



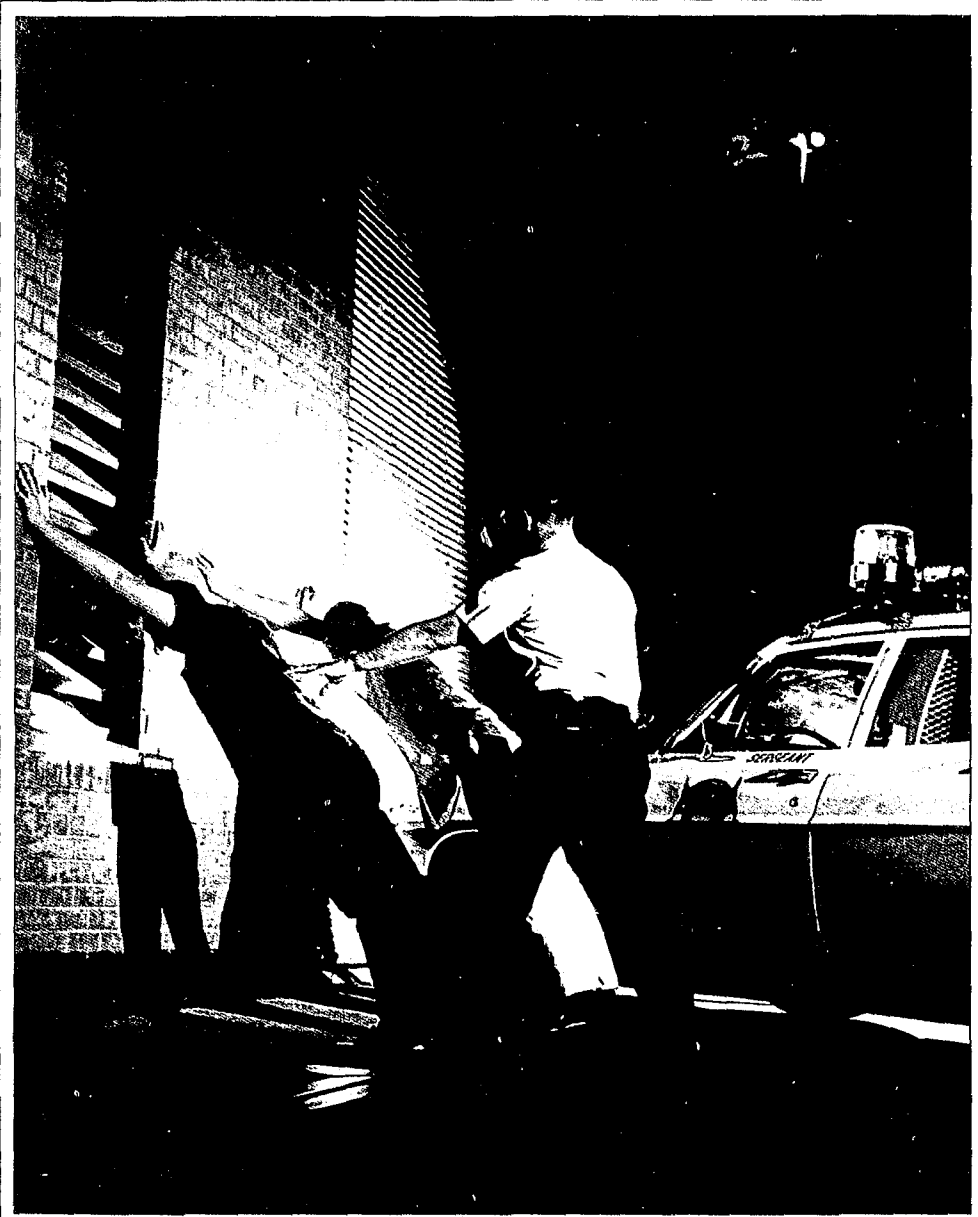
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November 1986

Law Enforcement Bulletin

NOV 19 1986
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A Special Report

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The Cover:

With the Police Foundation vertical logo, the cover symbolizes the foundation "Crime File" video project.

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Law Enforcement Bulletin

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, DC 20535

William H. Webster, Director

The Attorney General has determined that the publication of this periodical is necessary in the transaction of the public business required by law of the Department of Justice. Use of funds for printing this periodical has been approved by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget through June 6, 1988.

Published by the Office of
Congressional and Public Affairs,
William M. Baker, *Assistant Director*

Editor—Thomas J. Deakin
Assistant Editor—Kathryn E. Sulewski
Art Director—Kevin J. Mulholland
Production Manager—Marlethia S. Black
Reprints—Beth Corbin



ISSN 0014-5688

USPS 383-310

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103390

The Nature of Police Authority

"... recognizing that in many situations officers cannot rely strictly on organizational rules and regulations to guide their actions ... [law enforcement] should develop a more-flexible model for its officers to use in their more-routine duties.

By
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Many writers have discussed the similarities between law enforcement and the military, such as uniforms, rank structures, and insignias. Perhaps the most important similarity, however, is their authority to employ force to maintain order. In emergency situations, both require near-automatic and unquestioned acceptance of authority by their members. This kind of discipline is crucial to success in a situation that demands the use of deadly force by a police officer or a concerted attack on an enemy stronghold. As a result, law enforcement has traditionally been founded on this "military model of authority."

Yet in reality, while disciplined performance is always required in emergency law enforcement situations, such circumstances make up a very small percentage of normal policing time. Studies have shown most police officers spend the majority of their time on rather routine, administrative, and non-law enforcement duties.¹ We question, therefore, if officers should base their routine activities on the old military model. We believe law enforcement—recognizing that in many situations officers cannot rely strictly on organizational rules and regulations to guide their actions—should develop a more-flexible model for its officers to use in their more-routine duties.

Clearly, no organization can develop rules to cover every conceivable situation in which its officers might find themselves. Police administrators would be appalled if their subordinates did not exercise judgment and discretion in the performance of their duties. Most officers operate intuitively during their day-to-day activities, an approach that is largely based on each officer's previous experiences. In each new situation, officers unconsciously will ask themselves: What actions or approaches worked in similar situations in the past? They will rationally consider alternative behavior strategies before doing anything and then select that approach that has worked best. Officers rely on their judgment to handle the situation, and they use discretionary authority to resolve the situation. This whole process we describe as the discretionary model of behavior. The behavior of the officers is primarily determined by their judgment and discretion, and it is guided by their goal to resolve the situation.

With the high quality of people entering police work in recent years and with the relative rarity of emergency situations in a normal working day, law enforcement need not rely exclusively on the military model of authority to accomplish its goals. In fact, this article will suggest that the discretionary model is appropriate for many, if not most, of the situations police officers encounter.



Special Agent Witham



Special Agent Gladis

We contend that the most effective patrol officers already perform their duties using the discretionary model. Therefore, continuing to pay homage to a military model of law enforcement is misleading. Departments need to bring the discretionary activities of their members out of the closet into clear view for all to see and emulate. Such behavior is not inherently bad. As Kenneth Davis argues in his important work, *Discretionary Justice*, the problem is not with discretion in governmental activities, but with excessive discretion.² Davis suggests that organizations should structure discretion so it is exercised within designated boundaries. To achieve this aim, officers must first recognize the existence of discretionary behavior, then be trained in appropriate and departmentally acceptable uses of discretion.

In addition, the authors believe this discussion of different behavioral models is related to the recent debate in the literature over policing philosophy.³ There are two basic views about the proper philosophical posture of police—to enforce the law or to maintain order. It may be that the philosophy is not to choose one or the other, but to combine the two views. The police have both a law enforcement and an order maintenance function. In the law enforcement mode, the proper approach would be to follow a military-type authority model that would ensure equitable law enforcement. In the order maintenance mode, officers should be guided by a discretionary model to resolve the situation fairly.

As law enforcement strives to be accepted as a profession, it must expect and require its officers to exercise judgment. Such behavior is the hallmark of all professionals. Therefore, this paper seeks to examine the military model and the discretionary model. Also, the authors will provide some ideas about incorporating these concepts into the training process.

A Military Model

The perception of the traditional American police authority model as a military one evolved from several influences. First, the American model evolved from a 19th century English authority-based system which was imported to the United States in 1844. In 1829, Sir Robert Peel instituted in London a police force based in part on a military model of internal discipline to respond to the failure of an undisciplined and ineffective citizen/watchman system and the violent overreaction of the military to order situations. Impressed with Peel's success, a New York delegation recommended that Peel's concepts be replicated in New York City. Thus was the birth of the military model in the United States.⁴

Second, the responsibility of deadly force that has been entrusted to the police absolutely requires strict discipline in its exercise. The strict military discipline necessarily associated with the use of firearms thus reinforces the military model daily as officers strap on their guns each day.

Third, the organization and rank structure of most traditional police departments mirror closely the military model. Departments are divided into squads and platoons and led by sergeants and lieutenants, not organized into groups and departments and headed by supervisors and managers.

“... agencies should address discretion during recruit and inservice training in order to institutionalize and legitimize its acceptable uses.”

Further, police uniforms, ceremonies, and training all project a military model.

Fourth, men and women drawn to the profession hold authority-based values, an observation substantiated by Milton Rokeach in his research.⁵ The impact of individually held, authority-based values on the profession is enormous, giving it a military look, philosophy, and atmosphere.

What happens when all these influences converge on law enforcement? Necessarily, officers and managers assume that a military model is relevant for all of policing. Traditionally trained officers are taught discipline and strict obedience to orders, and they will dress, act, and use the tools of the trade in a military fashion. Therefore, it is predictable that we see this military model translate into an operational authority model.

Such a military-based authority model views authority as residing with the chief executive of the organization; that is, authority that originates from and is vested solely in a central official. The lines on an organization chart from the chief to his subordinates symbolize the downward flow of authority within the organization and imply that all situations are governed by laws, rules, and prescriptions. Such a model fosters unquestioned and immediate conditioned responses to all orders.

In sum, the military model places a high premium on discipline and discourages the exercise of discretion. A necessary model in times of potential conflict and especially when the use of deadly force might be involved, it is deliberately taught to all recruits. As a consequence of this history, tradition,

and training, many of today's officers tend to use a heavy authority-based (military) model for all circumstances and in all situations, regardless of its suitability.

A Discretionary Model

Black's law dictionary offers the following definition of discretion:

“Discretion means a power of right conferred upon them by law of acting officially in certain circumstances, according to the dictates of their own judgment and conscience, uncontrolled by the judgment or conscience of others.”⁶

While most types of organizations increase discretionary power with rank, law enforcement allocates such power at all levels. Low-ranking police officers routinely exercise an enormous amount of discretion in the normal course of their duties. Traffic officers can choose to issue a citation to a citizen exceeding the speed limit, arrest the individual, provide a warning, or ignore the situation entirely. Similarly, a patrol officer can follow several courses of action when responding to a family dispute. Virtually all routine calls can potentially be handled in a variety of ways—at the discretion of the individual officer.

At higher levels in the police organization, on the other hand, a number of officials routinely exercise administrative discretion; that is, “the activity of officials in which they advise, report, respond, initiate, inform, question, caution, complain, applaud, encourage, rebuke, promote, retard, and mediate in a way that has an impact upon what emerges as ‘agency policy.’”⁷

In public administration literature, administrative discretion has become synonymous with the political activity of appointed officials, and the adminis-

trative discretion of police managers is quite comparable to the discretion exercised by public officials.

The general policy of discretion rests on the belief that the individual official present at a scene is best able to decide how to resolve the situation. Confidence is placed in the officer's ability to see distinctions and to act accordingly. Since any one situation can vary in any number of ways, police management must rely on the responding officer's judgment.

The professionalism of any discipline is conventionally measured by the autonomy it allows its members over certain tasks and the discretion it grants to them to insure that tasks are performed within the appropriate laws or regulations.⁸ Thus, necessarily, organizations using discretionary models must require a lengthy training period to familiarize new members with the core knowledge of the discipline.

Comparisons of the Two Models

Within the discipline of law enforcement, the criterion for effective discretionary performance is the successful resolution of the problem at hand. In the discretionary model, success is defined as the minimum intrusion and use of coercion by the police. By way of contrast, performance within a military model is measured by ascertaining how closely the relevant rules and policy were followed. This letter-of-the-law mentality can lead to an over-reliance on rules and may serve to negate any skills, talent, or experience that an officer brings to the scene. The rules can take on an infallible quality often misused by many. Hence, many low-ranking bureaucrats love to play the game “Now I've got you by the rules.” Worst of all, follow-

ing the rules can become the desired end, not resolving potentially threatening situations with a minimum of violence or injury.

On the other hand, some situations absolutely require that all parties closely follow the appropriate rules. In law enforcement, rules must be followed exactly during the use of deadly force, the pursuit of a fleeing felon, or circumstances where coordinated action is taken by several officials. Freerelancing in these matters would be inappropriate and potentially dangerous. Thus, departments must recognize that most of their sworn officers require two different sets of guidelines to discharge their duties.

Departments must give their officers firm guidelines to assist them in identifying appropriate situations for the exercise of their discretionary authority. Beyond this situational assistance, administrators must instruct their officers in acceptable discretionary behaviors. If the actions of law enforcement officers are not acceptable to the public, behavioral guidelines for officers will be imposed on the organization by some outside authority.

Whenever society becomes disenchanted with the manner in which officials exercise their discretion, it acts to remove the privilege. For example, mandatory sentencing of certain types of offenders was brought about by citizens who perceived that a number of judges were "too soft" on criminals. If discretionary powers are taken away, officials have fewer options available to them and also have their professional status lowered. Police administrators must ensure that the status of their subordinate is always enhanced,

not lessened. By providing their subordinates with guidelines for acceptable discretionary behavior, they will help realize this end.

Training in Discretion

How, then, can the concept of discretionary powers be incorporated into practical departmental life? We believe that agencies should address discretion during recruit and inservice training in order to institutionalize and legitimize its acceptable uses.

Several teaching methodologies can be employed to present key discretion concepts. For example, case studies which describe actual situations, where officers relied on their experience and judgment to resolve potentially explosive situations, are excellent teaching aids. Ideally, the officers involved in the incident would participate with the training staff and the class. Additionally, case studies could be developed to highlight specific policy points regarding acceptable practices.

One of the most important training goals should be to provide officers with a clear notion of when and where to apply discretionary behavior. Guidelines and checklists can assist officers with these critical questions. Also, by clearly specifying the types of situations where discretion would be unacceptable or perhaps illegal, departments can clearly demonstrate the bounds of acceptable behavior.

Role playing provides an excellent technique to frame problems of discretion. Elements of realism and immediacy can be injected into many role-playing scenarios. Videotaping these scenarios has the added benefit of letting officers criticize their own actions. A common exclamation of officers after viewing a tape is: "I wouldn't have believed I did that unless I had seen it!"

Practical problems are also appropriate vehicles for discussing discretion. Whenever officers are required to participate physically in an exercise, they are more likely to remember the teaching objective.

In the field of management and leadership training, there are a variety of situational and contingency models that can be employed. Certainly a situational-type model could be developed to present ideas with a discretionary dimension. Possible dimensions of such a model might be order maintenance and law enforcement.

All in all, the methods by which departments discuss and teach discretion are not nearly as important as the fact that the topic is formally presented. Leaders have an obligation to their subordinates to guide and train them in their duties. Until policing openly faces the issue of discretion, it will not provide officers with the appropriate support they need.

Conclusion

Throughout this commentary, we have attempted to legitimize those activities of police officers that can be described as fitting a discretionary model. Enlightened law enforcement administrators are already well aware of the absolute necessity for their subordinates to understand and use discretion. Teaching its use, of course, makes the administrator's job more difficult and unpredictable but also more challenging. Most administrators recognize the impossibility of crafting rules which cover all exigencies. The problem for police administrators is not with discretion itself—the problem is how to structure the discretion. As a first step, we believe that all parties must recognize that discretionary behavior exists in law enforcement. Next,

"When an officer is fulfilling his law enforcement duties, he might choose the military model ... when an officer is performing his order maintenance responsibilities, he should use the discretionary model."

the department should attempt to develop some mechanisms to instruct its officers in the acceptable uses of judgment. Training programs must begin to discuss the locker room folk wisdom and common sense that officers pick up after months, even years of experience. Methods to record and to institutionalize this human knowledge must be found, and ways to communicate the resulting techniques to the officers must be developed. Training programs that ignore this part of the work run the risk of being irrelevant to their officers.

We have suggested that both the military model and the discretionary model are relevant guides for the behavior of police officers. The problem is to decide which model is appropriate to use within any specific circumstance. Here we believe that the law enforcement order maintenance dichotomy may be helpful in providing guidance. But rather than accept the dichotomy's either/or approach, departments should integrate the two approaches. When an officer is fulfilling

his law enforcement duties, he might choose the military model rules-dominated approach, particularly when his actions will be later scrutinized in a court of law. However, when an officer is performing his order maintenance responsibilities, he should use the discretionary model. Clearly, implementing these ideas will not be an easy task. They need to be implemented, however, in fairness to the professional aspirations of law enforcement, and even more importantly, to describe accurately the actions of law enforcement officers.

It is time to bring police discretion out of the departmental closet and recognize the skill, competence, and judgment of police professionals. These practitioners of the art of policing are the most important asset of effective and equitable law enforcement in this great Nation. Let us not fail to recognize their many talents. It is time to reconsider the traditional control myth implicit in a purely unconstrained military authority model view. Depart-

ments must develop mechanisms to capture the human knowledge and experience of their members. By allowing officers an opportunity to discuss how they approach various circumstances, the department can speed organizational learning and improved performance.

[FBI]

Footnotes

¹ J. Q. Wilson, *Varieties of Police Behavior: The Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

² Kenneth C. Davis, *Discretionary Justice: A Preliminary Inquiry* (Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 1969), pp. 9-14.

³ Readers interested in the philosophy of policing questions should see: Marilyn C. Moore, "The Police in Search of Direction," *Managing the Police Organization—Selected Readings*, eds. Larry K. Gains and Truett A. Ricks (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing 1978), pp. 50-72.

⁴ Henry M. Wroblekian and Karen M. Hess, *Introduction to Law Enforcement Justice* (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1979).

⁵ L. A. Radelet, ed., *The Police and the Community* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1980).

⁶ Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, revised fourth edition (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1968), p. 553.

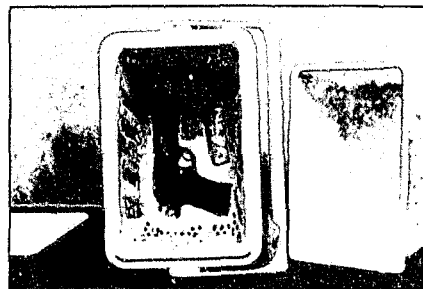
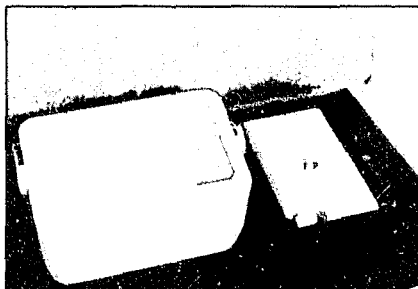
⁷ John A. Rohr, *Ethics for Bureaucrats: An Essay on Law and Values* (New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1978), p. 28.

⁸ Donald C. Witham, *The American Law Enforcement Chief Executive: A Management Profile* (Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum, 1985), pp. 26-32.

Concealed Pistol— Hand Carried Cooler

Picnic coolers with thick liners of insulating material separating the outer shell from the inner may be used to conceal items, including weapons, as illustrated here. The inner liner, used to carry food or beverages, covers the weapon when in place. This cooler was carried by an alien who was arrested by California police.

(Information furnished by U.S. Border Patrol, Fresno, CA)



Law Enforcement Career Management

Planning for Promotion

"... diverse professional training and experiences can only enhance an individual's chances for promotional success."

By

LT. THOMAS MAHONEY

*Police Department
Culver City, CA*

There was a time in law enforcement when, if an officer did not cause any trouble and put in the requisite number of years on the street as a patrolman, promotion, if desired, was more or less assured. Another approach was, as one police administrator remarked, "The police officer who had the most personal influence or who was willing to pay the highest price for promotion was raised to the next highest grade."¹

Examinations usually weren't given, and if they were, they were merely formalities. The officer with the "right connections" and enough time on the job became the new sergeant. Fortunately for the profession, things have changed considerably in the 1980's.

Today, most law enforcement agencies have established minimum requirements that must be met before an employee can be considered for promotion. These usually consist of varying combinations of length of service with the agency, advanced education, and/or some form of professional certification.

For promotion to higher ranks, other factors may be considered or specific qualifications are necessary or desired. As an example, the following is taken from an employment bulletin for the position of chief of police in Canton Township, MI, in 1985:

"Applicant must be a police professional with command experience at the executive level. Must possess demonstrated experience as a change agent for the rehabilitation, professional development and management of a full-service department. Minimum qualifications: related college degree or equivalent experience and training ... and demonstrated management, O.D., staff and program development experience."

Clearly, these qualifications are not just "picked up" over years of experience, nor are they the subjects of instruction at police recruit academies. How, then, does a law enforcement officer increase his or her chances for advancement?

A number of researchers have suggested strategies for career advancement. In his book, *Executive Career Strategy*, Alan Schoonmaker suggests the following:²

- 1) Do excellent work,
- 2) Become visible within the organization,
- 3) Present the right image,
- 4) Avoid becoming deadwood,
- 5) Control resources, especially information, and
- 6) Develop good personal relationships.

To these tactics can be added three others recommended by Andrew J. Dubrin:³

- 1) Be mobile—move within the organization,
- 2) Help your boss succeed, and
- 3) Find a sponsor.

It is the intention of this article to reduce these excellent, albeit generalized, career advancement tactics into three basic concepts—education, diverse professional experience, and a proven ability to get the job done.



Lieutenant Mahoney

Education

Professionalism demands education. Career success in the 1980's requires more than just a high school diploma.

Law enforcement personnel have been attending college courses in programs specifically designed for the profession for 50 years, when the first of such courses was established at the University of California at Berkeley, CA. Since then, the number and variety of police-related college programs have expanded tremendously, especially during the late 1960's and in the early 1970's. Between 1965 and 1969, the number of criminal justice baccalaureate degree programs increased by 260 percent! ⁴ Even more dramatic was a later report stating that from the academic year 1966-67 to the year 1975-76, criminal justice programs at all levels had risen 596 percent! ⁵ (See table 1.)

With college-level programs available, what is there to prevent a serious promotional candidate from using them? William Shaw commented that "the idea of college-educated police officers is being pushed very hard and those who have dreams of reaching the top should keep this thought in mind." ⁶ Another, more recent article in a management publication that analyzed a trend toward career plateauing made the point that "we have the largest population of educated and qualified people competing for positions in our history." ⁷

There is also another potential benefit from obtaining a college education. It has been suggested that increased levels of education are associated with greater job satisfaction and personal involvement with the job.

Sanderson reported that officers who attended college used less sick/injured days, performed better at the training academy, and received fewer citizens' complaints. ⁸

Diversification of Experience

As a potential supervisor or manager in a law enforcement organization, the well-rounded individual is always more attractive to police administrators than the one who has spent an entire career as a patrol officer. The complexities of the job demand that supervisors and managers possess a wide body of knowledge and experience to draw from in order to be successful.

For promotional aspirants, movement within the organization is highly desirable. Experience across the functional lines of an organization, for example, will assist the candidate in developing the variety of skills that will later be needed as a supervisor and manager. Experience at the different geographical locations of an organization (for larger law enforcement agencies) will also foster an understanding of the organization as a whole and may bring the individual to

Table 1

Change in Number of Degree Programs in Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice 1966-67 to 1975-76

Years	Associate	Baccalaureate
1966-67	152	39
1968-69	199	44
1970-71	257	55
1972-73	505	211
1975-76	729	376

Source:

John DeDoux, et al., "Higher Education for Law Enforcement: Half a Century of Growth," *The Police Chief*, April 1984, p. 22.

"... high performance and work excellence are the basic foundation of a career strategy.'"



Elwin E. Cooke
Chief of Police

the attention of those at the executive level.

Obviously, the size of any given agency may tend to either aid or hinder a promotional candidate's efforts in seeking job diversification. A large agency, such as the Los Angeles Police Department, has literally hundreds of specialized assignments, while other, much smaller departments may have none.

Most medium-sized departments and many smaller ones, however, have some form of specialized assignments such as detective, traffic enforcement, and narcotics. Other specialized jobs that may present themselves to the potential supervisor are personnel and training, community relations, internal affairs, the academy instruction staff, and budget preparation.

The main point is that diverse professional training and experiences can only enhance an individual's chances for promotional success. In his article in *The Police Chief*, Edward Tully said:

"Common sense indicates that just as a patrolman needs training prior to assignment to the street, so also should sergeants, captains, and even chiefs of police receive training prior to their elevation to higher positions within the organization."⁹

Proven Ability

A college degree and a variety of professional assignments are just the foundation for a motivated individual with a record of success and accomplishments. As a general rule, the better an individual's work performance, the greater the individual's chances for organizational rewards such as a promotion. In fact, in his *Management* textbook, James Stoner stated quite emphatically, "There can be little question that high performance and work excellence are the basic foundation of a career strategy."¹⁰

This feeling was echoed by Reeser and Loper in their analysis of the requirements for top management positions when they commented, "The criterion for consideration of individuals for top management posts is almost always singularly impressive performance in middle-management."¹¹

In almost any given organization, professional recognition is an end product to the completion of outstanding work. If this is not the case, the promotional candidate might seriously consider moving to a different organization for the completion of his or her career goals.

This professional recognition may come in the form of written or oral commendations, professional recogni-

tion awards, merit pay increases, or possibly, selection for assignment to specialized joint functions within the organization. In any event, after first savoring this recognition as validation of excellent efforts an individual should then take the time to carefully document it in the form of a resumé for presentation in the promotional process.

A resumé is a neat, thorough compilation of an individual's professional capabilities. In effect, it is a statement of an individual's education, experience, and proven ability.

Conclusion

Promotional advancement in law enforcement clearly is no longer a matter of political pull, monetary inducement, or just plain "luck." It is estimated that there are approximately 30,000 police officers in the United States occupying positions ranging from first-line supervisor to chief of police.¹² The competition for these positions continues to get tougher.

Career police professionals must accept the fact that promotions must be sought after and won; the successful candidate for promotion is aggressive in his pursuit, thorough in his preparation, and confident in his execution.

While organizations can help individuals manage and develop their careers, career management is ultimately the individual's own responsibility. Conscious career management by the individual can have many advantages; individuals who plan for what they want to achieve are more likely to achieve their goals than those who stumble about trusting to fate. They can focus their energies on the career

"... career management is ultimately the individual's own responsibility.

goals that they have selected, rather than just drifting within their organization or occupation. In addition, they are less vulnerable to chance events and to have undesirable career decisions made for them by others. Finally, individuals who are competent in managing their own careers and who have well-defined goals and plans for reaching them tend to be somewhat more motivated and purposeful; they are more useful in their organizations and more likely to be successful within them.

Success in law enforcement is no longer a matter of chance. In fact,

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said: "Shallow men believe in luck." In today's modern, constantly changing world of the law enforcement professional, the supervisory and management ranks are being filled with fewer and fewer shallow men.

[FBI]

Footnotes

¹Leonard Fuld, *Police Administration: A Critical Study of Police Organizations in the U.S. and Abroad* (New York: G. Putnam & Sons, 1909), p. 425.

²Alan N. Schoonmaker, *Executive Career Strategy* (New York: American Management Association, 1971).

³Andrew J. Dubrin, *Fundamentals of Organizational Behavior* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1974), pp. 147-158.

⁴C.A. Tracy, "Survey of Criminal Justice Subject Matter Baccalaureate Programs," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, vol. 61, 1970, pp. 576-579.

⁵R. Adams, "Criminal Justice: An Emerging Academic Profession and Discipline," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, vol. 4, 1976, pp. 303-314.

⁶William Shaw, "Police Education in the 80's," *Law and Order*, March 1980, p. 6.

⁷Judith M. Bardwich, Ph.D., "Plateaued: What if You've Stopped Climbing the Corporate Leader?" *SPD Management*, vol. 4, No. 1, 1985, p. 7.

⁸B.E. Sanderson, "Police Officers: The Relationship of College Education to Job Performance," *The Police Chief*, vol. 44 (1977) pp. 62-63.

⁹Edward J. Tully, "The Challenge of Police Education During the 1980's," *The Police Chief*, September 1980, p. 41.

¹⁰James A.F. Stoner, *Management* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1978), p. 548.

¹¹Clayton Reeser and Marvin Loper, *Management: The Key to Organizational Effectiveness* (Palo Alto, CA: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1978), p. 259.

¹²Supra note 9.

1986 Preliminary Officer-Killed Statistics

Preliminary Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) statistics showed a decrease in felonious line-of-duty deaths in the first 6 months of 1986 as compared to the previous year. There were 42 law enforcement officers slain between January 1 and June 30 in the United States and its territories, whereas 47 officers were feloniously killed during the same period of 1985. Law enforcement agencies have cleared 40 of the 42 slayings.

The firearms used in 40 of the officer killings this year included handguns (32), rifles (6), and shotguns (2). The remaining 2 victims were intentionally struck with vehicles.

Geographically, 20 officers were slain in the Southern States, 9 in the Western States, 6 in the Midwestern States, 5 in the Northeastern States,

and 2 in Puerto Rico. Twenty-one of the victims were city police, and 14 were county officers. Three were employed by Federal agencies, 2 by State agencies, and 2 by agencies in the U.S. territories.

Fourteen of the 42 victims were attempting to apprehend or arrest suspects when slain. Of these victims, 6 were attempting to thwart robberies or were in pursuit of robbery suspects; 4 were involved in drug-related situations; 1 was attempting to arrest a burglary suspect; and 3 were attempting arrests for other crimes.

Seven officers were killed while enforcing traffic laws; 6 upon answering disturbance calls; 5 while investigating suspicious persons or circumstances; and 4 while handling or transporting prisoners. Four officers were ambushed, and 2 were dealing with mentally deranged individuals when killed.