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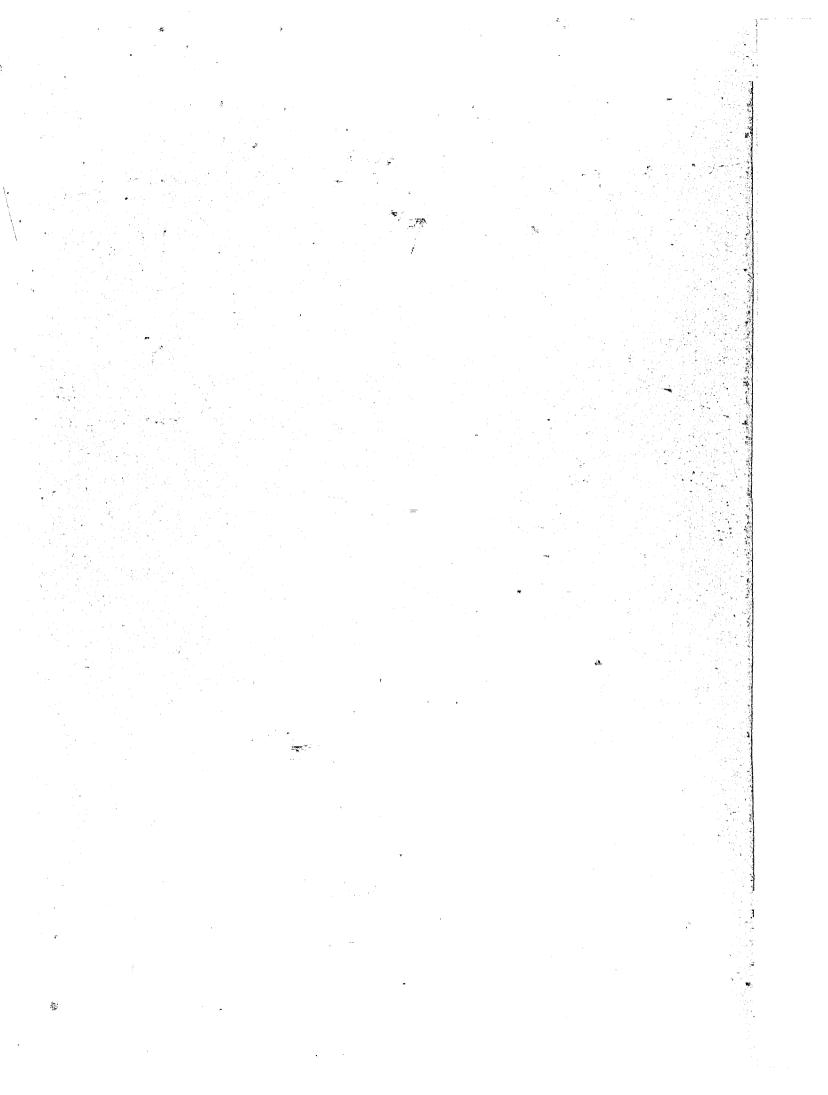**NLC Urban Observatory Research Report**

National League of Cities

Number 8

A Study of Problems and Methods of Police Recruitment From Disadvantaged Minorities

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A STUDY OF PROBLEMS AND METHODS
OF POLICE RECRUITMENT FROM
DISADVANTAGED MINORITIES

San Diego Urban Observatory

By

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THE URBAN OBSERVATORY PROGRAM

The Urban Observatory Program is a unique and innovative effort to assist city officials resolve the myriad of problems facing the nation's cities. The original Program was jointly sponsored by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with the National League of Cities serving as the Urban Observatory Secretariat. It was thus an interdepartmental program, utilizing HUD funds for research projects and federal Office of Education funds from Title I of the Higher Education Act for service and training activities.

The Program was designed to carry out coordinated, comparative research in ten urban areas, a distinguishing feature in itself, and local research of primary interest to only the city in which the research was conducted. In either case, the research undertaken was based upon an agenda of priorities established by the participating cities, in cooperation with academic consultants, in order to utilize the skills and disciplines of the university in solving urban problems. Thus, the Urban Observatory approach attempted to achieve three objectives:

(1) Develop a reservoir of comparable, reliable data of general application to the nation's cities in their efforts to resolve the ills that now beset urban America.

(2) Address the research needs of city executives and administrators.

(3) Build a set of institutional relationships between local public officials and local universities and colleges to help develop and improve public policy and governmental action on urban problems.

There were four basic elements incorporated into the original Urban Observatory approach. First each local Observatory was organized in such a way as to assure optium cooperation between participating institutions of higher learning and the local governments in the metropolitan area. Responsibility for establishing this organization and designating a fiscal agent was vested in the local government officials.

Second, the research agenda was developed solely by the participating institutions and local governments, although subject to final approval by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and review by the Office of Education. The research undertaken fell into two categories—national research projects carried out simultaneously by four or more Observatories using comparable research methodology, and local research projects of major interest to only one Observatory city. The comparative research projects were jointly agreed upon by the participating institutions and local governments, but they were most importantly projects that the local chief executives believed would assist in the solution of pressing urban problems. Local research projects were established in each community by the participating institutions and the chief executives of the participating governments. Again, local research projects were designed to be responsive to the perceived needs of the local government chief executives.

Third, as indicated above, the Program incorporated a joint effort by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Funds from HUD were channeled through the League to the participating cities or their designated fiscal agents and to institutions of higher learning through Title I of the Higher Education Act. This interdepartmental approach attempted to formally unite applied research with the community service programs of both departments.

Fourth, a network was established for the dissemination of information, the coordination of activities and projects, and the development of summary reports. Network services and administrative and liaison functions were performed by the Urban Observatory Secretariat established within the National League of Cities.

Observatory cities were selected from the more than 100 SMSAs of 250,000 or more population (excluding the few very largest because of their unique size and extreme complexity). The major criteria for selection were the expression of a strong commitment to the program by the local government officials, particularly of the central cities, and the existence of a substantial local university research community. Six cities — Albuquerque, Atlanta, Baltimore, Kansas City (Kansas and Missouri), Milwaukee, and Nashville — were selected in late 1968, and their Observatories began functioning in the summer of 1969. In the spring of 1969, the League received authorization, and funds, from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to expand the program to ten cities. In compliance with this authorization, the League nominated and HUD and OE approved four new cities — Boston, Cleveland, Denver, and San Diego. The Observatories in these cities began operating in the spring and summer of 1970.

Direct HUD funding for the Observatories in these ten cities was terminated on June 30, 1974. Most, but not all, of these Observatories have been continued through the support of local government and university funds. Beginning in July 1974, the Urban Observatory Program was extended to a new set of ten Observatories in cities in the 30,000 to 250,000 population range. Selection of these new cities was announced in January 1975. The new Observatories are located in Allentown (Pennsylvania), Anchorage (Alaska), Boise City (Idaho), Bridgeport (Connecticut), Charlottesville (Virginia), Durham (North Carolina), Garland (Texas), Hoboken (New Jersey), Lake Charles (Louisiana), and South Bend (Indiana).

This report is one of several Observatory research products that has been selected for reprint for broader dissemination. Other individual city reports from both network and local agenda projects are available to the public through the National Technical Information Service. An annotated bibliography of these reports that lists the procedure for obtaining copies is available from the Urban Observatory Program, National League of Cities, 1620 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, more attention than ever has centered on the police agencies throughout the United States. There are several reasons why, after years of virtual anonymity, law enforcement agencies find themselves the focus of interest. Some of these factors are of recent origin; others are ancient.

Many of the newer factors which have thrust public attention upon the police result from the day-to-day contact which the people have with the various news media. Police strikes, rising crime rates, and attacks upon police officers, all command public attention and adequate coverage by the press, radio, and television. Thus, the publicity given to such events, coupled with the fear of crime in the streets, attracts attention to law enforcement agencies.

Recently, police strikes (or the threat of such strikes) have become almost common occurrences. Large cities, such as New York, Detroit, and San Diego, have experienced police strikes or slowdowns. Although these "strikes" have not always been labeled as such, the effects have been very similar. In each instance, law enforcement has suffered.

Strikes, under the guise of "Blue Flu", ticket holidays (non-issuance of tickets), ticket moratoriums, or driver education weeks, have existed in all of the above cities. Striking police officers have refused to report to headquarters in Detroit and New York. In Cities like San Diego, ticket moratoriums were held during salary negotiations. The

attention which these strikes have received is impressive. Some citizens view these acts with disdain because they feel that the enforcers of the law are breaking it themselves. Moreover, on a purely pragmatic basis, "ticket holidays" cost the cities revenue. Here in San Diego, past "holidays" could have cost the city an estimated $200,000 per month.[1] Thus, some citizens view the police strike as a double threat--a breakdown of law plus a threat to the tax base of the city.

In a different manner, a rapidly rising crime rate plus an increased number of attacks upon police officers in the performance of their duties, have enhanced public concern for police work and its hazards. The Uniform Crime Report (1969) indicates that assaults upon police officers increased 7% from 1968 through 1969.[2] While assaults upon police officers have risen significantly, the seven index offenses rate rose 12% between 1968 and 1969.[3] The rise in the crime rate, especially its rapid rise in suburbia, has caused more and deeper concern with police methods and enforcement.

In addition to the newer issues presently receiving most of the publicity, there are older problems which continue to plague efficient law enforcement. The older issues, including complaints of excessive force, training problems, community relations, professionalism, and recruitment techniques, have been discussed in detail by various Presidential Commissions. Among the most noteworthy of these reports are those of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice

[1]San Diego Union, April 28, 1970, Sec. B, p. 4.

[2]Uniform Crime Reports, 1969, pp. 46, 150, 151.

[3]Ibid., p. 4.

(1967), the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence (1970), and Law and Order Reconsidered (1970).

These older issues appear to be more basic to efficient police management than the above-mentioned aspects of police work. While these older issues have always been a problem, they have, on the whole, been ignored.[4] Until pressures are exerted from within the community or the department, there is little reason to act upon these problems.

The recent advent of mass gatherings to protest or advocate particular issues has necessitated the use of large numbers of police in attempts to either direct or control these crowds. Campus disorders, peace marches, urban riots, and civil rights demonstrations, have all attracted police and, in some instances, problems. The realization that more training and sensitivity to the moods of the crowd is necessary was quick in coming.[5]

However, one major continuing problem that plagues police departments is the recruitment of proper personnel. This problem, coupled with the task of retaining good officers on the force, overshadows all other aspects of police work. No other issue has remained so vital to proper and impartial law enforcement. These problems have recently gained prominence and they are the focus of this report.

[4]Task Force Report: The Police, for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, pp. 136-40, 150, 180-2.

[5]James Gazell and Thomas Gitchoff, The American Cop, p. 243.

A survey conducted in 1966 by the National League of Cities indicated that the nation's police forces were undermanned by an average of 5%.[6] Furthermore, the report noted that this situation was not the result of a lack of applications. A lack of qualified candidates has resulted in a critical undermanning of police forces.[7]

During the past five years, several studies have addressed themselves on the national level to police problems. Perhaps the most noteworthy is the Kerner Report. Although this report dealt specifically with racism in the United States, one section is devoted to police behavior and proposals for altering this behavior in a positive manner. Similarly, the report stresses the need to build community support for law enforcement. Such support is viewed as an essential for effective police action. More important, it must be viewed as the basis for effective recruitment from the community.[8]

In a similar manner, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) focuses on recruitment and the role of formal education within this process. In addition, the report proposes promotion based upon merit rather than seniority. Moreover, the report recommends lateral entry for qualified personnel from other areas of the community, longer probationary periods as well as intensive, on-going training.

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1970) addresses itself to the problem of violence in the United States. The report cites abrasive treatment of citizens by police as a major cause

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[6]Task Force Report: The Police, Op cit, 1967, p. 133.

[7]Ibid, p. 134.

[8]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968, pp. 315-18.

of tension and a further cause of racial ill will. The report recommends that a workable grievance procedure be developed to handle citizens' complaints. It also strongly recommends that community involvement in this procedure be encouraged.

While several commission and task force reports have concerned themselves with police problems on a national level, only sporadic efforts delve into these problems at a state level. A program to improve the entire criminal justice program was envisioned by the proponents of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Act of 1968. LEAA, a part of the Safe Streets Act was created to grant funds to various criminal justice agencies throughout the nation in the hope of implementing the recommendations of the several presidential commissions. However, according to some critics, the program's intent has not been effectively implemented.[9]

Presently, this program is embroiled in a spending controversy. Some authorities contend that the police administrators involved have over-emphasized the need for equipment while ignoring the basic issues of recruitment of qualified personnel and the need for human relations within and without the agencies.[10] Specifically, the Los Angeles Times reports that the original director of this program resigned as a result of administrational frustration.[11] The Times also indicates that certain officials are deeply involved in a conflict of interest when they grant funds to particular organizations.[12]

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[9]Los Angeles Times, April 4, 1971, Sec. B, p. 4.

[10]See Joseph Goulden, "The Cops Hit the Jackpot," The Nation, November 23, 1970, pp. 520-23. Also New York Times, May 19, 1971, p. 28.

[11]Los Angeles Times, op cit.

[12]Los Angeles Times, January 4, 1971, Pt. I, pp. 12, 14.

Limited information is available concerning the recruitment and retention on the state and municipal levels. One problem encountered in recruiting is the philosophy by which many departments "still cling to tradition and oppose any change even in the face of increasingly complex problems posed by a rapidly changing society."[13] Municipal Police Administration[14] recommends that police vacancies be filled through active recruiting efforts on the part of the police department. This is in contrast to the traditional lack of involvement on the part of police departments in on-going recruiting drives. While many departments do have recruiting programs, such programs are often haphazard and poorly coordinated.[15]

A major problem in recruiting qualified personnel involves the image presented by a police department in its community. Few potential candidates are aware of the actual duties of a police officer. In a day-to-day situation, the average person sees only the police officer writing a traffic citation. The public is not aware of the challenges of the work and the professional skills needed to perform these duties. Therefore, one aspect of recruiting must involve the advertising of the desirability of becoming a policeman, a move which requires the use of the public media and community relations, a move to involve the citizens in law enforcement.

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[13]Municipal Police Administration, International Management Association, Washington, D. C., 1969, 6th Ed., p. 1.

[14]Ibid, p. 176.

[15]Task Force Report: The Police, op cit, p. 136.

A factor complicating the process of recruitment is the need to involve the total community. If a public agency is to be truly representative of the community, that agency must reflect the different groups within the community. However, because special problems exist in particular areas of the cities--and within minority groups in particular--the police force does not always enjoy a positive image in these areas. Major problems confront the police officer in the inner city and similar areas. He is feared and faced with widespread resentment and hostility.

One source of resentment is a lack of understanding between citizens and police. Neither understands the other's problems. Drastic differences in environment and culture only exaggerate these problems.[16] Moreover, since few people from slum areas become police officers, the misunderstandings among slum dwellers and the police are seldom, if ever, resolved. Similarly, since many minority residents believe that a double standard of law exists, the gap between police and residents is perpetuated.

Recruitment from any area of the community is low where hostility, or open lack of confidence, exists. Such attitudes interfere with recruiting in that no man wishes to occupy a position that does not command respect from his friends and neighbors. It is ironic that the poor and the members of minority groups fear and distrust police when they often have the greatest need of their protection.

Two communities, Chicago, Illinois, and Covina, California, have made attempts to improve their police forces. In Chicago steps are being taken to validate the selection process for patrolmen. In Covina efforts to sensitize the policeman on the beat to the conditions of the various groups within the community are continuing.

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[16]Ibid., p. 123.

Entitled <u>Psychological Assessment of Patrolmen Qualifications in</u>
<u>Relation to Field Performance/LEAA Project-046</u>, the 1968 study of the
Chicago Police Department attempted to predict the patrolman's performance.
The goals of the study were two-fold. First, the study explores the devel-
opment of effective procedures and selection standards for patrolmen.
Second, the report seeks to identify distinctive patrolman types which
could not be accurately described by the term "average patrolman."

The investigation of both Black and White police officers used
specialized techniques in validating the tests. The results of the testing
concluded that "equitable and effective selection and placement are possi-
ble with multi-racial groups" if specifically validated tests are inter-
preted by qualified personnel. Moreover, the study concludes that separate
validation for different ethnic groups is necessary when selecting "the
most suitable candidates from all races." Furthermore, "each candidate,
regardless of race, or national origin, (would) be provided with an equal
opportunity to utilize his particular skills and abilities in achieving
occupational success."

The report concludes that proper selection techniques do much to
alleviate hard feelings and disillusionment of both employee and employer.
Resentment, the result of being hired and then fired, can be virtually
eliminated if proper selection techniques are employed in the initial
screening process.

In the case of the other exception, Covina, California, the city
has experimented with attempts to sensitize police officers to the feelings
of the community and its various members. One aspect of the program in-
volved having police officers wearing "down at the heels" clothing inhabit
the skidrow section of the city. They were then subject to the same

treatment which other inhabitants of the area received from fellow
officers. Similar projects involved groups such as the "Hell's Angels"
and various Hippie groups. The level of antagonism toward the police
decreased markedly with the involvement of such dissimilar and unlikely
groups within the law enforcement process.[17] In a similar context, the
authoritarian image of the policeman in uniform has been softened in
other cities with the advent of the police blazer.

In an attempt to measure present community involvement, one mem-
ber of this study sent letters to various police departments throughout
the United States. This letter inquired as to what methods the depart-
ments used to promote recruitment. Some of the information sought was:
the size of the department, methods of recruitment, change in recruitment
methods from five years ago, retention problems and what special efforts,
if any, were made to recruit minorities for the force. Judging from the
replies, some departments have made no changes in recruitment methods with-
in recent years. Other departments have changed little. However, a sub-
stantial number of other departments replied that they now utilize the
mass media for recruitment purposes. Others indicated that officers
currently on the force played an active role in finding new candidates.

To encourage such activity, recruitment incentives, including
time off and cash bonuses, are available to the policeman who is success-
ful in recruiting a new officer. Moreover, some cities replied that they
have placed increasing emphasis upon officer participation in the selection
process (i.e. would an officer want a certain applicant for a partner?).
In general, the entire projection of the police image is changing in many
areas of the country.

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[17]Ferguson, <u>Creativity in Law Enforcement</u>, 1970.

On a local basis, the city of San Diego exhibits no exception to the rule that comprehensive studies of police recruitment and retention are generally lacking. However, there have been several recent studies conducted in the area, independent of the city or the police department. One such study, Problems of Police Personnel Selection and Retention in the San Diego Police Department is the thesis study of James S. Galasso, a member of that department. The study, completed in June, 1964, recommends that the department eliminate certain civil service procedures, end veteran's preference and re-evaluate the written civil service examination. The report also recommends psychiatric examinations for all potential police officers.

Another independently conducted study is The Police and the Community (1966). The study, presented to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, indicates that on the whole police training within the San Diego area "represents nothing of an unusual nature." The report further states that there is a contrast between community relations training offered to recruits and that available to in-service personnel. The main distinction is that the latter are generally ignored with regard to this particular type of training. Their main exposure results from bulletin board notices. In contrast, the report noted that the department made an effort to arrange shifts to allow for academic work at any of the local colleges.

Veon Nyhus, a Captain in the San Diego Police Department, authored an article, which appeared in the July 1968 issue of Traffic Digest and Review, that dealt directly with the problem of recruitment in the San Diego area. Captain Nyhus wrote about the experiences of a San Diego Police two-man recruiting team that visited various shopping centers,

college campuses, and the local Federal Economic Opportunity Office. According to the article, specific efforts were made to recruit minority members. Unfortunately, the author failed to mention the results of this effort in the article to court minority member recruits.

"The Evolution of Municipal Police Selection: Since 1829", an essay by an ex-San Diego Police officer, traces the evolution of recruitment policies from Robert Peel to the present. It concludes that the recruitment process is still much too rigid, favoring traditional concepts of acceptability. The process focuses upon what a police officer should be without allowing the individual the flexibility to develop into what a policeman must be in order to function within his community. However, a clear distinction of the difference between "should be" and "must be" is lacking.

As noted before, not all attempts to recruit personnel are successful particularly within the minority community. According to the San Diego Tribune (1-13-71, p. 21), the Black police officer carries a triple burden. First, he is Black. Second, he is a cop. And third, he is regarded as a traitor by some members of his own race. The problem of recruiting minority group members has always plagued the San Diego Police Department. The problem has perplexed police administrators and no viable solution has appeared.

This study presents a two-part thesis in dealing with these problems. First, the study will analyze the occupational expectations and motives of minority group policemen. Second, it will examine their perceptions toward the San Diego Police Department's policies and practices regarding recruitment and retention. For longitudinal comparison, we will include in the survey a group of police applicants and a group of former police officers, as well as current members of the force. As a control

group and for comparative study, we have also surveyed minority group

employees of the San Diego Fire Department.

In developing this study, this paper will present:

1. A review of cumulative knowledge of police recruitment and

retention practices across the country.

2. Past and current studies of recruitment and retention practices

within the city of San Diego.

3. An explanation of the methodology employed in obtaining the

information utilized in this survey.

4. An explanation of the survey, its variables and hypotheses, in

order to clarify questions of procedure or data evaluation.

5. And, finally, the study will present the conclusions and the

recommendations which the data has provided.

Chapter 2

CUMULATIVE KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE RECRUITMENT
AND RETENTION PRACTICES IN CITIES
ACROSS THE UNITED STATES

A REVIEW OF THE PUBLISHED LITERATURE

History indicates that American police departments have not been

recruiting the best men available, especially among Whites. Blacks have

had to be better than just average,[18] as police departments could not take

a chance with "just an ordinary Black." The impression was that "this

one is different from the rest; he's a good one." Those few Blacks hired

were but a token effort to show some degree of impartial hiring practices.

With few exceptions, the men taking police examinations have not

been sought after. Those who applied did so on their own accord. Conse-

quently, those who have passed the tests and have been hired are not

necessarily the best available, but hopefully the best from the groups

applying. There remains a huge reservoir of eligible, good men who have

not been approached to enter police careers. This is a nation-wide

problem, not peculiar to any one part of the country.

The New York Times, around the turn of the century, had many

articles dealing with police. It was not unusual to read of an officer

being suspended for brutality, a citizen complaining about harsh treat-

ment, or an officer being suspended for taking bribes. The only favorable

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[18] "Negro Police in Southern Cities," Public Management, April,
1946, Vol. 28:122.

articles were about an act of heroism of an individual officer. These
articles contributed to the public belief that their police department
was not professional. In many instances these beliefs were well founded.

It is interesting to note the police selection methods used at
the turn of the century. In those times getting the job depended upon
how much money was delivered to certain influential people.[19] Usually,
those men who wanted to join the police force had failed to make good in
the industrial field and were trying this as a last resort.[20] When
appointed, this was the type of man who was the cause of much of the bad
reputation the police acquired.

Very little thought was given to hiring minorities for police work
from the turn of the century to near mid-century. An 1895 article in the
New York Times that depicts the typical plight of a Black man wanting to
be a policeman is produced here in its entirety:

> A letter was received by the Police Commissioner from E.A.
> Turner, a negro, who wanted to know whether colored men had any
> chance of being appointed on the force. Commissioner Grant asked
> that the communication be referred to him. Mr. Grant, after the
> meeting said, 'there is nothing in the law which prevents the
> appointment of negroes on the police force. A committee of colored
> men called on me in reference to the matter. I informed them that
> negroes had the same privilege of applying for appointments as
> White men. They would be required to pass the same exams to become
> eligible. There is nothing at all to prevent their appointment.'
> Mr. Grant was asked whether he thought colored men should be
> appointed. 'If a negro gets on the list,' he said, 'and is in every
> way the equal of the White man, I suppose he would have to take
> his chances of being appointed. I would not advise a negro to seek
> the place, as I do not believe it would be pleasant for him. I
> would not favor a colored man because he was a colored man.'

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[19]   (Untitled) New York Times, July 6, 1885, p. 2, column 3.

[20]August Vollmer, "A Practical Method for Selecting Policemen,"
Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, February, 1921,
Vol. 11, p. 571.

President Roosevelt when seen said he had no views to express on
the subject. 'All I have to say is that,' he continued, 'I shall
consider everyone, no matter who it is, on merits alone.[21]

The underlying message is, of course, "don't apply because you
will never make it." That message lasted for about 50 years and had few
exceptions.

In the meantime, the qualifications for Whites did not improve.
From the political favors and favors extended due to financial gifts
placed in the right hands, these qualities appeared. Swedish sociologist,
Gunnar Myrdal, wrote in his classic "American Dilemma" in 1944, "Almost
anyone on the outside of the penitentiary who weighs enough and is not
blind or crippled can be considered as a police candidate."[22] Although
he was relating to southern cities, there is nothing to indicate that
other American cities had any better selection processes.

In the early part of this century, articles appeared in various
magazines and speeches were being given by men like August Vollmer[23] and
O. W. Wilson,[24] who were calling for better hiring practices. They wanted
a higher caliber of men in police work. They were calling for adequate
training of police personnel. In those days a man was handed a badge and
in some cases told, "You know the ten commandments, don't you? Well, if

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[21]   (Untitled) New York Times, June 25, 1895, p. 9, Col. 5.

[22]Gunnar Myrdal, "An American Dilemma," (New York, London: Harper
and Bros Pub, 1944) p. 538.

[23]August Vollmer: One time Chief of Police in Berkeley, California,
and Associate Editor of the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and
Police Science.

[24]Orlando W. Wilson: One time Chief of Police of Wichita, Kansas,
and Chicago, Illinois.

you know the ten commandments, and you go out on your beat and you see somebody violating one of those ten commandments, you can be pretty sure he is violating some law."[25]

Vollmer, Wilson and others called for upgrading the selection processes. Wilson notes that as with a wife, selection is much more important than training.[26] The message received from reading the works of these police reformers is that the men selected from now on should be physically, mentally, and morally sound. They did, however, disagree at times on such things as maximum age or just how to decide whether the man was mentally and morally sound. Various aptitude tests were used like the Army Alpha Examination, complimented by the Otis Group Test, the Turman Test, the O'Rourk Navy Test,[27] or the Partially Standardized Tests for Patrolmen by the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration. This last one, contended Vollmer, should not be used because a person with a morbid curiosity in crime, or with a brief study beforehand, could pass it easily.[28]

They also urged that a man be fit to withstand the pressures of enforcing the laws plus the other demands of the job. Being able to know beforehand about a man's fitness through the efforts of psychiatrist and psychologists would be excellent. However, they seemed to say that a man would actually have to be given a chance out in the field to prove himself.

[25] National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement (The Wickersham Report), Chapter Three, "Personnel - Selection" U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1929, p. 66.

[26] Orlando W. Wilson, "Picking and Training Police and Traffic Officers," The American City, May, 1930, p. 117.

[27] Ibid., p. 116.

[28] August Vollmer, "A Suggested Method for Selection of Patrolmen," Public Management, Vol. 13, #3 (March, 1931), p. 106.

Thus, a probationary period resulted. Regarding this probationary period and the Chief's authority to dismiss, J. Edgar Hoover, in 1932 stated that too often a chief is stuck with his bad people. Hoover felt a chief should not have to give a long list of reasons why he is dismissing a man. If the chief is worth his salary as an administrator, he should have the power to fire on the basis of his own reasons.[29] O. W. Wilson also favored resolving doubt about a candidate's worth in favor of the department and not the person.[30]

Voices could be heard calling for something more in a police officer than just sheer strength,[31,32] but not too many people in authority were listening. A 1931 case from Ann Arbor is interesting. When asked by a judge why he had not recorded a license number of a car involved in an accident, the Ann Arbor policeman replied, "You see, I don't never (sic) carry a pencil in my pocket in my uniform."[33]

In 1929, the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (or commonly known as the Wickersham Report) commented:

[29] J. Edgar Hoover, "Police Problems," Saint John's Law Review, Vol. 7 #1 (December, 1932), p. 46.

[30] Orlando W. Wilson, "Problems in Police Personnel Administration," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 43 (1952-53), p. 840.

[31] Donald C. Stone, "Police Recruitment and Training," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 24 (1934), p. 996.

[32] H. M. Niles, "The Modern Police System," Oregon Law Review, Vol. 14 #3 (April, 1935), p. 314.

[33] Baker Waite, "Report on Police," Michigan Law Review, Vol. 30 (1931-32).

For over half a century the spoils of politics have found their greatest source of profit in the lucrative field of police personnel."[34]

Every man must be mentally, morally, physically, and educationally sound, for the dignity of the profession demands that a man possess qualifications of a superior degree. Such qualifications can not be obtained by the hit-or-miss methods of selection in vogue at the present time.[35]

It is utterly impossible for men of average intelligence to become acquainted with all duties involved in police work in the short span of a few years, let alone the man of lesser intellect. Little wonder that our policemen of today are looked upon with a sneer. We can not, nor will we ever, have respect for a police force in which the personnel is stupid, dishonest, incapable, or inefficient. The great majority of police are not suited either by temperament, training, or education for their position.[36]

Complete elimination of the residence rules will at once offer a simple solution to the dearth of available timber. . .[37]

Fortunately, the residence requirement has been waived more and more by many police departments so that today, it is a rare requirement.

Nothing was mentioned by the Wickersham Report on Personnel Selection about minority race officers.

In the mid 1940's, articles regarding the hiring of Black officers began to appear. This period starts with a small but significant article published in the March, 1944, edition of "Public Management" dealing with Black police.[38] The article appeared in response to the question of to what extent did southern cities employ Black police officers. The article indicated that of the 18 cities of over 20,000 population, there were only 110 Black officers employed. Unfortunately, the early articles lacked

[34]National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement (The Wickersham Report), Chapter Three, "Personnel - Selection" U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1929, p. 53.

[35]Ibid., p. 56.   [36]Ibid., p. 58.   [37]Ibid., p. 64.

[38]   "Negro Police in Southern Cities," Public Management, March, 1944, Vol. 26:79.

complete information. Those cities mentioned ranged from having one to twenty-four Black officers. St. Louis, Missouri, it says, had Black policemen for 42 years. The other cities (in Texas--Galveston, Austin, Beaumont, Houston, and San Antonio; in North Carolina--Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, and High Point; in Kentucky--Owensboro, Lexington, and Louisville; in Oklahoma--Muskogee and Tulsa; Daytona Beach, Florida; Little Rock, Arkansas; Knoxville, Tennessee; and Macon, Georgia) had Black officers, but they had been employed only recently.

The record indicates that there were certain inconsistencies in the treatment of White and Black officers in those early days. For example, in Charlotte, North Carolina, a White officer received $165 a month, while a Black officer had to settle for $110. In Daytona Beach, Florida, and in other cities, for many years the Black officers were not permitted to deal in any situation in which a White person was involved, even if it was in the Black section of town.

At the request of the Little Rock, Arkansas, Urban League, eight Black officers were hired after an incident where a Black Army sergeant was shot by a White policeman who was later acquitted. Many people were satisfied because the Black policeman could be paid less than the White officer.[39]

Gunnar Myrdal stated, "The main reasons why negroes want to have negro officers appointed to police departments--besides the ordinary group interest of having more public jobs for themselves--are to have a more understanding, less brutal police supervision in the negro community,

[39]   "Negro Police in Southern Cities," Public Management, April, 1946, Vol. 28:123.

and to have an effective supervision of negro offenders against other negroes."[40] Also, it was reported that the use of Black police seems to be a factor which lowered the crime rate in the negro community. They can arrest offenders with less show of force, partly because they know their way around the community, and partly because they are personally respected.[41] Times have changed since Myrdal's statement of the Black officers being respected by the Black community. The problem has been compounded by the majority of Blacks labeling the Black policeman as an "Uncle Tom" or a "sell out" to the White establishment.

The message by Gunnar Myrdal was repeated in 1967 by no less an authority than the Task Force Report: The Police, of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The study recommended that police departments in all communities with a substantial minority population must vigorously recruit minority group officers.[42]

The New York Police Department, in 1964, received a five-point program from James Farmer, then National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), that included increased recruitment of personnel from minority groups for the police force with the purpose of bettering racial harmony in that city.[43]

[40] Gunnar Myrdal, "An American Dilemma," (New York, London: Harper and Bros. Pub, 1944, p. 542.

[41] Ibid., p. 543.

[42] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. "Task Force: The Police," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 167.

[43] Arthur Niederhoffer, "Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society" (Anchor Books: Garden City, New York, 1967), p. 181.

In a book entitled, "Black in Blue" the author, Nicholas Alex, states ". . .the recruitment of Negroes into the Department is not simply opening up jobs to all members of the community, but also a political necessity for pacifying the Negro community and winning the support of its members. The hiring of Negroes for police work, and the appointment of Negroes to higher command posts, is one way of achieving these results."[44]

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society" made many recommendations. Among them were these two regarding personnel. "Two general conditions with respect to police personnel must be met before any department can hope to do effective community relations work. One is that there be a sufficient number of minority-group officers at all levels of activity and authority. The other is that all officers be thoroughly aware of, and trained in, community relations programs."[45]

There have been many articles in the last few years dealing with the need for more minority race police officers. Recruiting of these minority members has only begun. Many more of them are needed to make up for the pre-1944 period.

[44] Nicholas Alex, "Black in Blue, A Study of the Negro Policeman," (Appleton-Century - Crofts: New York, 1969), p. 27.

[45] The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.), February, 1967, p. 101.

Chapter 3

CUMULATIVE KNOWLEDGE OF POLICE RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION PRACTICES
IN A PARTICULAR CITY: SAN DIEGO

A REVIEW OF THE PUBLISHED PROFESSIONAL LITERATURE

In order to adequately assess minority recruitment, we must con-
sider the environment of the agency involved, the racial and ethnic
make-up of the community, the personnel needs of the Police Department,
and the relation of these factors to the law enforcement function. In
this chapter, we will present data on the racial distributions of both
the population of San Diego and the personnel of the San Diego Police
Department. Moreover, we will examine the growth of the city and the
Department, as well as present data on the San Diego Fire Department.
The latter agency was selected as a "control" because of the similarity
of applicant qualifications to those of the Police Department. Although
racial data is less adequate than we would like, we have included what
little information that could be obtained on the racial distributions of
the other selected cities and their police departments. Finally, we will
explore the needs for and the aspects of the various means to increase
the numbers of minority-group officers in the San Diego Police Department.

Increase of Minority-Group Populations in San Diego

While it is generally agreed that there has been some growth in
the minority-group proportions of the San Diego population, accurate data
on this growth has been difficult to acquire. Some recent estimates for
1970 indicate that about 11% of the city population is Brown

employment since World War II, San Diego is not primarily an industrial city. Using the census figures of 696,769 for 1970 and of 573,224 for 1960 for the total population, the above estimate for the Black population would indicate that Blacks constituted only 6% in 1960 and 7.6% in 1970. While San Diego has no "central city" district as do many other major cities, it does have a "Black neighborhood". Thus, while central San Diego is not likely to become a Black ghetto, there is no reason to believe that Blacks will not constitute an ever increasing portion of the population in the future.

Table 1

Population Growth of the City of San Diego with
Proportions of Some Minority Groups
for Selected Years

Year	Population	White and Other %	Brown #	%	Black #	%
1950	334,387	83%	20,000	6.%	14,904	4.5%
1960	573,224	82%	38,043	6.6%	34,435	6.0%
1970	696,769	81%	70,000	9 to 11%	52,961	7.6%

Source: Misner-Lohman, p. 5; US Census Data; & Estimates based on percentages.

Increase of Minority Groups in the San Diego Police Department

During the time of this study we were able to discover only one Brown holding the rank of Lieutenant (no Blacks at this rank), three Brown Sergeants, one Black Sergeant, and one Black Community Relations Officer (whose salary is equivalent to that of a Sergeant). The Department's total numbers of minority-group members were 26 Brown and 17 Black officers. Of these two groups, 22 Browns and 15 Blacks held the rank of Patrolman.

Although racial and ethnic identifications are even more difficult to establish for past years, the Department has been almost entirely White for most of its history. The first Brown officer was hired in the early 1900s. The first Black officer was hired in 1937. In the past decade or so the number of minority-group officers has grown, but with definite variations in this trend. During this survey, the San Diego City Civil Service Commission was able to supply only five Brown and four Black applicants for the Police Department. Since the time of this survey, there has been a large increase in the number of police applications submitted. As of April 17, 1971, there were 1,000 applications on file for approximately 20 existing Patrolman vacancies.[46] Of these 1,000 applicants, the proportions of minority-group members are unknown. Whether or not these applications will raise the total for this year is not known. For the calendar year 1967, there were 3,201 applicants, of whom only 8.7% were hired. Variations in the trend of increasing minority-group employment have been due more to large losses than to spectacular gains. For example, between January 1 and August 1, 1969, eight Black officers voluntarily left the Department. (This reduced their numbers from 25 to 17)[47] Figures on minority terminations (which are typically voluntary resignations) for recent years are as follows:

	1968	1969	1970
Browns:	2	2	0
Blacks:	2	8	2

[46]San Diego Union, April 17, 1971, Sec. B, p. 4.

[47]Sunday in the Park, Citizens Interracial Council Report, August, 1969, p. 58.

The San Diego Police Department has grown to a budgeted strength of 1,131 employees, of which about 936 are "sworn" (or uniformed) officer positions. Thus, from our survey, of the 936 available sworn positions, about 2.8% were held by Brown officers, and about 1.8% by Black officers. If it is reasonable to assume that, in the long run, the proportions of minority-group employees should correspond to their respective proportions of the local population, the above figures are quite striking. The actual proportions of minority-group police officers are only a fraction of what would be expected from our assumption. The comparison is illustrated below:

	% of City Population		% of P. D. Officers	% of "Parity" (Equivalence of officers to population)
Comprised by		(N=)		
Browns:	11%	(26)	2.8%	25%
Blacks:	7.6%	(17)	1.8%	24%

The above figures demonstrate that we presently find only one-fourth of the numbers of Browns and Blacks that we would expect to find based upon our assumption. If there were an equivalence between minority proportions on the population and minority representation in the Department, we would expect to find about 103 Browns and 71 Blacks.[48]

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[48]Throughout our discussion here, we are primarily concerned with minority-group members in sworn positions. We have not studied civilian positions in the Department, which are primarily clerical jobs. While it is equally justifiable to expect equal-opportunity employment to produce racial or ethnic "parity" in these civilian jobs, the emphasis of this study has been upon sworn positions because of their direct involvement in public, police functions. A chief criticism of the police by minority groups has been that White officers are generally less able to respond appropriately in their contacts with minorities. This criticism may be ameliorated somewhat if the Department demonstrates a desire to utilize more minority officers, and, in so doing, can provide better performance in contacts with minority persons.

Absolute Growth of the San Diego Police Department

From a handful of peace officers in the late 19th century, the San Diego Police Department has grown to over 900 sworn police officers. The manpower growth of the Department for a selected period of years is shown in Table 2, below:

Table 2

San Diego Police Department Employees, 1956-71
(Including Minority-Group Officers for Selected Years Available)

Year	Sworn	+ Civilians	= Total	Brown # %	Black # %
1955-1956	517	79	596		
1956-1957	552	81	633		
1957-1958	602	95	697		
1958-1959	619	115	734		
1959-1960	636	123	759		
1960-1961	655	128	783		
1961-1962	662	129	798		
1962-1963	691	129	820		
1963-1964	704	129	833		
1964-1965	718	131	849		
1965-1966	748	134	882		20-3%
1966-1967	776	142	918		
1967-1968	828	156	984		
1968-1969	864	165	1,029	25-3%	25-3%
1969-1970	929	197	1,126	31-3.3%	24-2.58%
1970-1971	936	195	1,131	26-2.8%	17-1.8%
1971-1972	995	211	1,206		

With some interruptions and reversals, a trend of steady growth is apparent in the data of Table 2. While the data is very limited, the numbers of Black and Brown police officers have remained quite low, and their percentage representation has varied only two and three percent. These limited data do not provide any basis whatsoever even for speculation about possible explanations of the low numbers of minority persons. We cannot attempt at this point to explain why these figures are low, but only note that they are low.

To put these figures in an operating perspective, we will first point out that the San Diego Police Department has not lacked innovative ideas. In 1960-61, the then City Manager proposed integrating the manpower of the police and fire departments.[49] In 1959, a "Police Cadet" program was announced for the purpose of hiring youths between the ages of 17 and 19 to train for advancement to patrolmen at age 21. Within the Department itself, a number of officers have been involved with, or directly responsible for various studies of problems of recruitment, screening, up-grading, education and training.[50] Overall, however, the recruitment of minority-group members does not appear to have been regarded by the Department as a major "problem".

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[49]Bean & McCalla, "Waste in the Fire House", Public Management, October, 1961, p. 218.

[50]We are especially indebted to Lt. John McQueeney of the San Diego Police Department for materials supplied from some of his own research in employee turnover.

The 1968 article by Captain Veon Nyhus[51] provides some illustration of active recruitment efforts. Beginning in May, 1968, a "two-man recruiting team" was organized, and sent to various shopping centers and college campuses in the San Diego area. This team provided information to any interested persons, interviewed prospective applicants, and signed up individuals to take the civil service examination for patrolman. These functions were conducted at a "display booth" which included police equipment, vehicles, graphic displays, and "athletic trophies and plaques won by members of the San Diego Police Department in various competitive sporting events." The "recruiting team" concept was developed after ads in local newspapers had failed to satisfy manpower needs, and the use of an inter-state "traveling" recruitment team had proven too costly besides producing negligible results. While this article reports that large numbers of persons were recruited to take the qualifying examination, there is no indication of the numbers of such persons who were minority-group members, nor, indeed, that any persons thus recruited were of a minority race or ethnic group. The only comment found in this connection was: "Our Department has made a special effort to recruit Negroes and members of other minority groups." No further elaboration is made as to what that "special effort" entailed. The general presentation of this article indicates a "public relations" orientation: "The recruiting team is in every sense a Public Relations unit." The overall goal is to present the Department as a "good place to work". What is lacking is any express statement that it would be a good place for Blacks and Browns to work.

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[51]Nyhus, "A Report: Police Recruiting in San Diego", Traffic Digest, Northwestern University, July, 1968, pp. 9-10.

While the Department claims to have made a "special effort" in this respect, there is nothing to indicate that Blacks or Browns recognized it or responded to it. We do not find in this article any statement that the Department has announced (or even implied) that it has need of, or wants, more minority officers.

In all fairness to the San Diego Police Department, it should be recognized that in the larger community of law enforcement agencies, it has been likened to an employment "island". An earlier study noted that in 1966, "of the more than 1,600 police officers employed in the county, the only Negro officers found in the county were members of the San Diego Police Department."[52] Whether there has been overt discrimination in these other police agencies is not known. However, considering the small numbers of employees in such agencies, the hiring of only a few minority-group officers would allow them to quickly surpass the San Diego Police Department on a _percentage_ basis.

Comparison with San Diego Fire Department

For comparative purposes with a local organization, we have also surveyed members of the San Diego Fire Department. Our justification for this has been that the qualifications for firemen and policemen, (education, physical standards, etc.) are basically the same. Both Departments are governed by the same Civil Service structure.

Among the current members of the San Diego Fire Department, there were, at the time of our study, 15 Brown employees and 18 Black employees out of a _657_-man department, and represent 2.3% and 2.7%, respectively.[53]

[52]_The Police and the Community_, Misner and Lohman, UC Berkeley School of Criminology, 1966, p. 156.
[53]_Municipal Year Book_, 1969, pp. 280-2. Uniformed fire department employees totaled 556 as of October 1, 1968.

At the rank of Fire Captain, there were four Brown and five Black officers; for Fire Engineer, there were three Brown and six Black; the remainder held the rank of Fireman, and included eight Browns and seven Blacks. Thus, while both Departments appear to attract and employ minority-group persons in approximately the same proportions, the Fire Department exhibits a better record of promotions.

Comparison with Other Cities

San Diego's growth has been steady over the years, rapidly becoming a major U. S. city. During the 1960s, it moved from a population ranking of 18th in 1960 to 14th in 1970. In this ten-year period the population has grown from about 573,224 to 696,769 persons.

For obvious reasons we consider it useful to compare San Diego's racial distributions with those in other cities and their police departments. However, we have encountered serious difficulty in obtaining such data in any regularized forms. Until recent years records of the race or ethnic group of police officers has not been included in items reported to official sources or agencies. As the civil rights movement shifted its attention from educational opportunities to employment opportunities, there developed simultaneously, the need to determine racial distributions and legal proscriptions against maintaining records of an employee's race or ethnic identity. Whereas formerly it was not considered important to know the racial distribution of employees, it is now _both_ important and more difficult (and in some cases illegal) to keep such records. In Table 3, we have attempted to bring together data on racial proportions from several sources and for three points in time. Because of the different sources involved, there are some problems in definitions which preclude a "perfect" comparison between sources. For example, the data

for 1954 involves "Negroes" and "police forces". We have been unable to determine whether "police force" refers only to uniformed officers, or includes civilians. The figures for 1965-66 are based upon "sworn officers", but uses the racial designation "non-White". Although "non-White" could conceivably include Asians and persons of Spanish-surname, it appears to primarily refer to our category of "Blacks" only. Thus, the comparisons between years (and hence, sources) must be considered "rough approximations". None of the data from these three sources specifically refers to or designates numbers of "Browns". While, in the San Diego Police Department, Browns are under-represented at about the same magnitude as Blacks, we have no way of determining whether this relation holds from place to place, nor over time. Again, the following data are presented for purposes of illustration, rather than as "proof" or "explanation".

Table 3

Racial Distributions in Selected Cities and Police Departments
(Blacks only for 1954, 1965-66, & 1971)

City	1954			1965-66			1971		
	% Black	Police Force	% Parity	% Black	Police Force	% Parity	% Black	Police Force	% Parity
Los Angeles	8.7	2.9	33					5.2	
Washington, D. C.	35.	10.8	31	63	21	33	75.	35.9	48
Cleveland	16.2	4.3	26	34	7	21			
Milwaukee	3.4	0.6	18					2.3	
San Francisco	5.6	0.3	5	14	6	43		4.8	
San Diego (est.)	(5)	-	-	(6.5)	(2)	(31)	7.6	1.8	23
San Antonio	7.0	3.4	49						
Boston				11	2	18		2.1	
Memphis				38	5	13			
St. Louis	17.9	5.0	28	37	11	30			
New Orleans				41	4	10		6.1	

Sources: (1954) William M. Kephart, "The Integration of Negroes into the Urban Police Force", Journal of Criminal Law, V. 45, 1954, selected from "Table 1", p. 329; (1965-66) Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (Kerner Commission), 1968, Chapter 11, "The Police and the Community", selected from "Table A", pp. 321-2; (1971) New York Times, January 25, 1971; plus estimates for San Diego in particular years.

In the above data, the figures of paramount importance are the percentages of "parity". These indicate how the racial balance of each police department compares with the racial distribution of the city. (Note: A parity figure of 100% would signify a "perfect" correspondence between the racial distributions of the department and the city population.) Over the years (and for the cities reported), the parity figures have ranged from a low of 5% (San Francisco, 1954) to a high of 49% (San Antonio, 1954). The case of Washington, D. C., for which data is available for all three periods, is remarkable. In the face of a city population which is rapidly becoming "Black", the police department has continuously increased its parity figures. We suspect that, while in some of these cities the Black population may have not increased radically, in virtually all cities the Black proportion of the population has continued to grow. It would be highly unlikely to discover the Black population diminishing proportionally in any of these cities. In spite of this assumption, we find that San Francisco's police force, after a dramatic increase from 0.3% Black in 1954 to 6% Black in 1965-66, subsequently declined to 4.8% Black in 1971. Further, (against the assumption of increasing growth in Black populations) San Diego, Boston, and New Orleans have shown little change in the proportion of Blacks in their police departments.

Among the cities of Table 3, San Diego is seen to have one of the lowest proportions of Black officers in its police department. This is apparently due to San Diego's having the smallest proportional Black population. On the other hand, San Diego's "parity" figures tend to fall about the mid-range for the police departments listed. This should not be taken as necessarily a good sign, as in no case has any police department attained a parity figure of even 50%. Thus, even if the number of

Black officers in each department were to be doubled, none of these cities would achieve parity or a racial balance equivalent to their local population. In the case of San Diego, the increase would have to be four- or five-fold to accomplish this. Moreover, San Diego has shown no statistical inclination toward such growth.

If San Diego is to move toward parity, what then are the quantitative parameters of the problem. If the current 936-officer department were to have a racial distribution equal to that of the population, there would have to be 103 Brown officers and 71 Black officers. With the present numbers of minority officers standing at 26 Browns and 17 Blacks, 77 Brown and 54 Black officers would have to be hired, (and, of course, 131 vacancies would have to be made). While no one could seriously propose terminating 131 White officers, it might be possible to achieve a racial parity over a period of a year or two. This would be accomplished by meeting the "turnover rate" with an intensive minority-hiring program. According to one Department study, the turnover rate in 1967 was about 150 men per year. (Such a loss, if chronic, may be significant for the Department's racial make-up. As noted previously, in 1969 there were at least ten minority officers who left the department. Thus, if the total loss for that year was also 150, Brown officers constituted 1.3% and Black officers 5.3% of this loss. If minority officers constitute higher proportions of turnover loss than their proportion of continuing employees, the effort to achieve racial parity becomes an uphill struggle.) However, if "normal losses" are replaced mainly by minority-group members, the department's racial balance could be improved considerably, and even raised to parity within a relatively short period. Finally, if the department continues to grow or if the police-citizen ratio here increases, the number of minority officers in this organization will also rise.

Chapter 4

SURVEY ANALYSIS

A. SURVEY PREPARATION

In the face of spiraling crime rates, increasing drug abuse, and ghetto and campus violence, it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain qualified manpower for police departments. It is particularly difficult to recruit members of racial and ethnic minorities. Police recruitment lags even when unemployment rates are high. The nature of police work has changed and has become more complex, requiring a different kind of officer with substantial training. This fact has also added to recruitment difficulties.

There is widespread belief that more members of minority races should be hired in every sector of public and private employment. For too long minorities have been discriminated against in government hiring practices. Even where rules or laws are laid down against discrimination, unwritten mores or social pressures often find a way to circumvent the law.

The police are a special group which frequently make enemies merely by doing their job correctly. Since most policemen are White and they are involved many times in minority areas, they frequently develop a White Vs. minority situation. Common sense would indicate that more minority group members should be hired, not only for the "let them take care of their own" concept, but to provide more jobs for a group of human beings with a seemingly perpetually high unemployment rate.

Why does this problem exist? Why, in San Diego in particular (where it is against the law to discriminate against a person because of his race, color, or creed) are there so few policemen of the minority races? In a city where there are 53,000 Blacks and where the city is so close to Mexico, one would expect that there would be more than just a very small handful of Black and Brown police officers hired. Besides this issue, there is a second one--the problem of retaining these men. Whether they quit for personal or other reasons, that is what the study sought to find out. Moreover, in April, 1971, there was only one Brown Lieutenant, three Brown Sergeants, one Black Sergeant, and a Black Community Relations Assistant on the police department. All the rest of the minority officers were patrolmen. Perhaps this situation stares them in the face and they want more of a future.

The study sought to ask a representative sample of the Black and Brown officers on the force pertinent questions in order to see exactly how they feel. Whether their feelings are objectively wrong (according to the power structure) is not nearly so important as their subjective beliefs, for the latter usually constitutes the basis for human behavior.

To be specific, their feelings on recruitment, retention, and other crucial factors were sought. The active duty Black and Brown officers' attitudes were compared with ex-officers (retired or otherwise) and also with applicants for the police department. Realizing that the qualifications, mentally and physically, for firemen are very close to policemen, the firemen were chosen as a comparable group. The same types of firemen were questioned with the very same questionnaire. We wanted to discover, for instance, why a minority member would choose becoming a fireman over becoming a policeman when he was qualified to become either.

Were his reasons based on racial issues, economics, social pressures, or something very personal in nature?

Following a meeting in late August, 1970, with Assistant City Manager of San Diego Meno Wilhelms, Assistant to the City Manager Kimball Moore, and Personnel Director A. A. Bigge, the study was undertaken.

In preparation for this survey, the following public officials were consulted from time to time for advice on question selection and for background information on both departments:

A. A. Bigge	Director, San Diego City Personnel, October and November, 1970
Captain O. W. Burkett	San Diego Police, Personnel, November, 1970
L. E. Earnest	Director of Urban Observatory of San Diego, September, 1970
Kenneth Goodman	San Diego City Personnel, September and October, 1970
James C. Grove	Administrative Analyst, San Diego Fire Department, November and December, 1970
R. L. Hoobler	Chief of Police, San Diego (then Assistant Chief) August and September, 1970
Captain D. A. Lamotte	San Diego Police, Personnel, November, 1970
Richard Maben	San Diego City Personnel, September and October, 1970
Lt. John McQueeney	San Diego Police, Training Division, November and December, 1970
Nancy Acevedo	San Diego City Personnel, December, 1970, and January, 1971
Captain Donald Reierson	San Diego Police, Training Division, November and December, 1970
Chief Laurence Sheehan	San Diego Fire Department, Assistant Fire Chief

Finally, by using a table of random numbers, we selected a representative sample of Black and Brown policemen and firemen which equaled 31% of their populations in each department. (See the Research Design in the Appendix) We believe that the sample was large enough to allow us to generalize with reasonable assurance about the feelings and beliefs of the group. Our questionnaire was then administered to all the sample members at their homes where they could speak with a greater feeling of privacy. A dozen such randomly selected respondents had to be replaced with others similarly chosen mainly because they said that they feared reprisals by their departments if any information given by them to the research team fell into the hands of their superiors.

B. SURVEY RESULTS

The research team tabulated and analyzed the results for each item of each questionnaire. The following analysis consists of three segments: (1) an examination of the respondent's background characteristics, (2) a review of the interviewee's attitudes toward the recruitment and retention of minority-group personnel by both departments, and (3) a summary of the findings. (The Appendix contains a copy of the questionnaire)

Background Characteristics of the Respondents (and Population)

The first three background variables reflect the dimensions of the sample group and, therefore, of the population:

1. Department:	#	%	2. Race:	#	%	3. Employment Status:	#	%
Fire	11	33	Brown	16	48	Ex-police	5	15
Police	22	67	Black	17	52	Incumbents	22	67
						Applicants	6	18
Total:	33	100%		33	100%		33	100%

Stratifying by department and by employment status, we obtain four sub-samples, each of which may be divided racially into Black and Brown. (See Table 4)

Table 4

Respondents Stratified by Department, Race, and Employment Status

Employment Status	Police Department			Fire Department		
	Black	Brown	Total	Black	Brown	Total
Applicants	1	5	6	-	-	-
Incumbents	5	6	11	6	5	11
Ex-police	5	0	5	-	-	-
Total	11	11	22	6	5	11

A fourth background variable is the previous occupations of the respondents. Among incumbent policemen there were three occupational areas indicated. Current police officers most frequently had been engaged in military service; next was manual labor (including skilled); and one respondent had been engaged in sales work prior to joining the force. In contrast, the incumbent firemen most frequently had been engaged in manual labor and civil service jobs. Of the former policemen, the majority went into some field of private business, while one went to a civil service position, and one became a student. The occupations of police applicants were widely dispersed, although two (of the six contacted) are currently employed in manual or skilled laboring occupations. There were no significant occupational differences between the Blacks and Browns.

Approximately 90% of the police incumbents were recruited from the military and from "blue collar" employment. This indicates that minority officers are most likely to be recruited from occupational fields in which minorities are heavily represented. Although a majority of the

firemen were recruited from "blue collar" jobs, about one-third had previously held civil service jobs. This contrasts with police, none of whom came from another civil service position, although one ex-officer is now employed in such a job. These data reflect the difficult competitive position of the police department in recruiting minority persons. Few of these persons whose job prospects are better than a skilled labor job appear to be interested in becoming policemen.

A fifth background variable focuses on rank. The ranks of our incumbent (and ex-police) officers range from patrolman to lieutenant. The ranks of incumbent firemen extend to include four fire captains. Our data here are reflective of the higher promotional opportunity afforded by the fire department. If the numbers of firemen and engineers are combined and compared with police patrolmen, we find that almost two-thirds of minority fire employees hold these lower ranks while about three-fourths of minority policemen are patrolmen. In terms of increases in salary, promotional opportunities appear greater in the fire department. Finally, the finding of only one minority person at the rank of police lieutenant does not compare favorably with the four minority fire captains.

A sixth background variable is the duration of the incumbent's employment. The years of service for incumbents (both firemen and policemen) is as follows:

Years	Frequency
21-25	4
16-20	3
11-15	5
6-10	3
1-5	7
Total	22

Mean=11.4 years

In addition, the years of service for the former police officers ranged from one to eleven. Former minority police officers generally appear to have quit with three years or less of service. About one-third of the

incumbents interviewed had less than five years service. This group is likely to still be vulnerable to a high rate of loss. The first few years may provide a period of "sorting out" and getting adjusted to the new job to decide if one likes it.

A seventh background variable focuses on the age of the respondents. The age distribution of the sample groups is shown in Item #11 of the Questionnaire in the Appendix. An analysis of the data reveals the following: The average age for all respondents is 34.4 years. For the police (including applicants, incumbents, and ex-officers) the mean age is 31.8 years, compared with 39.6 years for firemen. The average for Blacks and Browns does not vary significantly from the average for the entire sample.

An eighth and final background variable centers on the extent of the respondent's formal education. The average number of years of education is 13.6, with no significant differences between departments or races. While nearly three-quarters of the sample group have some college, only seven (21%) have two-year associate degrees, and none has a bachelor's degree. Slightly over one-fourth of the total sample group have only a high school education or G.E.D. equivalent. With only one respondent having earned a Police Science Degree, it would appear that whatever incentives have been offered by the Police Department have had little effect on our minority respondents. At the same time, our police respondents as a group have been otherwise motivated to obtain some higher education.

Now, let us turn to a question-by-question analysis of the responses for the interviewees.

Minority-Group Recruitment and Retention Attitudes

The first question directly asked why the respondent joined one department rather than another. The various responses have been characterized as "personal values" or personal reasons; practical and economic reasons; "no preference"; and no interest in the other department. Of the 33 respondents, 17 cited reasons which we have categorized as "personal". Only three respondents gave practical reasons, with one listing "security" and two listing "better working hours". (None of the respondents mentioned pay, retirement plans, insurance, or other civil service benefits.) Four respondents indicated no preference, while six policemen said they had "no desire to be a fireman, and three firemen said they had "no desire to be a policeman". Thus, this question elicited answers, less than 10% of which referred to practical or economic factors in choosing between the departments.

These responses are significant in their emphasis upon "personal" factors, i.e. subjective feelings about law enforcement and the nature of police work. Thus, while current police officers (through the San Diego Police Officers Association) may exhibit great concern about salaries, working conditions, etc., such factors do not appear to be of primary importance in the decision of an individual to apply to the department. From this it follows that a recruitment campaign should emphasize and concentrate on law enforcement as a job (or career), and make minimal reference to salaries and fringe benefits.

The second question focused on three matters: whether applicants intended to remain in their respective departments for at least two years, why incumbents have remained in their respective departments, and why former employees had left their respective departments. Since all the

respondents were incumbents or former employees, one must center attention on the last two matters. Most incumbents in both departments contend that they have remained in their respective organizations because of job satisfaction. By contrast, the former employees cited several reasons for their departures: racial discrimination in their daily work, alienation from their work, and a belief that, as minority-group members, they would be denied promotional opportunities in their organizations. The last reason was the one most frequently cited by former employees.

The third question asked whether personal or economic factors were more important in deciding to join or not join the department. The respondents, as a single group, showed a less pronounced emphasis on personal, non-economic factors than they had in responding to question one, above. Although the number citing personal factors increased to three-fifths, two-fifths checked economic factors. However, in dividing the responses of police from firemen, we find the response distributions of the two groups to have an inverse relationship. That is, each group divided three-fourths to one-fourth between the personal and economic factors, but with firemen favoring economic benefits and police favoring personal satisfaction. (Blacks divided almost evenly, while Browns favor personal factors over economic factors by a two-to-one ratio)

These responses reinforce our earlier conclusion that recruitment programs should emphasize the nature of the job over its economic benefits.

The fourth question centered on the qualities which the respondents viewed as necessary for success in their job, were collapsed into four categories. The most frequently cited category was "personal

qualifications" (such as integrity, loyalty, maturity, logic, open-mindedness, ability to communicate, tolerance, etc.) with 16 respondents (almost half) giving answers in this category. The next most frequent group of responses--eight--were those labeled interpersonal qualities. Next, seven respondents cited job-specific obligations. Only two listed academic qualifications or qualities of technical competence.

Distinct differences, again, are found between police and firemen. Combining the categories "personal qualifications" and "interpersonal/ social qualities" we find that over four-fifths of the police gave these responses while only slightly more than one-half of the firemen did so. These differences could be anticipated if one considers the variegated nature of public contact in police work, as contrasted with fire fighting. Our police respondents here provide us with some implicit recognition of the "social work" aspect of police duties.

The fifth question asked the respondents to rank several sources of information which might have helped persuade them to join their department. The bulk of the interviewees relied most heavily on the advice of friends and relatives before deciding to join. Furthermore, the responses showed the general lack of media advertising done by either department. None of the respondents checked either television or magazines for any of their ranked choices. The respondents obviously have relied upon the advice of friends and relatives in making their decision to join their department. Since the Police Department has not used much media advertising, it remains to be seen what effect an extensive publicity program might produce. It is clear, however, that the reputation of the Department in the community, and among family and friends, will be very important as an influence upon potential police recruits. For minority persons,

the police reputation is more likely to be based upon their performance
in minority neighborhoods, and upon their contacts with minority persons
generally. It is unlikely that media publicity can alter the department's
"image" in the face of contradictory personal experiences of minority
persons. However, publicity can inform the minority community of the
department's need for more Black and Brown officers, and encourage appli-
cations from those who are already inclined and interested in police work.

The sixth question asked whether the respondent felt that his job
had turned out (or would turn out) according to his original expectations.
Some respondents gave an unqualified yes or no, while others gave specific
reasons for their answer. In our over-all sample of 33, the distribution
was 70% yes; 30% no. When the firemen were isolated from police, we find
that all of the former answered yes, with a fourth qualifying their answer
with exceptions. All "no" answers were given by police, with the distri-
bution of this group being 55% yes, and 45% no. With a racial division,
we find that Blacks answered "no" twice as frequently as Browns. (It
should also be noted that all four "no" answers which cited "racism" came
from Black police)

Item #6 provides us with much more information upon division of
the police group into applicants, incumbents, and ex-officers. While we
would expect ex-police to answer "no", and applicants to probably answer
"yes", thus tending to "cancel" each other, there were a total of ten
"noes" from the police. Thus, ex-officers cannot account for all such
answers. Within the police sub-groups, a further breakdown of the res-
ponses by race should also be illuminating. From the appearance of
current data, we suspect that Black police will prove to be much more
critical of the department than Browns. This may be due to a number of
reasons, (e.g., less actual racism toward Browns; lower level of "perceived"

racism; low degree of "ethnic identity" among Browns; etc.) However,
these explanations are, at this point, no more than speculation. More
firmly grounded discussion must await more detailed study.

The seventh question asked what the respondent felt the department
stood to gain by hiring him. Fully three-fifths gave a nominal response
of a "a good employee", phrased in one or another form. One-fifth said
"a token Black", and 15% said "a bi-lingual employee". (Note: When we
have this question broken down by the three stratifications into eight
sub-groups, we can use this item as a "bitterness" scale. That is, we
can compare applicants, incumbent police, incumbent firemen, ex-police,
and Blacks and Browns for the frequency of their cynical responses (e.g.,
"token Black", etc.). Conversely, the nominal responses of "good employee"
should indicate either no dissatisfaction, or not enough to warrant a
negative response).

The eighth question asked the respondents to indicate what factors,
if any, could (or did) cause them to quit their job. Their categorized
responses are shown below:

Reasons

		Frequency
1.	If unable to perform well on job	2
2.	Racism (re promotion, assignments)	8
3.	Family welfare (more time home)	2
4.	Better all-around conditions (change job)	8
5.	Health	3
6.	None	9
7.	Not applicable	1
	Total	33

Within the above categorization of responses, we found that over
one-fourth of the respondents could not think of any conditions or situa-
tions that would cause them to quit. However, about one-fourth said they
would quit if it became apparent that racism was being practiced in regard

to promotions and duty assignments. (Note that they did not mention racism as simple slurs or racial "friction" with other officers). Another one-fourth said they would leave if they could obtain better all-around working conditions. (Note: It would be helpful to know if these men would look for better conditions with another police agency such as the California Highway Patrol or if they are also keeping up with developments in other fields of employment.)

We may collapse these categories further, with the following results:

Reasons	Overall Frequency		Police Frequency	
Family welfare/better job--working conditions	10	30%	7	32%
None	9	27	6	27
Racism	8	24	8	36
Personal job performance/health	5	15	1	5
Not applicable	1	3	-	
Total	33	99% Approx.	22	100%

The fact that the most frequent responses included considerations of family welfare and working conditions with a view toward improvement in these factors indicate that these respondents are at least cognizant that they have hazardous jobs which are often thankless and frequently work a hardship on their families. It is likely that those who cited racism as a factor are no less aware of the nature of the job and its effects on family life. It would appear that we have a relatively large percentage of respondents who are "on the edge". That is, if (1) the economy improves and better jobs become available, or (2) family pressure increases, or (3) some incident of racism occurs in their duty assignment, many of these men are likely to quit.

The responses citing job performance and health sound like: "I would quit only under unforseeable circumstances." This is similar to "none". Thus, we may collapse the first and third categories above as specific reasons under consideration, and also combine the remaining categories into a general one. This produces the following distribution:

Reasons	Overall Freq.	%	Police Dept. Freq.	%	Fire Dept. Freq.	%
Specific Reasons Considered	18	55	15	68	3	27
General Reasons: None, or Nominal/Conventional Reasons	15	45	7	32	8	73
Total	33	100%	22	100%	11	100%

Thus, over half of our respondents produced specific reasons for quitting when asked this question.

Again, striking differences are found between police and firemen's responses. With a two-category collapse of the answers, the isolation of these two sub-samples reveals that over two-thirds of the police have considered specific reasons for quitting, while only a little more than one-fourth of the firemen have done so. We regard the inclination of a respondent to provide a specific reason for quitting to indicate that he has given it some thought in the past. Thus, almost three-fourths of the firemen supply little evidence of having considered this matter.

We must bear in mind, at this point, that our five ex-police officers can be taken for granted as having given specific reasons in answer to this question. However, this still leaves a group of 17 officers (and applicants), ten of whom were still able to cite specific reasons.

The ninth question, consisting of six parts, asked the respondents to rate items of the application procedure and probationary employment. The specific question was: "In your view, are the following aspects of the recruitment system in your Department fair to minority-group applicants?" For all of the above items, the typical response was the various requirements were generally fair. However, the items receiving the most favorable ratings were the physical requirements and the academy training period. Some of the more problematic aspects of the induction process (written exam, interview, and probationary period) were rated less favorably. The oral interview was rated as "Very unfair" by a small number of the respondents, and "Generally unfair" by more than one-fifth. The written exam was rated "Generally unfair" by almost one-fifth of the respondents. Finally, the probationary period was rated "Very unfair" by over one-tenth, and "Generally unfair" by a small minority. The three aspects are probably perceived as more problematic for minority persons because of educational disadvantages which may make it more difficult for them to express themselves orally, achieve an "adequate" test performance, and to perform satisfactorily for their superiors while on the job. These are also the areas in which they may perceive racism, or may feel that they are expected to perform at a higher level than Whites. (It should be noted that their sergeants, the very people who monitor them during probation, are almost all White)

Although our data indicate some apprehension among the respondents regarding these latter three areas, this may not be outside "normal" bounds for anyone in a new job. Again, all items received over-all ratings of "fair". Finally, in comparing subgroups, we generally find that police are more critical than firemen, Blacks more critical than Browns.

The tenth question asked the respondents what they felt their department gains most by retaining them. More than half of the respondents replied that it gained "an experienced employee", (or words to that effect). Additionally, one gave no answer, and three felt the question was not applicable to them (or felt unqualified to answer). Combining these responses with the first, we find that four-fifths of our respondents gave an answer that indicated they could not easily provide an example of any special value their employment gave the Department. Four said "a loyal employee". Additional answers included providing a "bilingual liaison with Mexico" or "communication with minority groups". In contrast to Question 7, the exceptional answers did not include such comments as "a token Black".

The eleventh question asked the respondents if they felt that their department made advancement too difficult for minority-group members. A sizeable proportion (one-fifth) of our sample group either said they did not feel qualified to answer, or gave no answer. Of the remainder of the total sample group, almost one-half said "no", and 30% said "yes".

The significant answer on this question is "yes". Separating the responses of police and firemen reveals that not quite one-fifth of the firemen said "yes", while more than one-third of the police group responded in the affirmative. Regardless of whether the response rate of our sample of firemen is "normal" or not, it is striking to find that twice as many policemen feel this way.

The racial division of responses appears to qualify the term "minority-group members" so that here it seems to apply more to Blacks. The percentage of Blacks answering "yes" (53%) is nearly 8½ times the percentage of Browns (6½%).

The twelfth question asked the respondents: "Why is the number of minority-group applicants for this department very low?" Again, over one-fifth of the respondents declined to offer an answer. The explanations given by the remainder fell into five categories. The most frequent answer was "negative image of the department" (almost one-half). In the order of their frequency, the other four answers were: "lack of publicity", "lack of applicant interest", "lack of education", and "lack of self-confidence".

When the answers are broken down by department, we discover that all of those answers classified as "negative image" came from the police. None of the firemen offered this explanation. (The racial breakdown for this answer showed that twice as many Blacks as Browns gave negative-image answers. To the proportions of police responding "negative image", the answers "lack of publicity" and "lack of interest" could plausibly be added. This means that almost nine-tenths of the police group were of the opinion that the low rate of minority applications was due to factors which could be influenced by the department. (Combining these answers for the firemen results in a response rate of only about one-fourth).

The responses to this question clearly indicate the problem which confronts the San Diego Police Department. Among our respondents the department has both a poor image to attract minority persons, and, in addition, has done little to publicize its need for such persons.

The thirteenth question asked the respondents to rate the fairness of their department's promotional process with respect to minority-group employees. As in Question 9, regarding the application and induction process, this question was also broken down into specific aspects of promotions. These items were: "job fitness reports filled out by your

immediate supervisor", "eligibility requirements for taking promotional exams", "written part of promotional exams", "oral interview for promotion".

For the entire sample (and population) data, the responses to all four items of the promotions system range from generally favorable to very favorable. The most favorable ratings were given to the eligibility requirements and the written exam. In all four cases, firemen gave better ratings than policemen, and Browns gave better ratings than Blacks.

However, in the departmental and racial breakdowns, fitness reports and the promotional interview were given generally unfavorable ratings by police and by Blacks. Significantly, these two elements are characteristically subjective evaluations, (in contrast to established eligibility requirements, and the "objective" promotional examination). These subjective areas of promotional evaluation provide more problematic phenomena for the minority patrolman to deal with. These are areas of the promotional system in which racism could occur, and in which the minority person is most likely to perceive or suspect racial discrimination.

A Summary of the Survey Data

In our summary, let us stress that our recruitment and retention findings for our random sample applies to the population of Black and Brown policemen and firemen.

a. Recruitment factors. Our survey data have revealed that minority persons are motivated to join a police department because of the nature of the job itself rather than by considerations of salary, civil service security, or other economic benefits. They tend to rely on "personal" sources for information about the department which will influence their decision to join. Only the Brown officers indicated that they felt

they had some special value to the department (i.e., bi-lingual ability), while several Blacks felt that their special "value" was as "token Blacks".

Generally, our police respondents felt that the department's recruitment and intake system was "fair" toward minority-group persons, although they were somewhat critical of the oral interview, probation evaluation, and less so of the written exam. When asked to explain the low numbers of minority-group applicants, the most frequent cause cited was the "negative image" of the department. Additionally, there was some mention of the lack of departmental effort to publicize its need for minority persons.

b. Retention factors. Nearly half of the police respondents said that their job had not turned out according to their expectations (versus none of the firemen). Frequently, racism was noted as the factor which had not been expected. The proportion of police who reported having considered specific reasons for quitting was approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of firemen. Just as our respondents seldom saw any special value gained by the department in hiring them, neither did they frequently report that the department gained anything significant by retaining them. However, there was no mention of "tokenism" in the responses to this question. Using firemen as a "contrast" group, we found that the proportion of police who felt that advancement was made "too difficult" for minority persons was twice that of the "contrast" group. Police rated the department's promotional system as "generally fair" in its treatment of minority-group officers, but were somewhat critical of the more problematic evaluation devices of "fitness reports" and the "promotional interview".

c. Recruitment and retention. Our examination of the "extra-departmental" occupational connections of the police sample revealed that most incumbent minority officers were recruited from "blue collar" jobs, and from the military. Our data are insufficient to determine whether persons recruited from these sources are more likely to stay with the department, or whether the frequency of these prior occupational areas merely indicates that there are more minority persons in these fields who are willing to go into police work. Among the police applicants interviewed, we found a much greater diversification of employment backgrounds. Our sample of ex-police officers tends to indicate that the department is most likely to lose men to private business, other civil service jobs, and in general, areas of greater occupational opportunity. Acquiring a college degree also appears to contribute to manpower losses, through concurrent improvement of opportunities elsewhere.

Our data on the rank attained by minority persons does not conclusively demonstrate discrimination in the Police Department, but does reflect the lower promotional opportunity existent in that department as compared with the Fire Department. But, just as Blacks and Browns are under-represented in the department as a whole, so are they under-represented in the higher ranks.

Data on time in service show that officers are most likely to quit at about three years. The most critical period runs from three to five years. It is at this time that an officer may be able to determine whether or not he is likely to be promoted to Sergeant.

Our contention that higher education tends to increase opportunities for a man to leave the department is supported by the reported educational backgrounds of our sample group. Little evidence is shown

for the effectiveness of any current educational incentives offered by the department.

We have found that minority persons are more critical of the Police Department than of the Fire Department, and that Blacks are more critical of their department than Browns.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is desirable that more Blacks and Browns must be recruited into the San Diego Police Department in order to increase the cooperation between the Black and Brown communities and the police so essential for improved law enforcement especially in those areas. Young Blacks and Browns must be persuaded that their services are genuinely wanted and needed, and that new recruitment efforts are not just more "public relations". They must be shown that the community needs more minority participation in law enforcement, and that the department is sincere in its efforts to initiate this change.

In this chapter we will briefly review the results of the analysis of our data, the conclusions we are led to, as well as our recommendations for alleviating some of the problems of minority recruitment and retention.

Our findings are presented below together with our recommendations in regard to each.

General

1. Finding: that the numbers of minority-group members of the San Diego Police Department are far below parity with the civilian population of San Diego.

   Recommendation: that the City of San Diego and the San Diego Police Department set the attainment of racial and ethnic parity as a goal for the next decade with provisions specifying the proportions of parity to be met at each intervening year (at least 50% of parity within five years).

2. <u>Finding</u>: that the numbers of minority-group sergeants, lieutenants, and higher ranking officers are below parity with the civilian population of San Diego.

<u>Recommendation</u>: that the Police Department and Civil Service Department review and re-evaluate two procedures (the oral interviews and job-fitness reports) used in the promotional system. The purpose of such a review would be to help insure that there will be no racial discrimination in the promotional process.

3. <u>Finding</u>: that the San Diego Police Department has given little or no publicity to its need for more minority-group officers.

<u>Recommendation</u>: that the Police Department develop an on-going program of information regarding the need for minority officers, and directed especially at the minority communities in San Diego. Such a program should be consistent and coordinated with our further findings listed below.

<u>Recruitment</u>

1. <u>Finding</u>: that potential minority-group officers are attracted to law enforcement because of the nature of the work, and not because of pay and other benefits.

<u>Recommendation</u>: that recruitment information programs be developed which, while including some mention of salaries, fringe benefits, and applicant qualifications, should place special emphasis upon the character of police work in San Diego. Most particularly, we would recommend that the aspects of public contact, human relations, and community service be given prominence in recruitment publicity.

2. <u>Finding</u>: that potential applicants have relied upon personal sources of information about the department, rather than upon official or media sources.

<u>Recommendations</u>: (a) that the department and Civil Service make full use of all available media (radio, television, local newspapers and magazines) to publicize the need for minority officers; such publicity to be made through paid advertisements and (unpaid) news releases, as appropriate.

(b) that steps be taken within the department to insure that its "image" or reputation among minority officers and in the minority communities is changed from the "negative image" of the past to a more positive one; such steps to include (but not be limited to) full utilization of current lines of communication with minorities (such as the neighborhood "store front" operations), prompt and public action in response to all complaints from minority-community residents, the implementation of internal lines of communication between minority officers and the Chief of Police, and the establishment of a permanent minority recruitment "team" to operate in the minority communities until such time as parity has been achieved.

3. <u>Finding</u>: that minority persons are not aware that their employment by the department would be of particular value to the department, their neighborhood, and the community.

<u>Recommendation</u>: that recruitment publicity should make a special point of the need for increased racial communication and understanding both within the department and within the community, and of the need for more minority officers in order to achieve such mutual understanding.

4. <u>Finding</u>: that the previous occupations of current incumbents surveyed indicates that joining the department has probably signified "advancement" from a blue collar job, or from military service.

<u>Recommendations</u>: (a) that the department and Civil Service continue its recruitment among military and blue collar workers, as well

as other occupational areas in which an established pattern of "equal opportunity employment" insures plentiful minority-group representation; such occupationally focused recruitment to be concurrent with efforts directed at the minority communities.

(b) that the department make every effort to enhance the prestige of law enforcement as an occupation in San Diego, providing a means of socio-economic and personal advancement for minority-group persons.

5. <u>Finding</u>: that minority officers are most likely to suspect discrimination in the oral interview and probation periods of the recruitment process.

<u>Recommendations</u>: (a) that the department and Civil Service institute a system of continuous review by higher authority of the interview and probation evaluation processes, to insure that there is no racial or ethnic discrimination.

(b) that the applicant interview be made as informal and relaxed as possible in order to aid those applicants who, because of poor educational background or other reasons, may feel ill at ease when expressing themselves orally.

(c) that the probationary period for new officers be given more of the character of a "learning period" instead of a period of "testing"; this to be accomplished through the assignment of each new officer to a single experienced officer during this entire period in order that the new officer may be given advice and counsel about his performance under circumstances not reflecting the "evaluative" nature of this period.

(d) that regular conferences be scheduled for all new officers, as well as minority rookies, for the purpose of discussing racial and other

problems encountered, and means of overcoming such problems in such a manner as to improve the law enforcement function in San Diego, and to improve the performance of new officers.

<u>Retention</u>

1. <u>Finding</u>: that minority policemen tend to be somewhat more dissatisfied with their jobs than are their Fire Department counterparts.

<u>Recommendation</u>: that the Police Department actively seek out the sources of such dissatisfaction and take steps to remedy it as much as is practicable. Chief among such steps is encouragement of minority officers to speak out and make known their grievances, informally as well as officially.

2. <u>Finding</u>: that minority officers are not aware that their continuing service in the department is of any particular value.

<u>Recommendation</u>: (a) that the department begin its recruitment program by publicizing internally the great need for more minority officers, and emphasizing the importance of the continued service of experienced minority officers.

(b) that the department solicit the views and active assistance of current minority officers in the organization and implementation of the recruitment program in the minority communities.

3. <u>Finding</u>: that (a) minority policemen evince their greater dissatisfaction by giving considerable thought to alternative occupations.

(b) minority policemen are most likely to seriously consider resigning (or actually do so) after having completed between three and five years of service.

<u>Recommendation</u>: that the department give special attention to those minority officers having three to five years of experience,

making every effort to avoid the loss of the services of these experienced men; such efforts would include periodic interviews (with senior officers, if not the Chief of Police), making the officer aware of his value to the department, soliciting his complaints, and attempting to remedy them.

4. Finding: that (a) minority officers tend to feel that the department makes advancement more difficult for them; and

(b) minority officers are most likely to suspect discrimination in the "fitness reports" of immediate superiors, and in the "promotional interview".

Recommendations: (a) that the department make an additional review of all promotional actions which involve a minority officer not promoted; such review to be made for the specific purpose of determining that no racial or ethnic discrimination was involved.

(b) that the comments of minority officers who are the co-workers of any minority officer being considered for promotion be solicited to supplement the officer's fitness reports.

(c) that all promotional interviews be conducted by a board or panel, at least one member of which is of the same racial or ethnic group as the person being considered for promotion.

5. Finding: that, in the face of increasing demands for minority persons in other fields of employment, the department faces growing competition for such persons, especially those who acquire more than the minimum education.

Recommendations: (a) that the department, in conjunction with the San Diego Civil Service Commission, develop effective incentives to encourage officers to acquire additional education relevant to their work, and to reward those who have already done so.

(b) that such incentives include (but not be limited to) educational leave, college stipends and scholarships, and promotions and pay adjustments for completion of degrees or certificates.

(c) that such incentives be publicized highly among minority officers within the department as well as in a program of minority recruitment.

6. Finding: that discrimination is perceived to a much greater extent by Black officers than by Brown officers.

Recommendation: that this difference be reflected in the department's review of personnel actions for evidence of discrimination. (In regard to recruitment, the equally low numbers of both Blacks and Browns makes this difference negligible, except insofar as it is also perceived by the Black community and is a part of the problem of "negative image").

In making a special effort to recruit minorities, the department may become vulnerable to a charge of "reverse discrimination". White applicants may not be turned away simply because the need for Blacks and Browns is greater. The only means of avoiding such charges is to concentrate recruitment efforts in the minority communities. General publicity about hiring and about the need for minority persons must, of course, be made community-wide. White applicants cannot and should not be discouraged from applying, but the field work and personal contacts of recruitment teams should be focused upon (and possibly limited to) the minority neighborhoods.

Additional minority applicants may be generated through the efforts of minority officers, through their own contacts with family, friends and neighbors. The aid of minority-oriented media, newspapers, "soul" and

Spanish-language radio stations, etc., should be enlisted. Black and Brown officers should be encouraged to respond to community requests for information and to appear at neighborhood civic and social functions to publicize minority recruitment.

Turning to the internal efforts of the department, it must be strongly emphasized that any racist practices, inadvertent or otherwise, must be discovered and eliminated. It will be of no use to ask minority officers to recruit others if they are already convinced that the department is not a good place for a Black or Brown man to work. These minority officers are the department's best source of information about racist (or apparent racist) practices. It is they who know best the points of friction both within and without the department. Similarly, they can be the most effective recruiters for minority officers. They are the most likely to have established ties within the minority community, and their words are the most likely to be trusted and believed.

Last, but by no means least, the minority community itself must be tapped for assistance in finding good minority policemen. It has been noted in sociological research literature that in contacts with minority-group civilians, minority officers sometimes perform less adequately than Whites. The explanations for this behavior are many: defensiveness on the part of the minority officer; a need to "prove" to White officers that he is not showing favoritism; or even that he has developed "White racist attitudes". Whatever the explanation, it remains that Black officers sometimes do more harm than good in Black neighborhoods; Brown officers perform poorly sometimes in Brown neighborhoods; etc. Thus, an increase in the numbers of Black and Brown officers should not result in any "ghetto-ization"of

duty assignments. Here the community itself can be of great assistance. The department should expand the communication already begun in its "store-front operations".

We should emphasize that commendations should be solicited as well as complaints. It is just as important to know which officers are most effective in minority communities as it is to know which are least effective. A way of further encouraging citizen comments would be to supply each officer with "comment cards", similar to the forms used by restaurants, hotels, and other business which solicit the advice of their customers. Such cards could be offered to civilians in any police-citizen contact, or provided to citizens by the officer upon request and without any formal contact. These cards need only show the officer's badge number and could be either mailed to the department or returned to the officer. This would give the department a direct link with the public and would be likely to increase communication because of the ease, convenience, and informality of this device.

In concluding, we would like to extend our thanks to those members of the San Diego Fire Department and San Diego Police Department, applicants, incumbents, and ex-police who gave us their time and shared their ideas with us. San Diego's police officers have had a fine reputation around the nation. While we do not minimize the points of excellence in this record, we strongly recommend that the past innovative efforts of the department be extended into the area of minority recruitment. The employment of effective minority officers is one key to continuing excellence in law enforcement in San Diego.

Appendix

RESEARCH DESIGN

The questionnaire given to each of the respondents consisted of thirteen questions. Space was allowed at the end of the questionnaire for additional comments, if any. Respondents were advised that their own personal comments were welcomed. In order to obtain information for the stratification of our sample groups, the questions were preceded by several information "blocks". Items of identifying information included the respondent's: (1) relevant departments; (2) race; (3) employment status, (i.e., applicant, current employee, or former employee). Applicants were asked to indicate their current occupation. Current employees ("incumbents") were asked for their rank, length of time employed in their department, and their previous occupation. Former employees were asked to indicate the highest rank held, length of time employed by the department, and their current occupation. Finally, each respondent was asked for their date of birth, years of education, and to indicate all diplomas, certificates and degrees awarded to them. (A sample copy of the questionnaire is included in the Appendix.

The variables involved in the questions were of two general types: subjective and objective. The former related to the respondent's personal views and values with respect to his job. The latter related to the respondent's perceptions of conditions outside of himself--in the department. Additionally, our questions fell into two substantive areas, recruitment and retention, and the practices associated with these functions in the department. Four questions were of the "forced choice" type,

and thus, were "pre-coded". The remaining nine questions were "open-ended", calling for an answer in the respondent's own words.

Within the topic areas of recruitment and retention, questions were distributed evenly between the "subjective" and "objective" types. Under recruitment/subjective, respondents were asked why they chose one department instead of the other, whether they were motivated by economic benefits or personal satisfaction, and what sources of information about the department which influenced their decision to apply. (See Questions 1, 3, and 5, respectively). Under recruitment/objective, each respondent was asked what motives they felt the department had for recruiting them, whether or not they felt the steps of the hiring process were fair to minority-group applicants and what explanation they could offer for the low numbers of minority-group applicants to their department. (See Questions 7, 9, and 12, respectively). With respect to retention/subjective they were asked why they had (or had not) remained with the department, what qualities they felt were necessary to succeed in their job, whether the job had fulfilled their expectations about it, and what specific circumstances would (or did) lead to their resigning. (Questions 2, 4, 6, and 8, respectively). Finally, under retention/objective, respondents were asked to state what they believed were the department's motives for retaining them, whether or not they felt the promotional system was fair for minority-group employees, and whether or not they felt the department made it too difficult for minority-group employees to be promoted. (Questions 10, 13, and 11, respectively).

As can be observed from the order of question numbers referred to above, the pattern of variables was mixed. A number of the variables are closely related and have some overlap. The formal questions were mixed

to avoid "response sets", or the answering of apparently similar questions with similar answers. By thoroughly mixing these variables, it was our intent to shift the respondent's attention from one topic to another, and thereby avoid any one question contributing to or influencing the answer of one immediately subsequent.

Obviously, a number of these questions could not be formulated in such a manner as to be directly relevant to all respondents. In some cases, questions had to be re-written with one version for applicants, one version for current employees, and another for former employees.

Our sample groups were divided between the Police and Fire Departments, and were stratified initially along lines of race (Black and Brown), and employment status (i.e., applicants, current and former employees). The table below shows the entire minority populations of both departments plus applicants and former police, as well as the numbers of respondents interviewed for our sample groups. It also shows the percentage each sample section comprises of its respective population.

Table 5

POPULATIONS AND SAMPLE GROUPS BY DEPARTMENT, RACE, AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Department	Population			Sample Group			Sample % of Population		
	Black	Brown	Total	Black	Brown	Total	Black	Brown	Total
Police:									
a. Applicants (1970)	4	5	9	1	5	6	25	100	67
b. Current (1970)	17	26	43	5	6	11	29	23	26
Rank: Lieutenant	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(1)	--	100	100
Sergeant	(1)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(1)	(2)	100	33	50
Comm. Rel. Asst.	(1)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(1)	100	--	100
Patrolman	(15)	(22)	(37)	(3)	(4)	(7)	20	18	19
c. Former (1968-70)	14	4	18	5	0	5	36	0	28
SUBTOTAL:	35	35	70	11	11	22	31	31	31
Fire:									
a. Applicants	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
b. Current (1970)	18	16	34	6	5	11	33	31	32
Rank: Captain	--	--	--	(2)	(2)	(4)	--	--	--
Engineer	--	--	--	(2)	(1)	(3)	--	--	--
Fireman	--	--	--	(2)	(2)	(4)	--	--	--
c. Former	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SUBTOTAL:	18	16	34	6	5	11	33	31	32
OVERALL TOTAL:	53	51	104	17	16	33	32	31	31.7

In developing our sample groups, we first attempted to determine the total numbers of Blacks and Browns in the Police and Fire Departments. Browns were generally identified on the basis of Spanish surnames. Blacks, while not designated as such in official records, were identified on the basis of the personal knowledge of several current members of each department. Data which was developed by a police officer for previous research was utilized to identify Blacks and Browns among former members of the department. Through special authorization, the City Civil Service Commission was able to identify Blacks and Browns among the then-current applicants to the Police Department. The research staff then provided an introductory letter, which was sent by the Commission to Black and Brown applicants, requesting their participation in the study. (The population figures in Table 5 showing four Black and five Brown applicants thus represent the numbers who responded positively to our letter). Among police applicants and ex-officers, a number of persons could not be directly contacted because they no longer reside in the San Diego area. Additionally, several ex-officers who were contacted by phone declined to be interviewed. (The usual reasons of inconvenience were encountered, but at least one ex-officer refused to participate on the grounds that he did not want to be connected with what he felt would be a "white-wash" of the department). Such refusals occurred in spite of our assurances of confidentiality, anonymity, and our efforts to conduct interviews at the respondent's home rather than at his place of employment.

The major sections of Table 5 show the numbers of persons we were able to identify (by race) as applicants, incumbents, and former police officers, and current Fire Department employees. (We did not attempt to survey applicants and former employees of the Fire Department).

Under the heading "Sample Group" are shown the numbers of persons actually interviewed, and who completed our questionnaire. At the extreme right are shown the percentages of the population which are included in each sample group. In only one category, that of *former* Brown police officers, were we unable to interview any of the population. Within the major sectors of stratification the smallest sampling of any sector was 23% (Brown - currently employed policemen). Under the "Current" sections and for both departments, we have broken down the totals to show the numbers of persons at each rank. Among the higher ranks the populations were so small that our sample included 50% or even 100%. The smallest proportional sample here was 18% (Brown - patrolmen). Overall, our sample groups have generally included at least one-fifth of the population. On statistical grounds, our sample groups are representative of the population.

While it would have been desirable to include other sample groupings, such as white police officers, persons in the general population who had not applied to the Police Department, etc., our limitations of time, manpower, and money, precluded including these. Thus, our study does not attempt to examine comparative White and minority motivation to join the police department. Nor does it examine the general occupational interests of recent high school graduates (for example). We were also unable to survey local military personnel from whose ranks the department has often recruited police in the past. These areas could be fruitful for further research, but the present study must be content with an examination of the views and perceptions of the department held by minority-group members who have had some direct affiliation with the Police and Fire Departments.

As noted previously, minority-group members of the Fire Department were surveyed because of the basic similarity in job qualifications, both educational and physical, with the Police Department. We have used the firemen both as a comparative sample and as a control group. Other controls previously alluded to included the anonymity of the respondents, interviews conducted privately in the respondent's home, etc. Each respondent was advised that the study had been requested by the City, not the department, but that it had the department's approval and cooperation. These explanations were given both verbally and in writing. (A copy of our letter of introduction may be found in the Appendix).

Finally, the general parameters of our respondent group were found to be as follows:

Departments: 66.67% Police; 33.33% Firemen

Race: 51.52% Black; 48.48% Brown

Employment Status: 15.15% Applicants

66.67% Incumbents

18.18% Former Employees

SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE
San Diego, California 92115

January 1971

(Cover Letter)

Mr. _____

I am a research assistant at San Diego State College Foundation. We are conducting a study sponsored by the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development through the Urban Observatory Program. This study is being performed at the request, and with the approval of, the San Diego City Council, Mayor, and City Manager's Office. I am conducting interviews to survey the attitudes of minority-group policemen and firemen, former employees, and applicants toward the recruitment and retention practices of the San Diego Police and Fire Departments.

I would deeply appreciate your taking the time to complete our questionnaire. The identity of policemen and firemen who are interviewed will not be revealed; and your answers will, of course, remain confidential. Thank you for your help.

Most respectfully,

_____
Research Assistant

_____
Prof. James Gazell, Project Dir.
School of Public Administration
and Urban Studies
San Diego State College

THE CITY OF
SAN DIEGO

OFFICE OF
THE CIVIL SERVICE
COMMISSION

CITY IN MOTION

January 29, 1971

Dear Mr.

As indicated on the enclosed letter, your cooperation is being requested on a study of City methods of recruitment and retention. Because our records of applicants are confidential, the study group was advised that we would not release your name to them, but would send you their letter requesting that you contact them.

I would like to emphasize that your decision of whether to participate in this study will have no effect whatsoever on your possibility of employment with the City of San Diego. Although it is entirely voluntary, we hope that you will participate.

Sincerely,

A. A. BIGGE
Personnel Director

January 13, 1971

Dear Mr. _____

A study is being conducted by an organization entitled "Urban Observatory" through San Diego State College. The study has the approval of the City Council of San Diego. The Council is interested in knowing the attitudes of minority-group members toward the San Diego Police and Fire Departments' methods of recruitment and retention.

Before I can ask you to complete a questionnaire, I must have your permission to do so. If you would be willing or would not be willing to cooperate in filling out the questionnaire, please acknowledge via the enclosed envelope.

Please note that you will not have to sign your name and that the individual questionnaires will be confidential. The study is being conducted by a professor in the School of Public Administration at San Diego State College and two graduate students, of which I am one. I am also a Patrolman for the City of San Diego. When you finally obtain employment, look me up, I'll still be here.

Thank you,

Randy Swanson
4195-42 St.
San Diego, Calif. 92105

_____ I would be willing.   _____ I would not be willing.

Signed _____

Address _____

If you live locally and wish to do so, acknowledge by calling me at home. My home phone is 281-1980. Thank you.

Comparative Perceptions of Minority-Group Members
Toward the San Diego Police & Fire Departments'
Methods of Recruitment and Retention

Sample Data—

a) Department: _____ Police Dept. _____ Fire Dept.

b) Race: _____ Negro _____ Mexican-Amer. _____ Other

c) Employment Status: (Check the appropriate section & complete)

* _____ Applicant: Current Occupation: _____

* _____ Incumbent: 1) Rank: _____

2) Time in Dept: _____

3) Previous Occupation: _____

* _____ Former Employee: 1) Highest Rank: _____

2) Time in Dept: _____

3) Current Occupation: _____

d) Date of Birth: _____

e) Years of Education: _____ ; f) Diplomas, Degrees, & other

credentials: _____

(Please answer all of the following questions. Where optional forms
are given, complete only the appropriate one.)

1. Why did you apply to the Police/Fire Department instead of the Fire/Police

Department?: _____

2. (Complete only the question that applies to you.)

* _____ Applicant: Do you think that you will remain in the Department
for at least two years? Why, or why not?

* _____ Incumbent: Why have you remained with this Department?

* _____ Former Empl: Why did you not remain in the Department?

Ans: _____

3. When you decided to join the Police/Fire Department, which factor was more
important to you? (Check one)

_____ Economic benefits (e.g. salary, medical, & retirement plans, c

_____ Personal satisfaction (e.g. the various tasks that make up the

4. What qualities must someone have to succeed as a policeman/fireman?

_____

_____

5. Please rank the following choices (from first through fourth) which
helped persuade you to join the Department:

_____ Friends _____ Relatives

_____ Magazine advertisements _____ Teachers

_____ Newspaper advertisements _____ Television commercials

_____ Radio commercials _____ Other: _____

6. (Answer one.)

* _____ Applicant: Do you think this job will probably live up to your
expectations?

* _____ Incumbent: Has your job turned out according to your expectations?

* _____ Former Empl: Why didn't your former job turn out according to
your expectations?

Ans: _____

_____

7. What do you think the Department sought to gain most from hiring you?

Ans: _____

_____

8. (Answer one.)

* _____ Applicant: Under what circumstances would you withdraw your
application for this job?

* _____ Incumbent: Under what specific circumstances would you leave this job

* _____ Former Empl: What specific circumstances caused you to leave your job

Ans: _____

_____

9. In your view, are the following aspects of the recruitment system in
your Department fair to minority-group applicants?

a) Written part of the entrance examination:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

(9.)— b) Oral Part of the entrance examination:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

c) Physical requirements:

1) Height:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

2) Weight:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very fair

3) Vision:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

4) Other (specify):

_____
_____

d) Academy training:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

e) Probation period:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

10. (Answer one.)

* _____ Applicant: What do you think the Department will gain most from retaining you?

* _____ Incumbent: What do you think the Department gains most from retaining you?

* _____ Former Empl: What do you think the Department gained most from retaining you?

Ans:_____

_____

11. (Answer one.)

_____ Applicant: Do you think this Department will make advancement too difficult for its' minority-group members?

_____ Incumbent/Former Empl: Do you think that the Department makes advancement too difficult for its' minority-group members?

Ans:_____

_____

12. Why is the number of minority-group applicants for this Department very low?

Ans:_____

_____

13. (Check appropriate question, and all items (a,b,c,d) below.)

_____ Applicant: As you look ahead to employment with the Department, do you think the following aspects of its' promotions system operate with fairness toward minority-group employees?

_____ Incumbent/Former Empl: In your view, do the following aspects of the promotions system in the Department operate with fairness toward minority-group employees?

a) Job fitness reports filled out by your immediate superior:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

b) Eligibility requirements for taking promotional examinations:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

c) Written part of promotion examination:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

d) Oral part of promotional examination:

_____ Very fair
_____ Generally fair
_____ Generally unfair
_____ Very unfair

(Additional comments)

80

END