate, the data analysis provided significant results in each measured category. The findings suggest that participants significantly improved their fitness levels across all categories. After participating in Florida's mandatory 60 hours of fitness training, participants on average jumped higher, completed more sit-ups and push-ups, and ran faster than they were previously able to perform these tasks.

When analyzed by group, the significant difference revealed in the push-up results between males and females is particularly worth noting in light of the evidence suggesting fitness testing presents an obstacle to the employment of female officers. With regards to this specific area of analysis, the current findings support those of Bahrke and Hoffman (1997) who trained police officers during a six-week fitness program designed to increase upper-body strength. At the conclusion of the program, female participants improved their push-up repetitions by 40%. Female participants also significantly improved their sit-up performance.

Academy and police agency recruiters may find the gender-related findings encouraging to female applicants and a good resource to support the increase of female employment in police work. The success of female police academy graduates in pre-employment tests of upper-body strength will be left to future study.

Another significant result was found in the group analysis of push-up results by BMI category. Here we found that participants in the Healthy Weight category (BMI from 18.5 to 24.9) improved significantly more than any other group. Those in the Overweight category (BMI from 25.0 to 29.9) improved more than those in the Obese group (BMI > 30.0). The results from this test suggest that those who begin fitness testing with a BMI in the Healthy Weight category will improve their push-up performance significantly more than other BMI categories. Additionally, this test suggests that those with an Obese BMI will improve their push-up performance least.

Anecdotally, the authors find it counterintuitive that the most fit participants would realize the greatest improvement in performance.

These results were achieved with no fitness standards in place. Florida's training centers are authorized to choose the fitness training program that best suits their students and budget. A variety of fitness training programs were implemented to include general aerobic training, FitForce, and P90X. One training center contracted with a private fitness vendor that specializes in fitness training for law enforcement officers.

The issue of a student's incentive to improve performance must also be addressed. While the literature is silent in this area, it could be expected that students might lack the motivation to perform at a high standard knowing that they must perform at a higher level as a condition of graduation from training. Since performance improvement is not measured against any gender or age norms, participants could simply participate in and successfully complete the program with minimal effort. Of particular interest, then, is the degree to which participants improved their fitness levels. The observed levels of improvement in each fitness category suggest that students fully participated in the training regimen in order to achieve significant positive results.

The fact that no fitness curricula or standards exist, though, is problematic. The CJSTC standard requires those attending a basic law enforcement training center to participate in the training and to demonstrate improvement at the conclusion of their training. But the CJSTC has established no definition of improvement. Expectedly, then, improvement has been measured and enforced liberally. We found no evidence suggesting that those who did not improve were removed from training for failing to meet the state's requirement.

We must also consider that Florida's training centers operate through the state's two-year colleges. The colleges benefit financially from the ability to demonstrate high graduation rates thereby increasing their ability to recruit new students. While law enforcement agencies that hire Florida training center graduates can be assured that trainees received fitness training, they cannot be assured the type of training received or to what extent applicants improved their physical performance. Since pre-employment physical testing is a pass/fail process, the ultimate measure of the success of any fitness program may lie in an applicant's ability to pass an agency's pre-employment fitness test after completing the CJSTC requirement. This analysis will be left to future study.

Limitations

The data provided by FDLE and analyzed for this study is self-reported and poses a significant limitation to the study. The analysis was limited to the available data, and many data points that would have led to a more robust analysis were not reported. Data in the areas of age, body weight at the conclusion of training, and the type of fitness regimen followed would have supported a more complete analysis. That said, the dataset is the only currently available data by which to evaluate the effectiveness of the physical fitness training taking place throughout Florida. We feel this analysis, although limited, provides an initial look at the program as well as the basis for future study and analysis.

Future Study

This study sought to examine the effectiveness of physical fitness training being offered at Florida's police training centers in accordance with the CJSTC mandatory 60-hour training requirement.

Future studies should attempt to analyze the effectiveness of the various training systems being used by the training centers and if variability exists between training centers. If it can be determined that any single system provides superior improvements in fitness levels, a recommendation may be warranted to standardize the training being offered.

Additional studies should also attempt to identify core fitness requirements for various police assignments. The purpose of implementing fitness training at the basic training level is to prepare new officers for the general physical demands of the profession as well as to instill good fitness habits for a lifetime of overall wellness. But many police assignments, such as K-9 handler, SWAT officer, and bike patrol officer, require a higher fitness level as well as the ability to perform very specific physical tasks. Future research should not only identify these various positions and their related physical requirements but also attempt to identify fitness regimens that provide for these tasks.

Finally, the authors found no significant research in fitness training beyond basic recruit training. It is disingenuous and hollow to require strict pre-employment and basic recruit fitness standards without also implementing standards for officers on the job. It serves no purpose, for example, to tell an officer that he must be in great physical shape to get hired while at the same time sending the clear message that fitness and wellness are not important elements of the job.

Conclusion

While this study provides encouraging findings in support of fitness training at the basic training level, additional research is needed to identify best training methodologies and fitness regimens for specialized assignments and long-term wellness. Females completing fitness training demonstrated significant improvement in upper-body strength, and participants with a Healthy Weight BMI registered greater improvement in each fitness category than any other BMI category. Fitness training, even in moderation, appears to provide significant improvement in the fitness level of police officers in basic training.

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Steve Hougland served as a law enforcement officer for 29 years. He received his PhD in Public Affairs from the University of Central Florida (Orlando) in 2004 and teaches Criminal Justice courses at Southwestern Georgia Technical College in Thomasville, Georgia. He can be reached at steven.hougland@gmail.com.

Violent Incidents in Religiously Affiliated K-12 Schools in the United States

Thomas A. Simonds, SJ, EdD, Associate Professor and Associate Chair of Education, Creighton University

Introduction

Violence in K-12 religiously affiliated schools is underreported. For example, Patterson (2001) and Zimmerman (2006) reported that there had been three school shootings in Catholic schools between the years 1990 and 2006. This researcher identified five incidents in Catholic schools during this time period as well as a number of older incidents, one foiled plot to carry out a Columbine-style attack on a Catholic school, and a number of more recent incidents.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2008) continually monitors violent incidents in schools in the United States and regularly publishes their findings. However, the CDC breaks the incidents down by public or private schools only, making it impossible to determine how many violent incidents have occurred in religiously affiliated schools.

Therefore, in this study, the researcher adapted methods used by the CDC to study violent incidents that had occurred in K-12 religiously affiliated schools in the U.S. The findings of this study will prove helpful to educators and school resource officers as they consider the best ways to create safe and effective schools. The findings of this study will also be of interest to researchers as a number of important suggestions for future avenues of research are included.

Literature Review

Is it possible to predict in advance who will commit a violent act in a school by paying attention to some set of indicators? The best evidence to date suggests that predicting who will commit a violent act is a very tenuous undertaking (Lebrun, 2009; U.S. Secret Service & U.S. Department of Education, 2002). Therefore the best prevention strategy is four-fold. First, set up a secure perimeter so that those people in school buildings and on the school campus are protected from outside intruders. Second, have a plan detailing what to do when an intruder comes on campus or someone already on campus commits a violent act (Lebrun, 2009; Simonds, 2010). Third, teach faculty and staff how to listen to students and peers and refer those people who need help with some area of their personal development. Fourth, address all the sources that lead to violence, including school, personal, family, and social factors (Adelman & Taylor, 2000; Lebrun, 2009).

Crisis Planning

Schools must be prepared to respond to a wide variety of crisis situations (Lebrun, 2009; Simonds, 2008, 2010). Regular practice of school safety plans is critical. If plans sit on a shelf, they will be of no use during a crisis. Practice must be followed by debriefing, which results in plan improvements (Simonds, 2008). Situations are always changing, and crisis plans must also change. Coordination of crisis response with first responders is very important (Lebrun, 2009; Simonds, 2008, 2010). At the same time, school personnel must often take initial steps to protect lives until first responders can arrive, so it is important to train faculty and staff how to respond in a crisis (Lebrun, 2009; Simonds, 2010). It is also important for families to know what to do in a school crisis situation (Lebrun, 2009; Simonds, 2010).

Helping Students

It is not always an intruder who commits a violent act at school. Sometimes students in the school harm others using weapons. Therefore,

it is critically important for educational professionals and school resource officers to develop ways to listen to and help students.

Interventions with younger children can be very effective (Lebrun, 2009). Children need to learn how to control anger and aggression, and educators need professional training that gives them the knowledge and mechanisms to teach children these important life skills.

Creating and implementing a school curriculum that teaches young people how to develop relationships with others can be a very effective way to decrease bullying and other anti-social behaviors (Lebrun, 2009; Simonds, 2009b). Good communication is one important part of relationship building. In their study of school violence, the U.S. Secret Service and U.S. Department of Education (2002) reported that a positive school environment in which there is good communication between teachers and students can be one means to prevent violence.

In a national survey of Catholic secondary schools conducted by Simonds (2009a), school disciplinarians reported that the most effective means of violence prevention was to "provide positive student programming and formation" (p. 197). It is important for educators to be with students and help them learn how to act responsibly. When adults take time to be with children and young people, they demonstrate that they care about them and can have a greater impact on their moral development (Johnson, 2009; Lebrun, 2009).

Educators can help students take the lead in preventing violence by empowering them to create and implement violence prevention strategies (Johnson, 2009; Kozaczek, 2000). Most school shooters have told others about their plans or have given hints of their plans (Lebrun, 2009; U.S. Secret Service & U.S. Department of Education, 2002). Using this knowledge, school personnel can work with students to develop ways for young people to tell adults about potential threats to school safety.

School Factors Related to Violence

A number of school factors can contribute to violence (Lebrun, 2009). Bullying can create a negative school environment in which students are hurt and seek revenge (Lebrun, 2009; Simonds, 2009a, 2009b). The school principal plays an important role in establishing a positive learning environment in the school. By putting in place fair and effective discipline strategies and helping faculty and staff to implement these strategies, the principal can develop an educational program that integrates character formation within the curriculum (Stein, Richin, Banyon, Banyon, & Stein, 2000).

However, Watson and Watson (2002) indicated that many public school principals lack the authority to establish effective disciplinary practices in schools. Judicial decisions since the 1950s and changes in the ways parents relate to school personnel have been factors affecting how principals can lead schools (Watson & Watson, 2002). New charter schools may be one way to give school principals back the authority they need to effectively lead schools. In a national telephone survey of adults, Bushaw and Lopez (2010) found that 68% of those surveyed were in favor of charter schools.

Teachers also play an important role in creating safe and effective schools. In a review of the literature on school violence prevention, Johnson (2009) found that more time spent on learning was related to lower levels of violence. Teachers need to have excellent classroom management skills and the knowledge and skills to engage their students in important learning activities throughout the school day.

Personal Factors Related to School Violence

Lebrun (2009) identified a number of personal factors that make it more likely that a student will act out in a violent way. These factors include a history of child abuse, a history of gang involvement, drug and alcohol abuse, inappropriate and unsupervised access to weapons, a history of criminal activity, and

mental illness. As educators become aware of these factors, they need to have strategies to help students seek healing and positive growth (Fitzgibbons, Mahon, & Maus, 2008).

Family Factors Related to School Violence

Lebrun (2009) also identified familial factors that may contribute to violence. Some of these factors are financial woes, involvement in criminal activity, and drug and alcohol abuse.

Educators need to consider how schools can strengthen and assist families. When parents spend time with their children and model positive pro-social behaviors, young people are able to more effectively engage in learning in the school (Lebrun, 2009). Parents' connection with the school can be an important source of support for the success of young people.

Social Factors Related to School Violence

School-age children and young adults are impacted by their families and their school environments, and broader American society also plays a role in shaping young people (Lebrun, 2009). Young people learn life lessons through the media and by observing the behavior of important adult role models. Increasing violence and anti-social behavior in the media and in society in general can negatively impact young people (Derksen & Strasburger, 1996).

Crews and Counts (1997) and Watson and Watson (2002) identified mandatory school attendance laws as one social factor that has contributed to violence in schools. While education is certainly a necessary preparation for a career and participation in our democratic form of government, Crews and Counts and Watson and Watson suggest that a greater variety of methods would better suit the needs of young people today. For example, some young people may find an apprenticeship model of education more helpful, at least initially, than a classroom model of education.

Method

The CDC (2008) has used media searches to identify school-associated violent deaths and then has used personal interviews to verify incidents. Using the CDC's research method as a model, the researcher conducted a literature search to identify school shootings and other serious violent incidents that had occurred in K-12 religiously affiliated schools. The researcher defined other serious violent incidents as any life threatening scenario planned or committed by an individual or individuals at a K-12 religious school in the U.S. *The School as a Safe Haven*, a book by Watson and Watson (2002), proved helpful in identifying six incidents of serious violence. An article by Patterson (2001) yielded information about a seventh incident. Additional information on these incidents was discovered in Zimmerman (2006) and Lebrun (2009).

Instead of using personal interviews to verify incidents as the CDC had done, the researcher cross-checked the incidents by following up on citations and by conducting a Web search (Creswell, 2005). Using the Bing.com search engine, the researcher cross-checked the incidents discovered in Patterson (2001) and Watson and Watson (2002) by using the search string "school incident date location." For example, one search string entered was "school shooting February 24, 1975 Penns Grove, NJ." If the first search string did not yield any information on the violent incident, a second search was conducted using the search string "school incident date school name location." For example, a second search was conducted using the string "school shooting February 24, 1975 Saint James' Catholic School Penns Grove, NJ."

Subsequent to these Web searches, three databases were reviewed by the researcher in order to identify additional serious violent incidents that had occurred in religiously affiliated schools. Two databases on Wikipedia.com were studied: (1) "school shooting-notable school shootings" and (2) "list of school-related attacks." A third database was also studied at

SchoolShooting.org. The researcher reviewed these databases and looked for any indication in the information provided that the schools had a religious affiliation. Using this process, the researcher identified 14 more serious violent incidents that had occurred in religiously affiliated schools. Once these incidents had been identified, the researcher cross-checked each incident by checking citations and by using the same search strings described above.

Findings

The researcher identified a total of 21 incidents exhibiting serious violence that had occurred at religiously affiliated K-12 schools in the U.S. Two incidents could not be verified using cross-checking and were not included in the dataset for this study. A third incident was excluded from the dataset because the researcher concluded that the incident had not occurred on the campus of a religious school. Therefore, the final dataset for this study included 18 serious violent incidents.

Fourteen of these incidents occurred in Catholic schools, while four incidents occurred in schools of other religious denominations. Twelve of the incidents identified were school shootings. In order to present a full picture of the range of serious violence that has occurred in these schools, the researcher also included six other incidents: two stabbings, one hostage-taking incident, the planning of two school attacks, and a suicide at school. Details and related information for all the incidents are presented in Table 1.

Romano, Levi-Minzi, Rugala, and Van Hasselt (2011) discussed how a typology could be used to classify types of violent incidents in the workplace. The researcher in this study modified the typology and applied it to violent incidents in schools as shown in Table 2.

Using the typology, the researcher grouped incidents into classes based on the identity of the person or persons who committed the violent act. All four of the identified incidents between the years 1891 and 1975 were Type I incidents involving intruders who came onto the school campus or entered a school building and committed a violent act. Between the years 1983 and 2010, there was just a single Type I incident involving an intruder, while students committed nine violent acts at school, and adults related to someone at the school committed three violent acts. The perpetrator of one violent incident could not be identified.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on close study of these 18 incidents of serious violence in religious schools, the researcher has developed a number of important strategies for preventing future violence. First, educators and school resource officers need to reconsider how to set up effective barriers so that intruders cannot come onto a school campus or enter school buildings. Even if some steps have been taken in this regard in some schools, the importance of barriers for school safety warrants ongoing checking and updating of these devices, objects, and procedures.

Paying close attention to students is also critical. Faculty and staff need to know that listening to and observing students is very important. They also need to know what to do when they want to share a concern about a particular student. All of this implies that resources will be accessible within the school to help students with their needs.

A fair and effective discipline system must be put in place in every K-12 school. A firmly implemented disciplinary system can be a very good means to help students learn how to accept consequences and grow. Discipline systems can be integrated with the school curriculum; they promote relationship building and inclusion that limit the negative effects of bullying and other anti-social behaviors. Character education can be a guiding theme for disciplinary systems, providing a focus on the core values central to the identity of each school. When consequences are imposed, especially severe consequences such as suspensions or expulsions, educators need to take steps to make it less likely that students will retaliate against school officials.

Table 1. Violent Incidents in K-12 Religious Schools in the United States (N = 18)

School, date, city & state	Details, triggers & references
Saint Mary's Catholic School April 9, 1891 Newburg, NY	70-year-old man shot a group of boys outside the school. He used a shotgun, and wounded five boys. *Trigger may have been mental illness*. (*New York Times*, 1891)
Holy Name Catholic School October 25, 1940 Cincinnati, OH	27-year-old man killed a 10-year-old boy with a knife. *Trigger may have been mental illness*. (*Daily Kentucky New Era*, 1940)
Saint Cecelia's Catholic School May 1, 1973 Peoria, IL	Three armed male intruders took 23 or 24 students and two teachers hostage. Police shot one intruder and arrested the other two. *Trigger was not clear*. The men may have been members of the Black Panthers. They robbed two stores before entering the school. (ABC Evening News, 1973; CBS Evening News, 1973; Watson & Watson, 2002)
Saint James' Catholic School February 24, 1975 Penns Grove, NJ	24-year-old male intruder shot a teacher and the principal. The principal was killed. *Trigger for this event could not be determined*. (*New York Times*, 1975; Watson & Watson, 2002)
Boylan Central Catholic HS December 16, 1983 Rockford, IL	15-year-old male student shot and wounded his teacher. *Trigger was a reprimand by his teacher*. (*Ocala Star Banner*, 1983)
Atlantic Shores Christian School December 16, 1988 Virginia Beach, VA	16-year-old male student shot two teachers, killing one. Firearm was obtained from a relative. *Trigger for this incident was bullying*. Copycat of Boylan Central Catholic High School incident? (Larson, 1993)
Archbishop Carroll Catholic HS May 30, 1992 Washington, DC	Unidentified person shot three to six students outside a school dance. One student from another school attending the dance was killed. *Trigger may have been a fight that started inside at the dance*. May have been gang related. (Castaneda & Weil, 1992; Gaines-Carter, 1992; Watson & Watson, 2002)
Sacred Heart Catholic School January 23, 1995 Redlands, CA	13-year-old male student used a family friend's shotgun to wound his principal. He then killed himself, perhaps accidentally. *Trigger was a school reprimand for dress code*. (Gorman, 1995; Patterson, 2001; Watson & Watson, 2002)
Mountain Park Baptist Academy March 25, 1996 Patterson, MO	Three teenage male students (18, 15, and 15) killed another teenage male student. It is alleged that they beat him with a club and then stabbed him with a knife. *Trigger may have been desire for revenge*. It was alleged that victim told school officials that the three boys were planning to harm a pastor. (*Los Angeles Times*, 1998; Ragland & Lundy, 1996)
Saint Bernard Catholic HS October 4, 1996 Playa del Rey, CA	17-year-old male student from rival school shot two students following a football game. One student died. *Trigger was interpersonal dispute about sports*. (*Los Angeles Times*, 1996)
Our Lady of Assumption Catholic May 19, 1999 Lynn, MA	11-year-old male student threatened to bomb a fundraising event to be held at his school. He also threatened to stab a fellow student with a knife. *Trigger may have been plan to copycat Columbine*. (*Boston Globe*, 1999; Watson & Watson, 2002)
Bishop Neumann Catholic HS March 7, 2001 Williamsport, PA	14-year-old female student used her father's handgun to shoot a classmate in the shoulder. *Trigger was bullying*. May have been a copycat of Santee, CA, shooting on March 5, 2001. (Associated Press, 2001; CNN.com, 2001; *National Catholic Reporter*, 2001; Patterson, 2001; Watson & Watson, 2002)
Saint James' Catholic School November 7, 2002 Liberty, MO	41-year-old male shot his son and wife outside the school. The 9-year-old boy died at the school. *Trigger was domestic dispute*. (*National Catholic Reporter*, 2002; *Orlando Sentinel*, 2002; Stafford, 2002)
Gateway Church & School February 20, 2004 St. Martinsville, LA	41-year-old male shot and killed his girlfriend outside the school. The woman worked at the school. The man later committed suicide. *Trigger was an interpersonal dispute over ending their relationship*. (Moore, 2004; National School Safety & Security Services, 2007)

Wolf Rock Amish School October 2, 2006 Nickel Mines, PA	32-year-old male intruder shot 10 girls, killing five. He then committed suicide. The doors of the one-room schoolhouse were not locked. *Trigger was probably mental illness.* (Fox News, 2006)
Notre Dame Catholic School February 7, 2008 Portsmouth, OH	Estranged husband shot and stabbed his wife in her 5th-grade classroom while students were present. He gained access when door lock malfunctioned. *Triggers were mental illness, drug use, and interpersonal dispute.* (Greene, 2008; *Herald Dispatch*, 2008; WOWKTV, 2008)
Saint Andrew Catholic School March 10, 2009 Drexel Hill, PA	13-year-old male student was planning a school attack. Student was seeking accomplices, and one boy he approached told a counselor who alerted police. Boy's father stated son was not guilty. *Trigger for this event was not clear. Mental illness may have played a role.* Copycat of Columbine? (Henry & Perez, 2009; Reilly, 2009; Stamm, 2009)
Saint Theodore Holy Family Catholic School September 16, 2010 Lake Charles, LA	13-year-old student committed suicide at the school using a gun. The school went into lockdown, and no one else was injured. *Trigger was mental illness.* (KSLA News, 2010; Richards, 2010)

Note: Two incidents could not be verified by cross-checking. Those incidents are not listed in this table. Another incident was excluded from this dataset because it was determined that it did not occur on the campus of a religious school.

Table 2. Classification Typology for Acts of School Violence

Class of act	Description of act	No. in this study
Type I	Act committed by an intruder(s) with no relationship to the school or individuals at the school.	5
Type II	Act committed by a current or former student(s).	8
Type III	Act committed by a current or former employee(s).	0
Type IV	Act committed by a person(s) who was neither a student nor an employee of the school but had a relationship with someone at the school, or in some other way had a relationship to the institution.	3
Type V	Act committed by a student(s) from another school.	1

Note: This classification typology is based on the work of Romano et al. (2011). The perpetrator of one act could not be identified.

Two plots by students to instigate attacks on their schools were identified in this study (*Boston Globe*, 1999; Henry & Perez, 2009; Reilly, 2009; Stamm, 2009; Watson & Watson, 2002). Fortunately, both plots were foiled when people reported the students' plans before they could carry them out. These two incidents are an important reminder that school officials need to provide ways for students and faculty to share concerns with administrators and members of law enforcement. Additionally, lessons need to be integrated within school curricula so that students understand why they must tell a responsible adult when they know that someone's life, health, or safety is in danger.

School employees also need to have people they can talk to about problems and concerns.

Employee assistance counseling programs can be one way to provide this needed resource for educators. Good communication between faculty, staff, and administrators can also provide a way to help people find peer mentors and colleagues who can help during times of difficulty.

Education for parents and all community members about gun safety is critical. Programs to mandate the safe storing of all weapons are vitally important. Angry young people sometimes fire a weapon without thinking about the long-term consequences of their actions.

Additional educational efforts to support and strengthen families are also needed. Creative new ways to develop home and school relationships need to be developed—especially personal face-to-face relationships.

Systematic study of school violence prevention programs is needed to identify the most effective methods for prevention. Park-Higgerson, Perumean-Chaney, Bartolucci, Grimley, and Singh (2008) suggested that researchers adopt a common way of reporting violence prevention research so that scholars can conduct meta-analyses to determine which programs are most effective. Johnson (2009) also supported the notion of more uniform ways of studying and reporting on school violence prevention. More work and study is needed in this important area.

The findings of this study suggest that a shift took place in the 1980s. In this decade, students began committing serious violent acts in religious schools, whereas all previous acts of serious violence documented in this study had been committed by intruders. Since the 1980s, this pattern has continued, with students committing the majority of violent acts in religious schools. Additional study of this finding is needed to determine why this shift from intruder-initiated violence to student-initiated violence occurred, and to better understand why students continue to commit serious violent acts in religious schools. The copycat phenomenon, whereby a student on the edge sees another student commit a violent act and then commits a similar act, may be one factor to explore.

Many resources are available to help school resource officers and educators as they seek to enhance safety in schools and assist students. The book by Fitzgibbons et al. (2008) is an especially helpful resource for establishing programs to help students overcome challenges they face during their school years.

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Thomas A. Simonds is an associate professor and the Associate Chair of Education at Creighton University in Omaha, Nebraska.

Contact Information
Thomas A. Simonds, SJ, EdD
Creighton University
Department of Education
2500 California Plaza
Omaha, NE 68178
Phone: (402) 280-3077
Fax: (402) 280-1117
ThomasSimonds@creighton.edu

Human Trafficking: Modern Slavery

Michael J. Palmiotto, Professor of Criminal Justice, Wichita State University

Slavery can be traced to ancient times. The Bible, Koran, and historical documents have all described slavery. The term *slavery* simply means one person owns another human being like a piece of land. The human being is considered property in a similar way as a lamp or kitchen cabinet is owned. In earlier times, people became slaves by being taken captive in war, and they and their children continued in the slave culture. During the Middle Ages, slavery evolved into a commercial enterprise. People were hunted, captured, and sold into slavery. Commercial slavery still exists today as a business in some parts of the world. For centuries, it has been an inhumane and abusive form of treatment of one human being toward another.

Most educated people have some knowledge of how Africans were hunted down, captured, and transported to the Americas. Slavery in America was introduced in 1619 when a Dutch ship brought the first slaves to America. The slave trade increased because cheap labor was important to the economy of the southern region of America.

The commercial slave business was referred to as transatlantic—the transporting of Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas. In 1807, Great Britain outlawed the slave business throughout its empire. However, slavery was not abolished. England officially abolished slavery in 1833, the United States in 1865, and Brazil in 1888. In 1926, the League of Nations called for an end to slavery. In 1948, the United Nations made a proclamation prohibiting slavery (Cullen-DuPont, 2009, p. 7).

For the most part, the transatlantic slave trade ended in the 19th century. Slavery in its various forms continues to take place to this present day. Human trafficking seems to be our modern form of slavery. This form of slavery was recognized in the early 20th century when various governments of the world developed international agreements against human trafficking. In 1904, there was an international Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Traffic and a 1910 International Convention to stop the white slave trade. There was a 1921 International Convention to suppress trafficking of women and children, with another Convention in 1933 with the same purpose. In 1949, the United Nations also had a convention on human trafficking (Lee, 2011, pp 26-27).

In 1877, the International Abolitionist Federation in Geneva brought the sex trade of women to the world's attention. In 1899, the International Congress met to oppose the white slave trade. The first agreement to suppress the white slave trade was adopted at the 1904 International Congress (Holman, 2008, pp. 104-105).

In the early 19th century, the U.S. Congress acknowledged that human trafficking existed when it passed the White-Slave Act, known as the Mann Act, in 1910. The Mann Act prohibited the transportation of women and girls between the various states or territories for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose. In support of International Agreements, the Mann Act made it a crime to transport foreign women for the purpose of prostitution and debauchery.

The 1978 amendment to the Mann Act was designed to protect minors who were being transported across state lines for immoral purposes. The amendment held that transportation by automobile would be sufficient for prosecution. Transportation by common carrier was not required, as originally stated under the Mann Act. The 1985 amendment made it a crime to transport a minor to produce pornography even for noncommercial purposes. The amendment is gender neutral, applying to males as well as females (Langum, 1994, pp. 249-250).

The United Nations defines *human trafficking* as

> The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payment or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (Aronowitz, 2009, p. 1)

> The global economy has human trafficking as a byproduct of the twenty-first century. Human trafficking is surpassed by drugs and weapons trafficking as the most profitable criminal actions. The crime of human trafficking is a serious human rights violation. The United States government believes that there are between 600,000 and 800,000 people trafficked across international borders. Of course, it is difficult to be exact in the number of people trafficking. Human trafficking is growing and it may be possible that within a decade that trafficking of humans will surpass drugs and weapons trafficking. (Holman, 2008, p. 102)

In 2000, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) (also known as the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000) was passed by Congress. The TVPA defines human trafficking as

> Labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, personage, debt bondage or slavery; or commercial sex acts through the use of force, fraud, or coercion; or if the person is under 18 years of age any commercial sex act, regardless of whether any form of coercion is involved. (Section 103, 8a-8b)

The main point of the act indicates that force or fraud cannot be used to take advantage of a person either for forced labor or sexual exploitation. The TVPA legislation does not require that a person be transported across geographical locations for it to be a crime. Also, individuals do not necessarily have to be transported from another country for it to be human trafficking. However, under the TVPA law, a minor does not have to be forced if a third person benefits from sexual exploitation.

The TVPA should be considered significant U.S. legislation since it held those countries accountable that did not take constructive action to combat human trafficking. This legislation increased law enforcement in the U.S. with pressure on foreign countries to enforce stricter laws against human trafficking. Countries that did not take constructive action against human trafficking would not receive humanitarian aid from the U.S. (Holman, 2008, p. 101).

How serious of a problem is human trafficking? It is a serious problem, but how serious is difficult to determine. The number of people who are actual victims of human trafficking are unknown. The International Human Rights Law Institute made the following report on trafficking in Central America and the Caribbean:

> In view of the clandestine and criminal nature of the phenomenon, the inadequate monitoring by law enforcement agencies, and public confusion about the nature of the problem, accurate quantitative data on the trafficking for sexual exploration was impossible to obtain. In fact, available quantitative data was purely speculative. (Aronowitz, 2009, p. 15)

> [What] are the reasons for human trafficking? With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 which led to economic upheaval not only in Russia but countries under its control[, human] trafficking became a source of income for the criminal element. China, Nigeria and Thailand contribute to trafficking. It should be recognized that victims of trafficking can come [from] any

country. Probably the greatest contributor to human trafficking [is] poverty. Those in poverty are unable to financially meet the basic needs of shelter, food or medical care. Parents and children go to bed hungry and are poorly clothed causing some adults to get into bondage to financial lenders trading their freedom for some basic need. The majority of people who are trafficked are women and girls which is primarily due to gender inequality. Women [sometimes fall] for lies that they will have their basic needs met with potential employment. (Cullen-DuPont, 2009, pp. 23-24)

The demand for human trafficking has increased with globalization, the break-up of the Soviet Union, economic poverty and lack of border controls. Human trafficking results in human suffering. The control or elimination of human trafficking is difficult to remove from society since there are monetary advantage[s] to illegal and legal organizations. The profit motive for human trafficking either by sex exploration or forced labor benefits those in control. Factories, construction companies or farmers can benefit by the forced labor of human trafficking. Sex slavery has increased in the past decade because of human trafficking. (Shelley, 2010, pp. 29-30)

The demand for women in the sex market and people for cheap labor contributes to the demand of human trafficking to stay in operation. There was always a demand for prostitutes for the sex market and cheap labor for the workforce. Women are vulnerable and are in big demand for both legitimate and illicit businesses. The commercial sex and entertainment business makes big profits. The demand for women also exists as domestic workers or as caretakers. Women are valuable to the fast food industry and low-paying factory positions (Aronowitz, 2009, pp. 25-26). The Presidents' Interagency Council on Women formulated a definition on trafficking in women and children:

Trafficking is all acts involved in the recruitment, abduction, transport, harboring, transfer, sale, or receipt of persons; within national or across international borders; through force, coercion, fraud or deception; to place persons in situations of slavery or slavery-like conditions, forced labor or services, such as forced prostitution or sexual services, or domestic servitude, bonded sweat shops labor or other debt bondage. (O'Neill Richard, 1999, p. V)

Women are trafficked into the United States from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America. The simplest way to be trafficked into the U.S. is to overstay their visas, which claim the victims are business travelers or tourists. The time frame of the visas varies depending upon the country of origin. The traffickers recycle passports to traffic in new women. The human traffickers also use finance and entertainers visas to get women into the U.S. The human traffickers train the women on how to apply for a visa. They obtain phony employment letters and records or bank statements to support documentation for the visa. The human traffickers gain control over the women by taking their passports and visas from them. Phony passports have also been used to bring women to the U.S. (O'Neill Richard, 1999, pp. 3-8).

Victims of human trafficking are usually identified in several ways. First, law enforcement identify victims either because they are trained in human trafficking or through a criminal investigation. Second, victims could be identified by coworkers, customers, or neighbors. Third, human trafficking victims could be identified if they seek medical, social, or employment services (Logan, Walker, & Hunt, 2009, p. 19).

A major question that should be asked pertaining to human trafficking victims is what keeps them trapped in this inhumane condition? There appears to be several reasons why people feel imprisoned when in human bondage. Fear seems to be a big factor, which can include physical abuse and sexual violence. In addition, fear can include a number of threats such as threats to harm family members, send the victim to jail, or have victims deported. A lack of knowledge is another reason why trafficking victims do not

report their bondage. Victims lack knowledge of their rights and how to handle the situation they are in. If the trafficking victim does not speak the language, they are at a big disadvantage. Isolation can play a major part in human bondage. The victim held in isolation can be controlled by the trafficker. The victim has limited contact with outsiders because their outside contact is monitored. Finally, physical and psychological confinement keeps the victim imprisoned in an unpleasant situation. Victims may be kept under physical control. Psychological control may include holding the victim's passport, visa, money or other documents they possess (Logan et al., 2009, pp. 13-14).

The enforcement of criminal laws predominantly falls upon local policing agencies, which include cities, counties, and state investigative agencies. These local and state agencies reflect a diverse social-economic community. Who better to investigate human trafficking than local and state police agencies? Who knows their communities better than local police agencies? To support local law enforcement agencies, the federal government funded task forces to identify trafficking offenders and to prosecute human traffic violators. It appears that human traffickers are not being prosecuted in large numbers. A reason could be that police administrators do not consider it a major problem or maybe it is not a serious problem to them. Bigger cities are more likely to consider human trafficking to be a major concern and, thus, they investigate human trafficking cases. Police agencies that have investigated human trafficking were found to have training programs and police personnel who specialized in human trafficking, and they had protocols to identify human trafficking cases (Farrell, 2009, pp. 246-251).

In March 2011, several strategies were suggested for law enforcement personnel to handle human sex trafficking. These suggestions were for patrol officers and investigators and included general indicators, physical indicators, financial/legal indicators, and brothel indicators. For example, patrol officers should document calls and complaints on police information reports, even if the details seem trivial.

Investigators should monitor websites that advertise dating and escort services. For the indicators, a general indicator could be a large number of people living in a small area; physical indicators could include injuries from beatings or cigarette burns; financial/legal indicators could be that someone else has an individual's travel documents; and brothel indicators could be men coming and going constantly (Walker-Rodriquez & Hill, 2011, pp. 5-6).

Human trafficking can take place in any country in the world. This inhumane offense can transport humans across national borders or across state borders. Since human trafficking in its entirety is too vast to review in this paper, we will primarily discuss the human trafficking trade in the U.S. Midwest.

Human traffickers have been arrested in Kansas City, Missouri. There have also been international traffic labor cases. Victims would come to the U.S. based on the promise of a legitimate job only to be held in bondage. Women have been transported from China to Kansas City for the sex trade. Kansas City, like several cities, has received grants to fight human trafficking (*Human Trafficking in the Midwest*, 2009).

In the last several years, human traffickers have received more attention in Kansas. During 2011, domestic violence and sexual assault programs have reported working with 26 human trafficking victims. Eight victims were from the Wichita area. The Wichita police statistics report human trafficking has more than tripled in the last four years. In 2011, the Wichita Police had 28 cases involving human trafficking. Kansas sits on a major human trafficking route favored by human traffickers of forced labor and the sex trade. The Kansas Attorney General wants to improve efforts to eliminate human trafficking (*Wichita Eagle*, 2012, pp. 1B & 6B).

There exists little knowledge of human trafficking in the Midwest and little research in America's heartland. One study (Wilson & Dalton, 2008) looks at human trafficking in two urban communities: Columbus and Toledo, Ohio. Examined was the public's response to

human trafficking and media reports. Toledo had ten domestic cases that involved the commercial sex trafficking of juveniles from the Toledo area. There was also ongoing investigating of adults. During the period of this study, the police were investigating 60 possible human traffickers. Columbus has had five transnational cases; all involved forced labor either as domestic workers or hotel workers (p. 300).

A study by Williamson and Prior (2009) reviews the underground network of players involved in the domestic traffic of minors for the sex trade. There are several players identified in the social network: connectors, recruiters, groomers, traffickers, bottoms, watchers, and wife-in-laws. Connectors are neighborhood residents who hook up the victim with someone who knows how to make money in prostitution. Recruiters are closely linked to the traffickers and their job is to find new prospects. Groomers prepare the victim for prostitution. Traffickers are pimps whose only goal is to control and exploit the victim. A bottom is a woman close to the pimp who is trusted by the pimp. Wife-in-laws are partnered with each other and belong to the same pimp (pp. 8-10).

When young people are rescued from traffickers, they are usually arrested and the victims are incarcerated in juvenile facilities. They don't receive treatment to overcome the trauma of their victimization (Williamson & Prior, 2009, p. 13).

Human trafficking is a crime that has been difficult to quantify. Estimates on the number of victims have been difficult to obtain accurately. There seems to be a great unknown about human trafficking. In 2010, there were 49,105 human trafficking victims worldwide who were identified. This was a 59% increase over 2009 (Human Trafficking, 2011, p. 1).

Action needs to be taken to combat human trafficking. Wilson and Dalton (2008) make several recommendations:

- Improve awareness and response through training, education, and outreach.

- Improve law enforcement capacity.
- Improve practitioner collaboration.
- Refine department policies.
- Use analysis to develop evidence-based programs and responses.
- Consider and assess legislative, legal and regulatory changes. (pp. 309-311)

Conclusion

Human trafficking is a serious problem which is taking place in our country. We as Americans may find it hard to believe that something this inhumane can occur here. We like to think it takes place in developing countries in the world. In recent years, more attention is being paid to human trafficking, which seems to be divided into the sex trade and forced labor. Not only should the police be trained in spotting human trafficking, but the general public should as well. Citizens who reside in neighborhoods are generally familiar with their neighbors and their comings and goings. Hopefully, in the coming decade, human trafficking can be eliminated.

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Michael J. Palmiotto, PhD, is a professor of Criminal Justice at Wichita State University. He has a Master's degree from John Jay College (CUNY) and a doctorate from the University of Pittsburgh. In 2001, Dr. Palmiotto did a sabbatical at the College of Law, University of Chicago. He has published ten books and numerous book chapters and articles on criminal justice.

Dr. Palmiotto taught at Maastricht Center for International Studies, the Netherlands, in 2004; was a Fulbright Scholar to the Law College of the University of Law, the Kingdom of Bahrain, in 2006; and in 2007 was invited by the College of Law at the University of Kragujevac, Serbia, as Visiting Professor. In 2007, Professor Palmiotto was approved as a Fulbright Senior Specialist Scholar. In May 2009, his Fulbright Specialist award was spent in Serbia. Dr. Palmiotto's current research interests include international security issues.

The Government and Bandits: Similarity and Difference in Theory and in Russian Practice

**Svetlana Barsukova, Professor, Laboratory for Studies in Economic Sociology,
National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia**

Liberal reforms of the 1990s in Russia were accompanied by the appearance and active growth of illegal violent structures. From a moral point of view, we can judge people who chose this way, but from an analytical and scientific point of view, we have to admit that illegal power structures played a positive role in the development of the market economy by creating conditions of compliance with the contract law in situations when the government was unable to regulate economic processes. In 2000, years of illegal power structures practically disappeared. What brought them back to life and what were the reasons for their disappearance? Does their disappearance mean the victory of the government as a warrantor of law and order and of contract law? What is the evolution of violent entrepreneurs in Russia?

First of all, we'll take a look at theoretical analysis. The issue is not about violence in general but about *the role of power structures in economic processes*. Thus, we are interested not in any bearer of physical violence, but only in such bearer whose actions play an important role in the functioning of the economy. This could be governmental and private structures, which can be divided into legal and illegal structures.

What unites the government and the bandit? It seems they represent different forms of one phenomenon, *violent entrepreneurship (force business)*, the main idea of which is to convert organized power into a source of fixed income by controlling economic agents. The term *violent entrepreneurs* was proposed by Volkov (2002), and his book inspired me to write this article.

1. The Government and Bandits: Theoretical Aspect

For ordinary people, it can be strange to compare the government to bandits. But science has its own approach. In order to understand the role of power entrepreneurs, several statements are principal.

First statement: *Public relations are built on the basis of three resources: (1) power, (2) money, and (3) words*. Physical violence, economic resources, and the ability to put sense into action form the society. Societies vary in the forms of realization of these resources, in mechanisms of its conversion, and in principles of distribution between social groups. In this triad, physical violence plays the main role; and even in modern societies, it represents a relict phenomenon. Voluntary market-based interactions of egoistic people represent the façade of modern societies. This is the biggest mistake which impedes the understanding of the mechanism of market exchange.

The thing is that voluntariness of each transaction is based on the knowledge that if money is fake or scales cheat you, the swindler will be punished and that there is some power which forces compliance with the terms of the transaction. The force of coercion constitutes the rule. Coercion as a potential type of violence, which is applied to the violators of rules, is a necessary element of free market relations.

Second statement: *Under the guise of the fight against criminal groups, the government fights against competitors*. From a functional point of view, they are colleagues because they produce goods of one type. By means of this power resource, they maintain the rules of

interaction. The quality-price ration of this service affects consumer choice. If the Sicilian mafia returned stolen cattle faster and more effectively than the police, peasants would prefer to pay tribute to the mafia than pay taxes to the government. The conclusion is that two principal strategies of the fight against bandits is their total physical destruction or their economic devastation when consumers of power services will vote for the government as the only reliable warrantor of economic life.

But the government will never defeat bandits. *The government can't set rules in an economic area which is not recognized as a legitimate one by the government*. In this way, it gives economic reality to alternative power organizations. If drug trafficking and prostitution are not legalized, then criminal groups will become a functional analogue of the government. Criminal peculiarity does not negate the need of these markets to use physical coercion to maintain the rules. The dry law in the United States ushered in the "golden century" of the American mafia because underground bootlegging needed the power resource for regulating economic processes and for conflict resolution. Criminal business cannot pay taxes to the government, but it does pay tribute to bandits, which from the point of view of purchased services is the same thing. For criminal business, gangster groups are not alternative power partners; they are some kind of shadow government, which sets the code of conduct for this market.

Third statement: Government is not the project of a genius mind. From a historic point of view, *government is only a final point of competitive struggle among those who try by force to provide regular income*.

Government is a condition when only one player is left in a shootout game of the members of the top brass. Rules set by them will be recognized by fair and reasonable people because there is no one from which to choose. Time and regularity of violence form the habit blocking the idea that government and bandits are not different phenomenon. In reality, each bandit becomes the government if he eliminates all competitors in one specific territory and becomes some kind of exclusive manager of violence, and also if he guarantees to protect the border from attack from the outside. *The government is not the goal of the movement of practicing members of the top brass, it is a logical boundary of their competition and a concentration of the power resource.*

We are talking here about a monopoly—but not in the sense that the government's power functions are all-inclusive. It can share these functions with private organizations, allowing the creation of private police and private security agencies. But the fact that the government controls these organizations means that the government maintains a monopoly on violence.

But if every law is a derivative of violence, then why do people tolerate violence? Isn't it better to live outside the law?

To use the terminology of Thomas Hobbes, *to live outside the law* means to be natural. It also means that your property is your own property until you have the strength to defend it from attacks of people who surround you. In this case, each person is a defender of his or her own things and an invader of another's things, including their life. But individual protection is expensive and not effective. Scale economy is reached if it passes the right of defense to the subject who specializes in physical violence. The most effective solution is the universal defender, one for everybody. This is the government. According to Hobbes, people voluntarily call the monster Leviathan in order to stop "*bellum omnium contra omnes*"—a war of everyone against everyone—the Latin phrase used by Hobbes (1651/1996) to describe the state of nature in *Leviathan* (pp. 88-90). They call him because of their fear of death and because life with the monster is better than death from the neighbor. In this way, transition from the natural condition to the civil is done. Leviathan is a mythical image of the government. Hobbes was mistaken in one thing, however—people did not call a specific monster Leviathan; they created him by improving the forms of relationships with those who had the competitive advantage in using physical strength.

2. Government and Bandits: Soviet and Post-Soviet Practice

Soviet Period (1960-1980)

There were bandits in the USSR who levied tribute to shadow entrepreneurs. But don't confuse them with the bandits who appeared in the end of the 1980s and became a business card of the 1990s.

The bandits from Soviet times came from the criminal world, and this world has its history. Criminals as a real social group with their own laws and hierarchy were formed in the 1930s. The criminal world as a social organization appeared in the conditions of a strong, repressive government; and this fact distinguishes them from the bandits of the 1990s who were the product of a weak government.

The force business in Soviet times was simple; it was blackmail under the slogan "You have to share." But, of course, nobody wants to share. There was no way out, however, because the victims were more afraid of the police than of bandits. They could pay off the bandits. If they went to the police, then it could lead to trials regarding the sources of their income. The thing is that bandits levy tribute from shadow Soviet entrepreneurs. Their business was related to such a thing as "a theft of socialist property" because there was no free market of raw materials and equipment. And these entrepreneurs were afraid of both the police and the bandits.

Regularity of extortion limits its size. The robber who doesn't plan to re-encounter the victim tries to take everything he can, but the bandit who gets a stable income from the shadow entrepreneur learns to suppress his appetite.

The End of the 1980s to the Beginning of the 1990s

At the end of the 1980s, the character and scale of violent business changed. Liberalization of the economy gained momentum, but the weak government was not capable of establishing an effective system of property right protection and enforcement of contracts.

At the same time, in this social sphere, there appeared groups with specific connections to violence—sportsmen and soldier-Afghans. Sport is a game form for cultivating aggression and contention, where physical strength is a factor of the victory. Fighting spirit was locked in a bottle of sports rules like a genie. But this bottle burst together with the collapse of the USSR when the previous financing system of sport also collapsed. Veterans of the Afghanistan war were also in a very bad position. After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, the society didn't even thank them.

Sportsmen, soldier-Afghans, and other Russians tried to adapt to the new conditions. The thing that sportsmen and Afghans could do better than other people was to be tolerant of violence (violence as a way of solving problems), endure the pain, and deal with weapons. Their main strength was their loyal attitude to violence and moral superiority over those who were not able to defend themselves. These abilities were easily converted into money during the emergence of entrepreneurship and the decay of the government. The loss of the government's monopoly on violence returned the country to its "natural condition"; expulsion of Leviathan meant uncontrolled violence. During this time, people were seduced with private business. There appeared to be more resources available for the taking. Formally, they could find protection from the government, but the weak government could not defend them. In these conditions, the flywheel of extortion gained momentum, and this became a significant social phenomenon.

It is notable that if racketeers from Soviet times were from a criminal environment, the racketeers from the 1990s had a wider social base—it was a war between criminals and bandits of noncriminal origin for the division of areas of influence.

Withdrawal of the troops from Afghanistan, the collapse of the sports system, moral and material disparagement of law enforcement agencies, low legitimacy of first entrepreneurs, inadequacy of laws which look into the future—all of this led to a massive movement

of racketeers. The same situation happened with the American mafia during the "golden century," which coincided with the introduction of the "dry law" in the U.S. in 1919. In the beginning of the 20th century, Sicilian mafia members ran to the U.S., escaping from the repressions of the fascist regime of Mussolini. In 1919, the "dry law" provoked underground business and its force support, which led to the golden age of the mafia.

This racketeer-extorter did not just collect tribute; he also provided security for the firm against potential danger. The bandit was at the same time the defender of "his own" company and the source of danger for others. The racketeer is a bandit who sells his own abstention from violence and is able to defend those under the racketeer's protection from other bandits' violence. The protection racket was the simplest form of the force entrepreneurship.

1992 to 1995

Competition between bandits led to their growth and their becoming stronger financially. Organized criminal groups with military discipline inside and established contacts outside, including the contacts with governmental agencies, replaced unorganized bands. Organized criminal groups were able to solve difficult problems faster; they didn't just provide security from other bandits.

They found such an opportunity in business development. The scale of transactions grew, the number of counterparts grew, schemes became more complicated, and geography of contacts expanded. As a result, risks are growing. But the government was not able to keep pace with the business needs in production of trust between the counterparts. And here the thing is not about the trust in personal decency of partners but about the trust in actions of formal institutions, which ensure property rights and compliance with contracts. Of course, the government was trying to do something in this direction—in 1991, arbitration was created—but it takes a lot of time, and it is useless to sue in economic disputes.

So business needs in protection of property rights and compliance with contracts from bandits, whose financial and organizational possibilities became excessive for simple security, began to meet. Further, the functional complication of bandits' relations with their "own" companies began to occur. They did not just collect tributes; they created opportunities for "their" firms for economic growth, which included the search of areas for investments, inspection of counterparts, knocking out debts, and many other things. This was a new form of business force—a *power partnership*. Bandits replaced arbitration, insurance companies, and the police. The ineffectiveness of such a replacement was obvious, but during that time, this system was more effective than the real Russian government.

Companies that did not have power partners were turning to bandits asking them to become warrantees of the deal or to solve this or that problem. *Power agency* became a separate form of activity. Power agency, unlike power partnership, which had permanent relations with economic subjects, was solving specific business problems on an irregular basis.

It is important to note that simple security (or racketeers) could exist without connection with authorities. But solving transactional business problems requires contact with governmental structures, and this circumstance gave certain advantages to the bandits of noncriminal origin. The criminal world existed by its own laws, among which there was a ban on cooperation with the government. And also for authorities, it was risky to cooperate with the criminals. So, bandits of noncriminal origin became known as *authorities-bandits*.

The reputation of bandits was protected because it was the source of income. But before generating income, this reputation required significant investments in the form of effective violent actions. Bandits-agents believed that their received payment was a price for their moral superiority over businessmen, whose words could not serve as a foundation for transactions. They would be very upset if they knew that this

was a payment for specific work, which functionally replaced the weak government.

The main result was functional diversity of force business, three forms of which became security, partnership, and agency.

But this functional diversity was keeping other dangers hidden from the bandits. Serious competitors appeared in the face of private security agencies. The reorganization of the KGB and the less acute reform of the Ministry of Internal Affairs led to significant outflow of personnel. Yesterday's officers, who were professional members of the top brass, had to find a new place in life because of salary reductions, decline in displaced prestige, and planned job cuts. And, of course, not all of them wanted to requalify into house managers. These officers decided to offer their private security services to the market, which received legal status after the law regarding private detective and security activities was approved in 1992.

It is possible that the authors of this law about private security agencies just wanted to create a niche in the labor market for fired members of the top brass. But decline in organized criminality became an unexpected consequence of this step.

At this juncture, private security agencies took the role of power partners, which previously belonged to the bandits. Business liked this new partnership more. Bandits were taking 10 to 30% of the profit, while private security agencies worked under a contract with fixed prices for various types of services. They had licences, paid taxes, and all this was raising their status as business partners. Also, they had access to databases that were denied to bandits. In the competition for price and quality of services, bandits were losing to these legal power entrepreneurs.

Of course, criminal business (e.g., drugs, prostitution, gambling) did not have a choice. Their only possible power partners were organized criminal groups.

It wasn't the governmental repressions that started to force out the bandits from the market of violence; it was the inefficiency of public services and competition of the private security agencies that now had legal status. All this led to the fact that a lot of organized criminal groups started to get licenses and to act as private security agencies.

At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, struggle for the place of power in the market of violence was between bandits of noncriminal origin and bandit-criminals. Starting in 1993, private security agencies had competitive advantage. The functional complication of the role of violence and the transition from security to power partnership created an atmosphere wherein the displaced officers, having professional competitive advantage, started to press the bandits.

1996 to 2000

In the middle of the 1990s, bandits started to capitalize their income by buying and establishing enterprises. So, in the middle of the 1990s, a new period of force entrepreneurship started. It was an active legalization of bandits—their conversion to businessmen. If in the past entrepreneurs were sources of income, now they became business partners. Partnership extinguished the sense of superiority that bandits felt over businessmen.

There were objective reasons for the conversion of bandits into the local business-elite. Organized criminal groups saved a lot of money, which they had to manage with maximum benefit. By providing economic transactions, they gained experience in solving business problems; they entered into a business world network. But the main thing was the changes that were happening in the country. The government started to revive. Putin, after becoming president, voiced the idea of bringing order, regaining the monopoly on violence. Law enforcement agencies became more active, and repressions against organized criminal groups were expanding. In these conditions, the only possible variant in the future for bandits was to go into legal business or to emigrate with all of their money.

Also, the government started to seriously improve economic legislation. Prestige and effectiveness of arbitration were growing. Loyalty to the market ideals of the 1990s was shown in the fact that if a businessman found a legislative "hole" and used it to his benefit, the government patched the "hole" without dealing with this businessman, so the government adjusted laws all the time by testing them in practice.

Institutional improvements and the growing effectiveness of state agencies led to a basis of trust between market counterparts. Power businessmen as producers and sellers of trust, limited by the scale of the deal, lost their field of activity.

So, on the one hand, business attracted bandits with the possibility of capitalization of incomes and avoidance of repressions. On the other hand, state successes in institutional construction were reducing the field of activity for power businessmen. Also, the market share, served by bandits, was reduced as the number of private security agencies grew. The market of violence was becoming very competitive.

Transition to regional business-elite became the typical completion of the career arc for the top members of the force business. The lower-level members joined non-organized criminality.

Changes also started to occur in politics. In order to protect their investments into business, bandits decided to go into politics, and this changed the nature of business, politics, and criminality by enriching these areas with new functional and subcultural content.

The 2000s

These years were the years of strengthening the statehood. The government pressed the competitors in the face of private power businessmen through various forms of violent actions—repressions, justice, and taxes—and this can be interpreted as a victory of the government over bandits, the main competitors in the field

of violence. Bandits remained a symbol of the 1990s.

But bandits were pressured not by the government as a machine of impersonal maintenance of formal standards, but by the army of state representatives who privately disposed of governmental power resources. Bureaucrats, officers, and judges won out over the bandits because they made the administrative and power resources of the government negotiable. Of course, these state representatives complied with formal standards, but they interpreted these standards according to clients' interests—not for free, of course.

The potential of current officers to contribute to business development was incomparable to what the bandits offered. First, bandits were pressured by former members of the top brass who created private security agencies and offered business services which were cheaper and of higher quality than bandits' services. But "formers" used connections with their colleagues who were still working; they were not as strong in solving business problems. The stronger the state machinery was, the more the "formers" were losing. Business understood that times changed and that the government had administrative and power resources concentrated in its hands. The stronger the government was, the more the attractiveness of state agencies as "shelters" (*krysha*), matching the profile and scale of business, was growing.

The concept of *shelter* has a great history. First it was a professional slang of secret service agents: *shelter* meant the formal protection of a secret service agent. In the 1990s, former officers who joined the private force business enriched the language of gangsters with this concept. Shelter started to mean the power protection of business by private legal or illegal structures. Shelter and the government were different in nature. In the 2000s, the concept of shelter was enriched with informal cooperation with policemen and employees of state security. So, by enriching the connotation, the term *shelter* transitioned from the slang of security service agents to the slang of the

gangsters, and then it returned to security service agents, equating them with bandits.

In the violence market, where power converts into money by controlling economic agents, gangsters were replaced by former policemen, and that gave way to the current employees of state agencies. These current employees do not do anything wrong—they find stolen things, provide security, return debts, etc.—but they do not do it for all the taxpayers, they only do it for private clients. They create law and order but not for society; rather, it is all for the private good.

The dynamics of typical force businessmen, starting with Soviet times, are the following: criminals with tattoos on their bodies, sportsmen with massive gold chains, former officers with private security agency licenses, and working officers with service certificates.

So, gangsters, after doing their job, have faded into the past. Some of them were repressed, some were seduced with high governmental positions, and some entered into the business-elite. Despite bloody details of those times, bandits did a good deed—they provided protection of property rights and compliance with contracts, and this allowed the market to develop in the 1990s. These were informal institutes, but there couldn't be others in that situation of actual loss of statehood. Bandits are the product of a weak government. In the 2000s, the government revived, and gangsters lost their positions in the economy. As mentioned above, bandits lost out to state representatives, who disposed of administrative and power resources of the government for personal purposes, and this allowed them to become force businessmen with superiority over gangsters in solving business problems. New force entrepreneurs, who were previously bandits, ensure the work of informal institutes of economic regulation. But if gangsters filled the vacuum of formal institutes, their *shiftmen* form informal institutes by relying on powerful coercive apparatuses.

3. Conclusion

According to the data published in the *Summa Ideologii* (2008), law enforcement agencies give way only to federal authorities in their degree of corruption. It is important to note that the businessmen express the most critical evaluation of the activities of law enforcement agencies: 50% of entrepreneurs believe that the law enforcement agencies are corrupt. For comparison, only 16.7 and 20% of the representatives of legislative and Executive authorities, respectively, share the view of corruption in law enforcement bodies (p. 155).

What does it mean in terms of the relationship between bandits and the government?

Policemen and employees of state security became the "number one" force entrepreneurs. Power state structures, engaged in the profitable business of acting as *protection rackets* due to limited resources, are less distracted by the provision of public goods as security and law and order. In the beginning of the 2000s, the highest share of policemen earning extra money was in the departments whose function was to combat organized crime (Kosals, Kolennikova, Ryvkina, Simagin, & Wilson, 2008).

The gangster turns into an ideally typical government employee if he maintains justice and guarantees order, first of all, for everybody, and not just for particular solvent clients and, secondly, on the basis of formal procedures and not of personal sympathy. Then, the collective illusion about the government as a useful patron, whose violence is justified by good intentions, is inevitably created, although their intentions are the same as of the bandits—at the expense of power resources to organize the economic process in such a way that a regular income could be provided to the political elite.

And vice versa, if state representatives dispose of power resources as private goods, allowing bargaining around decisions and practices of law enforcement, the government would turn into the bandit while saving symbols and organizational forms.

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Contact Information
Professor Svetlana Barsukova
Laboratory for Studies in Economic Sociology
National Research University –
Higher School of Economics
Moscow, Russia
svbars@mail.ru

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