THE EVOLUTION OF POLICE ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERSHIP
IN THE UNITED STATES:
POTENTIAL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

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by

Alice Elizabeth Perry

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The quantitative research component of this study surveyed Massachusetts police chiefs on the respondents’ attitudes about the continued utility of civil service for the chief’s position and the concomitant issue as to when leadership training should begin. A number of subordinate issues were embedded in the survey to test the respondents’ attitudes about technology, ethics and integrity training, working with multicultural groups and policing strategy; generally these were subsets of the leadership issue. The qualitative research, a case study of a mid-size Massachusetts police department, focused on the civil service issue and implementation of community policing.

Civil service, whether it is state or local, provides a measure of job security against political changes. Critics of the system have pointed to the bureaucratic rigidity of civil service and the lack of flexibility and discretion in decisions. Over the years, not much has changed in the civil service system. Unlike the civil service system, the policing strategy in the United States has undergone tremendous shifts. Currently, policing is in the problem-solving era. The training of leaders for the 21st century has garnered much discussion and debate among police executives. The issue of leadership is of paramount importance for a variety of reasons; chief among those reasons is the global world with its varied cultures and diverse attitudes about law enforcement. Second, is the intense media scrutiny of all things law enforcement, with its attendant local, national, and global publicity, which places heightened stress on police leaders. Third, economic woes facing the United States demand that fiscal resources spent on police agencies reap
the most benefit for the communities they serve. The results of the study should encourage public-policy makers to listen to the sagacity of the chiefs when deciding policy for future police leaders.
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INTRODUCTION

The research in this study is based on a survey of the police chiefs in Massachusetts; the focus is on the respondents’ attitudes about the continued utility of civil service for the chief’s position and the concomitant issue as to when leadership training should begin. Civil service provides a measure of job security against political changes. Critics of the system have pointed to the bureaucratic rigidity of civil service and the lack of flexibility and discretion in hiring and promotional decisions. Over the years, not much has changed in the civil service system in Massachusetts. Unlike the Massachusetts civil service system, the policing strategy in the United States has undergone tremendous shifts. Currently, policing is in the problem-solving era. One author contends that “strong leadership is integral to the success of preventive policing.”

The issue of leadership is of paramount importance for a variety of reasons; chief among those reasons is the global world with its varied cultures and diverse attitudes about law enforcement. Second is the intense media scrutiny of all things law enforcement, with its attendant local, national, and global publicity, which places heightened stress on police leaders. Third, current economic woes facing the United States and Massachusetts demand that fiscal resources spent on police agencies reap the most benefit for the communities they serve. Does the civil service system provide us

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with the best chief executives for our police departments? Because leadership is so important, when should leadership training begin?

Massachusetts is the locale for this research. Massachusetts has a population of approximately 6.6 million people with most of its population living in Boston. The eastern half of the state is made up of urban and suburban with a mix of rural areas, while western Massachusetts is mostly rural. Of the six New England states, Massachusetts is the most prosperous (by gross domestic product per capita). The state and its forefathers were central in the fight to wrest itself away from the control of England during the American Revolution and, hence, Boston gained the appellation “cradle of liberty.” Massachusetts led the way in the temperance movement and in its abolitionist activity. In 2004, Massachusetts became the first state in the United States to legally recognize same-sex marriage. Today, the state’s economy is based on higher-education, health care, technology and financial services.

Though it prides itself on its progressivism, over the course of the century, Massachusetts has not kept pace with innovations in public sector personnel administration practice. Selection of the police chief and all other positions in police departments in Massachusetts is accomplished through the civil service system, although some cities and towns have opted to remove the chief’s position and other positions from civil service. The topical question on the public policy-makers’ agenda is the civil service issue. There is a move nationwide and locally to remove many top positions from civil service. According to one commentator “… time has not been kind to the

Massachusetts merit system. Title IV, Chapter 31, of the Massachusetts General Code, entitled Civil Service, a ponderous 233-page set of rules and precedents, is no longer up to the big job of helping government in Massachusetts recruit and hire the most talented personnel possible. Over the course of the last century, Massachusetts has fallen well behind the leaders in public sector personnel administration practice.\(^3\)

In 1992, then-governor William Weld set out to reform the Massachusetts civil service system. His plan would have abolished the seniority system, instead, promotion and job retention would be based on performance; the plan would have released municipalities from the state civil service system. Veterans groups and labor unions rallied in opposition to the plan and it was never introduced in the legislature.

A 2005 report by the Worcester Regional Research Bureau, complained that, when a Massachusetts city hires police officers and fire fighters, it must choose from among the top three candidates on a state-prepared, pre-ordered list of candidates and must justify a decision to skip a name on the list. A similar process applies to the hiring of police and fire chiefs. As a result, mayors or city managers are not permitted to use their discretion in hiring police and fire chiefs. This is a significant limitation of hiring authority, as candidates cannot be evaluated based on the degree to which they share the mayor’s or manager’s vision of a public safety department. No other city or state department head is appointed under similar restrictions. Police departments with no civil service

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requirement for their chiefs often conduct national searches to find police chiefs or commissioners and are able to conduct national searches.\(^4\)

The inflexibility faced by appointing authorities when using the civil service system stymies their ability to select the best leaders for their communities. Leadership is profoundly important when examining bureaucratic function and critical in times of economic upheaval, proposed innovation and policy implementation. Thus, leadership, and more importantly, how we select and train prospective leaders is profoundly important and the subject of this research.

The leadership of police organizations and the variables impacting leadership is being widely discussed by police executives, public administration scholars and policymakers.\(^5\) The role of police chief is extremely demanding. The police chief must possess the talent to lead and motivate the patrol officers moving up the ranks. Police executives have predicted that “the biggest challenge facing police executives in the 21\(^{st}\) century will be to develop police organizations that can effectively recognize, relate and assimilate the global shifts in culture, technology and information. Changing community expectations, workforce values, technological power, governmental arrangements,

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 8


policing philosophies, and ethical standards are but a sample of the forces that must be understood and constructively managed by the current and incoming generation of chief executives.\textsuperscript{6} To understand where we are, we must look back to where we began.

CHAPTER 1: EVOLUTION OF POLICING STRATEGY

The issue of police leadership is of paramount importance for a variety of reasons; chief among those is the global world in which we live with its varied cultures and diverse attitudes. We must cultivate leaders who have a global view buttressed by an ethical foundation that promotes efficacy in the delivery of police services yet is steeped in respect for community members. This must include an understanding of the unique populations that a police department serves. As an example of an exemplary leader, Harris in his book *Good Cops*, used the experience of the Lowell, Massachusetts community policing department.  

Lowell, Massachusetts had a large manufacturing base before the factories closed. The population of similar mill towns suffered as a result of the loss of manufacturing jobs but Lowell’s did not. During the 1980’s and 1990’s, the population in the city grew and was 20% more populated than it had been in 1980. Most of the new population consists of immigrants from all over the world, including Latin America, Asia and Africa. The influx of the diverse citizenry led to flare ups and tensions between the new immigrants and the police force. In 2000, there were cries of racial profiling and the police superintendent, Ed Davis, set out to address these concerns. The police department created a series of facilitated discussions with a group of

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8 Ibid., p. 41.

9 Ibid., p. 42.
representatives from each of the cities ethnic populations; this group was named the Lowell Race Relations Council.  

The biggest challenge to the police department was its relationship with the Cambodian community. After these Cambodian immigrants’ experience with Pol Pot’s Khmer Rouge genocide during the 1970’s, they were understandably wary of the police. The group addressed such issues as cultural differences, gangs and traffic stops. “The council set itself five goals: education, communication, understanding, community unification, and generation of recommendations for the police department, all of which it continues to pursue at its monthly meetings and through follow-up with police and public officials.” The police department and the council focused on the mutual education of each other. One council meeting featured an immigrant from Cameroon and a police officer acting out a traffic stop. The simulation revealed some potentially dangerous misunderstandings, for example, approaching the officer instead of remaining in the car when stopped. Council members were shown police training videos so that they could appreciate the concerns officers had during traffic stops. It was a success for the police leader’s constituents. Everyone benefited. The U.S. Department of Justice awarded the Lowell police department grants that have allowed members of the department to train police departments from cities around the country.  

We are currently in the problem-solving or preventive policing era in this country. It has been a dramatic shift from the traditional reactive policing used by police

\[\text{\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 42.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 43.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 44.}\]
departments. The problem-solving approach requires the police to consider problem-solving as a primary goal, rather than simply reacting to situations after they have occurred. Harris highlights the success of Operation Ceasefire in Boston, in which a collaboration of members of law enforcement with members of the clergy, called the Ten Point Coalition, were able to dramatically reduce the homicide rate and gang activity in Boston. The success of this problem-solving collaboration has served as a prototype for others in law enforcement.

Presently, the economic woes facing the United States demand that fiscal resources spent on police agencies reap the most benefit for the communities they serve. Thus, leadership, and more importantly, how we select and train prospective leaders is profoundly important and the subject of this research. To understand where we are, we must look back to where we began.

Policing strategy has undergone tremendous shifts in the United States and though we are currently in the community problem-solving era of policing many police departments have adopted the strategy in name only. Let us begin with a brief overview of policing strategy. The history of policing strategy can be delineated into the following eras: the political entrenchment era from 1840 to 1900, the reform or professional era, and, the current community problem-solving era.

**The Political Entrenchment Era**

During the political entrenchment era in policing, from 1840 to 1900, police departments in the United States were decentralized into precincts. The neighborhoods were significantly influenced by local politicians and this created an inextricable link
between the politicians and the police. This was the time, especially in Boston and New York, when the cities were controlled by political machines.

The politicians decided who would be hired as police officers and who would be rejected. Political connections dictated who would make rank within the department and who would be police chief. Authors Larry K. Gaines and Victor E. Kappeler have described the politicians of the time as having a “political stranglehold” on the police that was “total and consuming.” These close ties with politicians led to the inevitable patronage and corruption. There were no hiring or educational requirements for officers during this period nor was there access to extensive background materials on candidates as there is today; governmental agencies were much less transparent.

The Reform or Professional Era

The reform and professionalization of police departments began in the 1920’s. Standards for eligibility, recruitment and training were instituted. Centralization of decision-making was implemented to remove political control from the precincts. A chain of command with an attendant rank and file system was established that included top-down management with one-way authority over decision-making.

During the reform era, police departments and the police chief’s position was made part of the civil service system. The civil service system promulgates

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These authors do a commendable job of analyzing the development of policing strategy in the United States.

examinations whereby prospective employees scoring highest on the exams are selected as government employees. It was assumed that if a prospective employee had to take an exam and score high enough to be hired, it would remove hiring from the politician’s grasp.

O. W. Wilson, who served as the reform-minded chief of police for the Chicago Police Department from 1960 to 1967, believed a police department should divorce itself from politics. He promoted the use of the latest technological innovations and pushed for rigorous police personnel selection and exacting training programs but opposed the civil service system. Wilson believed that civil service tests encroached upon the police chief’s ability to select the most qualified personnel for leadership positions.¹⁵

The professionalization of police departments meant increased bureaucratization, elaborate record keeping, and strict chains of command. Professional reform saw the implementation of a tier of middle management and the consolidation of operations, away from decentralization and the precinct system, and toward a centralized bureaucracy.¹⁶

The modern day police department has evolved from when patrol officers performed the majority of police tasks. Policing today relies on the specialization of tasks from bureaus of criminal investigation, to canine units, detective divisions, and juvenile and narcotics units. Modern police departments are divided according to


authority. There are patrol officers, sergeants and lieutenants, and upper-management consisting of captains, deputy chiefs and the chief. O.W. Wilson, in his tome on police organizations, indentified “unity of command” as a basic tenet of police authority. This tenet provides that “[e]ach individual, unit and situation must be under the immediate control of one, and only one person…. The unity of command eradicates … the friction that results from the duplication of direction and supervision.”

Community Problem-Solving Era

“There is a general impression – for many good reasons – that the police as an institution are rigid, conservative, defensive, militaristic, secretive, and suspicious. At the same time, the police have slowly but surely begun to criticize and reevaluate almost everything they do: purpose and mission, core strategies, scale of police forces, organizational structure, management practices, occupational culture, police autonomy, and democratic accountability. Few sacred cows remain; major changes are looming. Because of the extent and intensity of this soul searching, the last decade of the twentieth century may be the most creative period in policing since the modern police officer was put onto the streets of London in 1829.”

Chief among those changes has been community policing. Community policing is “… the most important development in policing in the last quarter century.”


Problem-Oriented Policing

We are currently in the problem-solving or preventive era of policing. In 1979, Herman Goldstein published an article in the Crime and Delinquency journal wherein he challenged police departments to move from reactive policing to problem-oriented policing.\textsuperscript{20} Goldstein pointed out that officers reacted to calls, dealt with the incident, and waited to react to the next call. This response was the same though the officer might respond to the same address for the same issue over and over again. Goldstein recommended that officers problem-solve by being proactive and work to creatively address the persistent calls that involved an inordinate amount of their time.\textsuperscript{21}

Goldstein sought to capitalize on the increased professionalization of the police and the increasing number of college graduates who turned to policing as a career. Goldstein suggested that the educated police professional should be utilized in a proactive manner and should view their positions as not merely a reaction to an event but an opportunity to problem-solve. Problem-oriented policing seeks to integrate the police into the social fabric of the community.\textsuperscript{22} Problem-solving policing, it has been suggested, must de-emphasize discipline and focus on leadership.\textsuperscript{23}


Community-Oriented Policing

Both problem-oriented policing and community-oriented policing urge the police to take a pro-active role in policing, but community-oriented policing, hereinafter community-policing, urges the police to problem-solve with the communities they serve.

Community policing has evolved from the traditional reactive policing model. Community policing appears in diverse forms but, as a policy, ultimately seeks to forge a relationship between the police and the community. Some conclude that while there is no clear consensus as to what community policing is, there is a consensus on what it is not. Simply, community policing “rejects law enforcement as the single, core function of police.”

Generally, community policing is a philosophy of full service policing, where the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis from a decentralized place, working in a proactive partnership with citizens to identify and solve problems. Community policing personalizes the officer’s relationship with the community he or she patrols.

The United States Congress created the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) in 1994. The Clinton administration pushed for its passage and its goal was to put an additional 100,000 police officers on the nation’s streets. At the incipient stage,


there were three goals of the community policing program. First, to develop citizen interaction with law enforcement; this went beyond merely reacting to crime. Second, community police officers are ideally supposed to target problems and address these problems before they become criminal issues. Third, community policing is to allow police great discretion in dealing with problems on the street. This was a deliberate move away from the typical ‘by the book’ operational police methodology. It was hoped that officers would deal creatively with problems rather than simply resorting to arrest. Community policing, as a methodology, sought to move away from a paramilitary style of policing to a more fluid cooperative interaction between agencies within the police department.27

**Different Perspectives on the Problem-Solving Paradigm**

One policing scholar suggests that there are three threshold requirements for the successful shift of police departments from the traditional model of policing to the community policing model. First, the community policing philosophy must be integrated throughout the organization. Second, the community policing emphasis on problem-solving must be adopted by the police strategist, and, lastly, the insular police culture must embrace the community/policing/problem solving model.28 Many have argued

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that it is the police culture that is the ‘single biggest impediment to implementing reforms.’

The organizational structure of the police department, if it is effectively shielded from community oversight, can prevent change from taking hold. An example of this is the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). “The LAPD has historically been shielded from extensive community oversight, and thus it has been able to perpetuate a particular patrol style despite external concern.”

One department, the Washington State Patrol (WSP), in order to implement its community policing agenda, underwent a ‘systemic restructuring process.’ The restructuring process included ‘reformation of job-performance appraisals, promotion processes, general orders, a strategic plan and trooper basic training…. “It shifts the focus from output (numbers) to outcome (effectiveness).”

Community policing requires a decentralization of the organization. This envisions decision making by the officers and their supervisors out at their location whether that be a neighborhood police station or a storefront out in the community where the community policing team is located. This decentralization must include, and police executives must be responsive to, participatory management. Involvement in creating and implementing programs by the rank and file, as well as management will result not

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only in a cooperative, and knowledgeable department, but in one that is engaged.\textsuperscript{32} The community policing model, it has been suggested, provides fertile ground to seed the development of police leaders. “The decentralization that has accompanied the movement to community policing in some cities has had the additional benefit of giving potential future chiefs on-the-job training as the commander of a full-service area or district station. In some departments these local commanders have the responsibility for managing personnel, making assignments, dealing with media inquiries, and being responsible for crime.”\textsuperscript{33}

Researchers have discovered a notable acrimony in the relationship between police management and the rank and file.\textsuperscript{34} Other systems, most notably Japan, reveal a cooperative working relationship between management and the rank and file. Japanese officers do not rely on management to dictate their every task. The organizational culture of policing in the United States “… does not value and reward initiative, responsibility, problem-solving, and hands-on-servicing of the public.”\textsuperscript{35} In Japan, community policing is “the operating paradigm for the entire system.”\textsuperscript{36}


Community policing in the United States has had mixed reviews, some researchers are optimistic, others pessimistic. Research revealed that community policing has divergent meanings and little agreement as to problem-solving methods.37 Some studies revealed that the community members that were involved in community outreach programs were largely from the middle class and the community policing program was not successful in involving those segments of society that were in need of a voice.38 Other programs had endorsement from all segments of the community and enhanced the quality of residents’ perception about their community; this was true for all groups regardless of socioeconomic position.39

As a veteran prosecutor, I have witnessed the change to a community prosecution model. This transition went hand in hand with the police move to community policing. Prior to community prosecution, prosecutors saw their function as being in the courtroom-period. With the adoption of community prosecution, the prosecutor travels to the neighborhoods and meets with community groups. The prosecutor meets with individuals who have been victims of crime. There is a concerted effort to reach out to the community and design programs that will include community participation. I have seen the change in perspective in law enforcement and I been heartened by it. An involvement with the community promotes a personal investment in the welfare of the community that one would not have if the prosecutor remained chained to the desk or


courtroom or the police officer never left the cruiser. The community involvement piece has included domestic violence victims and children and, more recently, addressing two vulnerable populations – the elderly and people with disabilities.

A recent serial arsonist in Northampton, Massachusetts tested the mettle of the community. The citizens were alarmed at the number of fires that had occurred and were terrified when a fire erupted that claimed the lives of two citizens. The community, together with law enforcement, united to combat its fears and worked together to restore calm and focus on catching the arsonist.

In this same community, years earlier, the Northampton police chief worked to end civil service in his department. He engaged the support of the police union and approached town officials who were persuaded that civil service prevented the community from developing the police department it desired. Once civil service was eliminated, the police chief dedicated his efforts to hiring recruits who reflected the diversity of the community. This is one example of a leader who saw the recruitment of the right personnel as critical to his mission of how to best serve the community. This chief and the department have recently been proactive in developing, in conjunction with the District Attorney’s office, a video for police personnel on how to best investigate and train the police to be sensitive to domestic violence victims. The video has been so well received that police departments and other district attorney’s offices are requesting copies.


**Progress without Civil Service**

The progressive Northampton police chief had the prescience to eliminate the civil service system in his department. How does the civil service system impede progress? Does the civil service system allow for the selection of the best candidates? How does Massachusetts select police candidates from the civil service system? This issue became the focus of this research as I delved into the Massachusetts selection process for police departments. Having never led a police department it became critical to solicit the input of the police chiefs themselves. I have been imbued in the criminal justice system for twenty years. I have seen the good, the bad and the ugly and through it all remain steadfast in the belief that the police department is there to serve the community. A police department has the potential and capability to serve its community very well or not at all and who leads that department can make or break the service extended to the citizens.

As my research progressed, I learned that there have been few surveys of police chiefs. They are exceptionally busy people. If we are to move with confidence into the 21st century, the people who lead police departments are a source of invaluable research. However, in order to appreciate the issues raised in this research, the police culture must be examined. The police culture must be understood in order to appreciate the obstacles faced by police leaders, policymakers and the citizenry when trying to initiate a new policy, a citizens’ board or cooperation. The police culture can be insurmountable. This sentiment is echoed in some of the narrative responses filed by the respondents (police chiefs) to the survey used in this research. Some of the respondents themselves may be unaware how the police culture is shaped and formed in departments.
Police Culture

The issues addressed in this research cannot be fully understood without a discussion of police culture; however, it would be impossible to fully dissect that topic in this paper. The difficulty in dealing with the police culture is not a new theme and has been exhaustively researched by criminal justice scholars. The utility in understanding the police culture “lies in the role that it plays in the everyday functioning of police officers.” 40 Occupational culture explains reactions to events that the members of the group experience. “Occupational cultures contain certain accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales and beliefs.” 41 Policing scholars have analyzed the culture in diverse ways and from varied perspectives. Recent research belies the notion of a singular police culture but rather this research hints at the complexity of the culture with variation among officers’ attitudes, changes owing to the increase of police women and minority officers and college educated officers. 42 However, the perceived intractability of the culture is such that when pre-testing the survey, the police chiefs were quite emotive about the difficulty they had in their careers as chief in contending with it. Policy-makers, the citizenry and future police leaders should avail themselves of the extensive research on this issue in order to fully appreciate the often inexplicable response from individual officers, unions or police management when suggesting a change in policing methods.


The “Working Personality”

Other occupational groups have their own cultures, but among police, they, as a group, demonstrate an insular and often impenetrable solidarity. In *Justice Without Trial*, policing scholar Jerome Skolnick theorized that the police culture was shaped by the elements of ‘danger’ and ‘authority.’ These factors contributed to the police officers’ “working personality.” This is not to suggest that every police officer has an identical working personality but rather there are distinctive cognitive tendencies in police officers as an occupational group. The elements of danger and authority are initially cited by Skolnick to reinforce the solidarity of the police. Others have identified the different types of policing styles adopted by members of law enforcement. James Q. Wilson identified three different organizational styles of police officers: the watchman style of policing, the legalistic style of policing and the service style of policing. The organization influences the style of policing. The watchman style of policing is less aggressive and the goal is keeping the peace. There exist few controls over the rank and file. The legalistic style of policing emphasizes by the book policing; this style of policing is focused on crime fighting. The service style of policing focuses on the needs of the community. This style, according to Wilson, is predominately found in the suburbs where there is less crime. Wilson theorized that the local police culture


determined the type of policing in the department. Manning in his review of twenty-five years of research on the police culture suggests that researchers “grant the occupational culture a significant place in determining police behavior.” Still others have identified an almost universal cryptic vulgarity used by law enforcement to identify actual or perceived miscreants. And throughout the ranks, police have an insular culture that perpetuates the “us versus them” mentality.

The tendency to view others outside the police culture with suspicion may become a fixed way of looking at and interacting with members of the community. Danger, real or perceived, is an integral part of police work. Danger draws the police together, yet alienates them from the rest of the population. The element of authority, as identified by Skolnick, contributes to the officers’ working personality and accounts for the social isolation of officers from people outside the department. As a person in a position of authority, the police officer is resented by the citizens of the community because the police officer is in a position to restrain their freedom. Officers are in the business of controlling people and situations. They learn to take charge through a series of authoritarian actions from voice control to sanctioned force. Police officers must take charge, from a car accident to a potentially dangerous domestic violence scene, the

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46 However, see Zhao and Hassell’s research wherein they contend that police culture has less of an effect on policing style than Wilson postulated. They contend that local police culture no longer has the impact it did on a policing agency in the same way it did in the 1960’s when Wilson tested his theory. See Zhao, J. and Hassell, K. D. (2005). Policing styles and organizational priorities: Retesting Wilson’s theory of local political culture. Police Quarterly, 8 (4), pp. 411-430.


officer must take control of the scene or chaos would reign. More than not, the individuals the officer must control and direct are hostile to the officer’s show of authority. More pointedly, the individuals being dealt with by the officers may have criminal records, and/or are drunk or high on drugs. This hostility on the part of the public reinforces the officers own solidarity within their police group.

The intense media scrutiny of law enforcement reinforces their solidarity. The media policy of “if it bleeds, it leads” is alive and well in newsprint, television and the varied cable shows all devoted to crime. The most successful and long-running shows are focused on ‘law and order.’ Thus, the media is relentless when attempting to glean as much information on the crime du jour. Law enforcement cannot reveal facts in a pending investigation that could compromise the case, and in response to no information, the media often has no hesitancy to portray the police as uncooperative or bumbling. This perceived secrecy is necessary for the integrity of the investigation.

**Secrecy within the Ranks**

Another hallmark of policing is secrecy. Police officers must conduct many investigations in secret in order not to tip their hand to the pursued. The investigative art demands pointed questioning without revealing the reason for the questioning. The flip side of that same coin for the officer is to discern who in the investigation is lying to the officer. There at the same time must exist trust between fellow officers so that they can bounce ideas off one another in a secure environment. This trust that must exist in their working relationship reinforces the need for secrecy. Crank argues that the secrecy can

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neither be classified as good nor bad, but rather is a byproduct of the American system of justice. He concludes:

“The veil of secrecy emerges from the practice of police work, from the way in which every day events conspire against officers. The veil has no remedy. It may be desirable to penetrate the veil but it is not reasonable. To look at secrecy in terms of good or bad, right or wrong, is to miss the point. It is a cultural product, formed by the environmental context that holds in high regard issues of democratic process and police lawfulness, and that seeks to punish cops for errors they make. Secrecy is a set of working tenets that loosely couple the police to accountability that allows them to do the work they do without interfering oversight. As long as police conduct law enforcement under a mantle of due process and accountability in the United States, police culture will be characterized by secrecy.”

Further reinforcing the ethos of secrecy is the need for police officers to perform their tasks out of the public and media’s eye. To do otherwise would compromise investigations. The police are instructed not to discuss investigations with anyone outside the department. This maintains the integrity of investigations and preserves the sense of solidarity with one another as they go about the business of information gathering and solving crime. Additionally, there are grave repercussions if the officer’s superiors discover that the officer has been broadcasting facts that should be kept internally within the department. This is not only to protect the investigation but to

protect the victims, witnesses or cooperating individuals who are integral to the investigation.

The police culture is learned from the first day on the job through a socialization process. James Sterling suggested that “Socialization for the police recruit includes both the adoption of normative modes of police behavior and the extinction of certain other behaviors, which were appropriate for his previous civilian roles. In learning the new role, the police recruit undertakes the complex process of learning, which includes more than just knowledge and skills. He will also learn a system of attitudes, beliefs and perceptions, and values. The most important learning related to perception concerns the identification of role relevant reference groups and a sensitivity to their expectations and evaluations.”

**Solidarity within the Ranks**

Community policing proponents argue that the placing of the police in cruisers has effectively removed them from interaction with the citizens they should be serving; it has also served to underscore their social isolation from the community. Community policing advocates seek to end the alienation between the police and the community. It is hoped that the effective community policing will diminish the social isolation felt by the police. The community policing model will only succeed if the philosophy is fully embraced by the department. The police have a solidarity in their work group that perpetuates their closeness. Solidarity has been defined as “consensus, integration,
friendship, personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, and continuity in time.”

It is not surprising that the police have a strong sense of solidarity. It has been noted among those in the military. It has been argued that “any profession which is continually preoccupied with the threat of danger requires a strong sense of solidarity if it is to operate effectively. Detailed regulation of the military style of life is expected to enhance group cohesion, professional loyalty, and maintain the martial spirit.”

**Attitudinal Differences in Police Culture relative to Coercion**

Some researchers have urged that there are nuances in the police culture that deserve more pointed research than an acceptance of a wholesale ‘police culture’ that fails to describe the attitudinal differences in police officers towards, for example, the use of coercion. Patrol officers from Indianapolis and St. Petersburg were interviewed and surveyed; the former department was an aggressive order maintenance department, the latter a problem-solving/community partnership department. There were three subsets of officers – the pro-culture officer, the mid-culture officer and the con-culture officer. The researchers expected that the pro-culture officers, those whose attitudes most closely aligned with the traditional view of police culture would most readily use coercion with

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suspects. The findings supported their hypothesis in that the “[O]fficers who embody the values of the traditional police culture, or have mixed views (mid-culture officers) toward the culture, were more likely to use coercion compared with the officers with the nontraditional (con-culture officers) cultural attitudes.”

Interestingly, though St. Petersburg was a problem-solving/community partnership department this did not lessen the use of coercion by the pro-culture officers. Thus, the style of policing promoted by the department had a negligible effect on the pro-culture officers. The findings revealed that there is “variation in adherence to “the” police culture (i.e., mid- and con-culture groups).” More pointedly, the authors suggest that until the “traditional view of police culture, is conceptualized more finely, measured carefully, and associated with specific behavioral outcomes, it will remain a misleading gloss on complexity…. Researchers should work to disentangle potential socializing influences as transmitters of culture (e.g., peers, field training officers, supervisors), as well as examine additional behaviors that are linked to police culture (e.g., variations in citizen complaints, citizen support, arrests, etc.), especially as the work environments continue to change during the community era.”

**Lawsuits Underscore Occupational Culture**

Police officers may be sued in the performance of their duties under both federal and state statutes. Commonly referred to as Section 1983 lawsuits, Title 42 of the United States Code, Section 1983 provides that:

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56 Ibid., p. 1029.
57 Ibid., p. 1029.
58 Ibid., p. 1030.
“Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, Regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, or the District of Columbia, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other persons within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress….”

Section 1983 allows individuals whose civil rights are violated by police officers access to the federal court. The Massachusetts Tort Claims Act, M.G. L. c. 258 allows individuals who seek redress from police officers acting in their capacity as police officers access to the state court. The number of lawsuits filed yearly against police officers continues to rise and shows no sign of abating. Allegations in these lawsuits range from negligence to intentional use of excessive force. In the years from 1967 to 1971, the number of lawsuits filed against the police increased by 124%. In 1998, it was estimated that approximately 30,000 civil actions had been filed against the police. The average award handed down against a police defendant was more than $134,000. Many municipalities, instead of gambling on what a jury will do, treat the cases like nuisance cases and settle them. The IACP estimated that during a five year period, one in every 34 officers was sued. The stress of being sued may certainly be a contributing factor

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underscoring the solidarity of the work group. It is hard to imagine, other than doctors, a group that is sued more than the police.

Being named a defendant in a civil suit is an exceptionally stressful experience. I base this on the years that I represented police officers in both state and federal courts who were named in lawsuits. I have also represented, as an assistant city solicitor, the municipality, the ‘deep pockets’ when police officers were sued. If ever there is an event, in the tenure of your employment that is more harrowing than being sued, I don’t know what it is. I am drawing no value judgments about whether the merits of the lawsuits were meritorious or not, but the filing of a lawsuit against a police officer, must underscore the ‘us against them’ perspective. Being a defendant in a civil lawsuit may shape or calcify police attitudes toward outsiders. I would conclude, as did the authors of the previously cited work, that many more avenues of research exist relative to the police culture. Research has also discovered the chasm between street cops and management cops.62 “The relationship between police officers and their supervisors has been described as one in which it is dominated by feelings of uncertainty.”63

Police management, instead of maintaining the distance between management and their personnel on the street should take a page from the book of Ed Davis and his work in Lowell, Massachusetts and grasp the bigger picture of the changing world. Globalization is the migration of peoples across the world and as groups continue to

62 As a testament to this chasm, I was involved in one lawsuit where police management tried to convince the appointing authority to indemnify and defend only management and drop the rank and file; this was unsuccessful but had reverberations all through the department.

migrate, law enforcement needs to develop programs on how to understand differences in how other cultures view law enforcement or the lawsuits will continue to plague police agencies. This should be mandate for all police management.

**Street cop versus management cop**

Elizabeth Reuss-Ianni in *Two cultures of policing: Street cops and management cops*, maintained that there were two police cultures. She claims that the ‘street’ cop and the ‘management’ cop have different value systems and look at policing in dissimilar ways.

“Now there are two cultures which confront each other in the department: a street cop culture of the good old days, working class in origin and temperament, whose members see themselves as career cops; opposed to this is a management cop culture, more middle class, whose members’ education and mobility have made them eligible for jobs totally outside policing, which makes them less dependent on, and less loyal to the street cop culture. In a sense, the management cop culture represents those police who have decided that the old way of running a police department is finished (for a variety of external reasons, such as social pressures, economic reality of the city, increased visibility, minority recruitment, and growth in size that cannot be managed easily in the informal fashion of the old days) and they are “going to get on the ground floor of something new.” They do not, like the street cops, regard community relations, for example, as “Mickey Mouse bullshit,” but as something that must be done for politically expedient reasons if not for social ones…. The street cops who are still in the old ways of doing things are confused and often enraged at the apparent change in the rules of the system. So they fight back
the only way they have at their disposal, foot dragging, absenteeism and a host of similar coping mechanism and defensive techniques. Nor is all this likely to change soon; the old and new will continue to coexist for some time because the attitudes, values, and ways of doing things have not changed throughout the system.”\textsuperscript{64}

Reuss-Ianni went on to outline the ‘street’ cop code. It is clear that the code contains maxims that serve to buttress the solidarity of the street cop with one another and put the management cop on the enemy list:

- Watch out for your partner first and then the rest of the guys working the tour.
- Don’t give up another cop.
- Show balls.
- Be aggressive when you have to, but don’t be too eager.
- Don’t get involved in anything in another guy’s sector.
- Hold up your end of the work.
- If you get caught off base, don’t implicate anyone else.
- Make sure the other guys know if another cop is dangerous or “crazy.
- Don’t trust a new guy until you have checked him out.
- Don’t tell anybody else more than they have to know; it could be bad for you and could be bad for them.
- Don’t talk too much or too little.
- Don’t leave work for the next tour.
- Protect your ass.
- Don’t make waves.
- Keep out of the way of any boss from outside your precinct.
- Don’t look for favors just for yourself.
- Know your bosses.
- Don’t trust bosses to look out for your interests.\textsuperscript{65}


\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., pp. 13-16.
This chasm between the ‘street’ cops and the ‘management’ cops can be relieved with supportive management but not entirely eradicated because a police department is a quasi-military institution and the demarcation in rank is a reality. Mistakes made by street cops can and do result in being written up or suspension. Management does use its voluminous policies and procedures to ensure that street cops toe the line. Street cops must follow procedure relative to their response to calls, how evidence is handled, promptness and accuracy in report writing and dealing with the public. This promotes the efficiency of the department and street cops learn early to follow the rules or risk their reputation with management, prosecutors and judges. The street cops can accept the reality of their world or rebel and seek ways to undermine management. It is this organizational uncertainty – punishment from management lurking behind some arrests, condemnation for a rules violation or rebukes for procedural errors – that reinforce the officers ambiguous role identification.\textsuperscript{66} The management/line officer tension is exacerbated by the omnipresent threat of lawsuits. An area of liability is the negligence of supervisors in performing their supervisory duties, failure to discipline and negligent retention of officers.\textsuperscript{67} This chasm must be dealt with as street officers continue to deal with multicultural populations and need the support and educational outreach necessary to perform effectively. It is folly for management not to address the real concerns of the officer on the street. Programs such as those used in Lowell by Ed Davis will sensitize and educate officers to the populations they encounter and their cultural biases. Lawsuits will continue to rise if issues such as these are not addressed because the migration of


groups and peoples continues and law enforcement must be able to contend with varied cultures and attitudes. The community policing and problem solving model cannot be adopted in name only.

**Community Policing and the Police Culture**

Community policing may ease the gap between management and the street cop because the community policing model flattens the hierarchical model and seeks to involve the street cop in decision-making. This participatory management will serve, it is hoped, to create individuals who will lead. This philosophy of service is in direct contradiction to the police officer as crime fighter. Many individuals join the police force for altruistic reasons and have a vague notion as to what the job entails. For many, they envision hitting the streets and ferreting out crime, making arrests, taking down doors in drug arrests and the like. This exciting image is reinforced with the daily crime shows and movies that are fodder for the imagination. The reality of the job is that even in busy patrol areas many of the calls are mundane, involve hours of paperwork and may take them to the same address night after night for the same issue. A department who has adopted the community policing philosophy shifts gears so that the philosophy of service is paramount to the police organization and, in turn, to the officer on the street. This does not mean that the patrol officer abandons his sense of suspicion because a heightened awareness and that intuition is necessary in the investigation of crime but rather the focus of the officers duty is the service aspect of the profession.

The community policing model, like community prosecution, is not an either/or proposition, the goal of fighting crime remains but the philosophy of approach is changed
to include the community and the emphasis is on service to the community. Both are
mutually compatible. The community policing model encourages the officer on the street
to solve problems in neighborhoods he or she adopts. The problem-solving and taking
the lead in the neighborhood, it is hoped, will build the leadership skills required for
supervisory success. The caveat is that research has revealed that though departments
have purportedly adopted the community policing model, the changes in department
structure have not occurred and the much touted participatory management model has
been actively resisted by upper management.\footnote{Williams, E. J. (2003). Structuring in community policing: Institutionalizing innovative change. \textit{Police Practice and Research: An International Journal}, 4(2), pp. 119-129.} With all changes, the police culture must
be understood and grappled with by the patrol officer, supervisors and policy-makers in
police management. A successful transition might be easier with the assistance of police-

Police executives and policy-makers continue to grapple with how best to lead
policing agencies into the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. This perusal has included research and
examination of business management models.

\textbf{Conclusion}

We turn now to an examination of leadership theory and within that context will
examine the business management theory – transformational leadership. James
MacGregor Burns in his 2003 book \textit{Transforming Leadership}, suggested that
transformational leadership is needed to solve the most critical problems facing the
world. Bernard Bass, a business management scholar, took Burn’s transformational leadership theory and expanded its application. In his 2006 book *Transformational Leadership*, Bass asserts that transformational leadership is a popular model and has received so much attention from scholars and practitioners because “it represents changing nature of effective leadership as we now see it and know it in businesses, government, and social movements.”

Today’s role of the police chief is changing and extremely demanding. The erosion between state and federal boundaries has broadened the police chief’s focus beyond local issues. Technology has changed the way in which police departments are directed and managed. The chief needs new management and leadership skills as do the officers moving up the career ladder; the business model, may provide police management with ready tools for the 21st century.

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CHAPTER 2: BUSINESS MODEL OF LEADERSHIP

Police leaders have looked to theories utilized by the business world and other fields of endeavor in an effort to improve management. Globalization has put pressure on police departments to think internationally and act expeditiously; this includes a broader human rights perspective and the ability to act with alacrity when faced with a crisis. This pressure is exacerbated by relentless media scrutiny and an emphasis on rapid case resolution and pressure to utilize the most current technological advances. Police departments can no longer afford, nor will the communities they serve allow them to continue to safeguard their insular worlds. Police departments are bureaucracies and function differently than their counterparts in the private sector.

Understanding how a bureaucracy functions is critical to an appreciation of the obstacles faced by police leaders. Understanding how a bureaucracy functions is necessary to appreciate which leadership theory is the best fit for police bureaucracies. Police executives have examined business management theory, particularly transformational leadership models, and applied those lessons to police bureaucracies. Recent research testing this theory relative to police management has found that police officers in subordinate positions respond favorably to transformational leaders.

Jim Collins’s best seller *Good to Great* addressed private corporations.\(^\text{72}\) He applied the *Good to Great* tenets to police leadership and police bureaucracies. Collins

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authored a monograph specifically addressing public sector bureaucracies which we will examine in a future chapter.

**Understanding Bureaucracies**

Police organizations are bureaucracies. A bureaucracy is management or an administration characterized by hierarchical authority among numerous officers with fixed procedures. Public administration of government positions often incorporates a civil service system. In Massachusetts, the civil service system is codified by statute in M.G.L. c. 31.

Max Weber, a German economist and sociologist, promulgated his theory of bureaucracy which became the foundation for all modern bureaucracies. Weber viewed an organization as “a particular type of social relationship that is either closed to outsiders or limits their admission ….” Weber contended that there was some form of hierarchy of authority in an organization and this hierarchy or authority “… serves to ensure that members will carry out the order governing the organization. This order may be self-enacted or imposed by an outside agency. Organizational structure refers to the specific manner in which authority is distributed.”

Weber felt that organizations maintained their dominance by power being concentrated in a “ruling minority.” To this end, Weber focused on the concept of authority; the legitimate use of power. Authority,

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75 Ibid., p. 256.
according to Weber, was legitimized on three grounds: rational-legal rules, personal authority invested with the force of tradition, and charisma.

On traditional authority and charisma, Weber maintained that traditional authority was personal as was charismatic authority but traditional authority arose from “…longstanding rules and powers, tradition and custom.” It more commonly involved family-owned firms. Charismatic authority evolves from the core of the leader whose personality inspires devotion. However, hierarchical power “on which charisma is based must be frequently demonstrated and serve to benefit the followers, or authority will disappear.”

Weber, in his analysis of bureaucracy, did not focus on bureaucratic dysfunction and has been criticized for this shortcoming. Weber has also been criticized for not recognizing the importance of innovation. John B. Miner in *Organizational Behavior 2: Essential Theories of Process and Structure*, acknowledges Weber’s contribution to our understanding of organizational structure and bureaucracy and presents what has been called the “Aston theory” promulgated by the research of Derek S. Pugh, David Hickson and C. Robert Hinings.

The Aston theory bridges the gap between Weber’s theory and his shortcomings relative to the impact of innovation on a bureaucracy. Chief among their contributions to our understanding of how a bureaucracy can restrict innovation, authors Derek S. Pugh

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77 Ibid., p. 262.

78 Ibid., p. 267-288.
and Roy L. Payne’s *Organizational Behavior in Its Context: The Aston Programme III*, allege that “[T]he two main structural variables (structuring of activities and concentration of authority) increase the degree of specificity of role-prescriptions characteristic of the organization, and, in an environment thus formally defined in terms of highly prescribed roles, relatively cautious and conformist behavior becomes most appropriate.”\textsuperscript{79} And further, “A mechanistic structuring of activities, through division of labour, standardized procedures and written specifications over-prescribes the tasks of managers and is, therefore, not likely to produce a developmental climate where people are stimulated to be innovative.”\textsuperscript{80}

Secondly, the centralization and the high number of subordinates’ characteristic of such organizations are likely to lead to an emphasis on control. At the group level, a mechanistic structure is likely to result in low task complexity, especially at the lower levels, and in greater formality of relationships, with emphasis on memos, minutes, written instructions and agendas limiting the opportunity for spontaneous, informal communication. Lack of autonomy may accompany the formality, since authority in a mechanistic organization tends to be concentrated on the top of the hierarchy.”\textsuperscript{81} Police agencies have been characterized as mechanistic organizations.\textsuperscript{82}


\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 16.

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., p. 16.

Many writers have argued that top executives are likely to have great influence on the climate of the organization, and, once the top policy makers have made decisions, they exert pressure on subordinates to execute them. Members under such pressure and control, who must execute decisions in which they have not participated, are not likely to have a high sense of involvement in the group’s activities and goals, and, therefore, are not likely to take great satisfaction in their work.”

This squelching of innovation in a mechanistic organization such as a police department is problematic in light of the shift in policing strategy to a problem-oriented focus. Problem-oriented policing encourages creativity and thinking outside of the box to solve problems with community members. Prospective police leaders need to recognize that rigid conformance within the ranks stifles teamwork and inhibits inspired solutions on the part of their employees.

Weber has been criticized for not paying enough attention to the internal workings of the bureaucracy. Peter Blau believed that the “overly centralized bureaucracies would have “deleterious consequences for the exercise of professional discretion.”

**Government Bureaucracy and Innovation**

James Q. Wilson examines organizational structures in his work, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*, and therein tackled the issue of

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innovation. Business organizations function differently than government organizations. Business organizations self-correct when profits decline. Government agencies, if they self-regulate, do not have a market barometer to indicate when they have problems.

Wilson indentified three organizational issues that must be addressed by bureaucracies in order to succeed: identification the critical task of the agency, an organizational mission and an organization’s autonomy.

The organization must first decide how to perform its critical task. The critical task that an organization must accomplish is not to be confused with the organizational goals, according to Wilson. Wilson suggests that the second challenge of an organization is its sense of mission. Wilson deduced that the variety of organizations he studied—schools, armies and prisons—were all consumed with pride when coming together to accomplish their respective missions.

The third essential issue is an organization’s autonomy. Wilson describes this as the acquisition of “... sufficient freedom of action and external political support (or at least non-opposition) to permit it to redefine its tasks as it saw best and to infuse that definition with a sense of mission.”

Wilson spends a fair amount of time on the importance and intransigence of culture. He posits that every organization does have a culture and suggests that culture is to an organization what personality is to a human being. He suggests that a culture in an organization is very slow to change, if it can be changed at all. The organization’s

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86 Ibid., pp. 23-28.
culture can be splintered into varied cultures if the organization’s goal is vague. If there is agreement as to the organization’s central tasks this unity will result in a singular culture.

A singular culture, results in an organization developing that sense of *mission* that Wilson has identified as being an essential characteristic of a successful organization. Those in charge of the organization understand that members of the organization must be wed to the idea of this sense of mission; this enthusiasm and commitment to the mission must be consciously cultivated by those in charge. Wilson acknowledges that this *esprit de corps* is difficult to generate in any context but it is especially difficult for government executives.

Government administrators are constrained not only by legal considerations but by political considerations as well. Additionally, executives step into positions where the culture has been entrenched for long periods of time. In this vein, Wilson cites the success of J. Edgar Hoover at the FBI. At the time he took the reins, the Bureau of Investigation at the Department of Justice was suffering harsh criticism for its operation. Hoover was given free reign at the newly titled “Federal Bureau of Investigation” in that he did not have to abide by the civil service system. He was allowed to hire, fire, promote, and demote at will. Certainly, the FBI was not without its failings but Hoover created an organization with a sense of mission that had the enthusiastic support of its members. Wilson maintains that when a culture is embraced and shared by its members, it becomes a mission.88

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88 Ibid., p. 109.
The downside of a uniform culture is that an organization cannot manage to change when the situation warrants it. An executive, too committed to the culture, cannot lead as the situation requires but is co-opted by cultural expectations. Policing scholars have identified a unique police culture; the difficulties in dealing with the police culture were highlighted in the previous chapter.

Wilson highlights, in generalizations, other effects of culture. Organizations will ignore new tasks if they are not part of the dominant culture. And, lastly, if there are two or more cultures within the organization, conflict will emerge with one group seeking to exercise dominance over the other. It is incumbent upon the leader to extinguish conflict between the groups and infuse a sense of mission so that the organization can move forward.  

Wilson also addresses the issue of innovation within government agencies. Innovation is often resisted because agencies favor the status quo and operate according to a comfortable standard operating procedure (SOP). There is equity, or at least a perceived equity, in government agencies and innovation threatens that balance. Wilson, using a number of examples, argues that bureaucracies may adopt innovation if it is merely an add-on to existing tasks, but if the innovation alters core tasks, that innovation may fail. Innovations are often foisted on bureaucracies by the political system.

Wilson points out that government agencies are in a constant state of change but “the most common changes are add-ons: a new program is added on to existing tasks

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89 Ibid., pp. 90-110.
without changing the core tasks or altering the organizational culture.\textsuperscript{90} It is the executive in charge that is responsible for implementing innovation.

The difficulty in a governmental agency is that it can implement innovation, but because there is no market system to correct or reject it, a nonproductive innovation can exist indefinitely. Therefore, without a market to monitor an executive’s success, the bureaucracy can blithely proceed without any feedback as to whether an innovation is warranted.

Wilson suggests that executives that are recruited from the outside of an agency are more likely to propose change than executives who are promoted from within the system. The rationale is that executives who are recruited are judged by their professional peers and innovation is scrutinized and lauded; it is irrelevant whether the innovation succeeded or failed, the spotlight is on innovation.

In contrast, the executive who is promoted from within the agency is concerned with the internal workings of the agency; their reward comes from the job itself, not from external accolades. A governmental agency that hopes to foster innovation “… needs to concentrate power in the hands of the boss sufficient to permit him or her to ignore (or even dismiss) opponents.”\textsuperscript{91}

Wilson calls for the deregulation of government. He uses the analogy of the deregulation of the market. When the market is deregulated it serves to energize the industry and weed out non-performers. Obviously, a government bureaucracy is not

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., p. 225.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., p. 230.
susceptible to the market forces but government agencies must free themselves from “legislative micromanagement.”^92

Wilson cites the findings of 16 senior government executives comprising a panel of the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA): “Over many years government has become entwined in elaborate management control systems and the accretion of progressively more detailed administrative procedures. This development has not produced superior management. Instead, it has produced managerial overload.”^93

The first place to start would be the development of strong leaders. These intrepid individuals would inspire employee loyalty and “define and instill a clear and powerful sense of mission, attract talented workers who believed they were joining something special, and make exacting demands on subordinates.”^94 The leader will effectively convey to employees what is expected of them. Employees need succinct descriptions of what their job entails. A strong leader will infuse the particular agency with a sense of mission that should trump bureaucratic inertia.

**Leadership Theory**

The business world and organizational theorists have been greatly influenced by James MacGregor Burns and his work *Leadership*. James MacGregor Burns has concluded that, “Leadership is an expanding field of study that some day may join traditional disciplines of philosophy and the social sciences in scholarly recognition. Today, however, it remains in its growing stages; it has yet no grand, unifying theory to

^92 Ibid., p. 366.

^93 Ibid., p. 369.

^94 Ibid., p. 370.
provide common direction to thinkers and researchers."95

What is leadership? According to Burns, “Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers.” Burns makes it clear that power is not the same as leadership although both share the same goal – achieving purpose. While power may control things, like money or natural resources, leaders do not control things, they lead people.96

Burns quotes Max Weber on the issue of power – “[power] is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.”97 Thus, sums up Burns, “All leaders are actual or potential power holders, but not all power holders are leaders.” Burns cites the crucial variable as purpose.

Burns, at his most cogent, defines leadership not as forcing followers to their will, but defines leadership as “leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and motivations – the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations of both leaders and followers. And the genius of leadership lies in the manner in which leaders see and act on their own and their followers’ values and

97 Ibid., p. 12.
motivations.” Burns proposed two types of leaders – transactional and transformational leaders.

**Leadership theory in the business world**

Bernard Bass, greatly influenced by Burns’ writing, went on to develop his own theories on transactional and transformational leadership that have been used extensively by the business world and more recently in research relative to police organizations.99

Transactional leadership, according to Bass, is categorized by the following:

1. recognizes what it is we want to get from our work and tries to see that we get what we want if our performance warrants it,

2. exchanges rewards and promises of reward for our effort, and,

3. is responsive to our immediate self-interests if they can be met by our getting our work done.100

Transactional leadership is characterized by a *quid pro quo* relationship between leader and subordinate.101

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98 Ibid., p. 19.


“Transactional leaders are those who lead through social exchange…. [t]ransactional business leaders offer financial rewards for productivity or deny rewards for lack of productivity. Transformational leaders, on the other hand, are those who stimulate and inspire followers to both achieve extraordinary outcomes and, in the process, develop their own leadership capacity. Transformational leaders help followers grow and develop into leaders by responding to individual followers’ needs by empowering them and by aligning the objectives and goals of the individual followers, the leader, the group, and the larger organization. More evidence has accumulated to demonstrate that transformational leadership can move followers to exceed expected performance, as well as lead to high levels of follower satisfaction and commitment to the group and organization.”

According to Bass, the motivation for the followers’ of a transactional leader, is the leader’s praise and rewards. Negative feedback, threats, and disciplinary action by the leader serves to correct the recalcitrant follower. This is contingent reinforcement. Contingent rewards consist of leader/follower consultation on what is to be accomplished in the reward/desired allocation of resources exchange.

Relative to management-by-exception, there are two transactional leader styles: active and passive. The active management-by-exception leader supervises and corrects the followers’ performance. The passive management-by-exception leader responds to followers’ mistakes with negative feedback and reprimands, all the while waiting for mistakes to be called to their attention.

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A transformational leader, according to Bass, motivates people to accomplish more than they expected to accomplish. Transformational leaders do this by:

1. raising our level of awareness, our level of consciousness about the importance and value of designated outcomes, and ways of reaching them,

2. by getting us to transcend our own self-interest for the sake of the team, organization, or larger polity, and

3. by altering our need level on Maslow’s (or Alderfer’s) hierarchy or expanding our portfolio of needs and wants.\(^{105}\)

Bass originally cited three factors that comprised a transformational leader: charisma, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration.\(^ {106}\) A fourth was added—inspirational motivation.\(^ {107}\) Bass felt that transformational leadership could be learned and should be taught.

**Critique of Transformational Leadership Theory**

There are a great many supporters of Bass’s transformational theory, as Miner catalogs, but researchers weigh in with concerns as well. For example, some feel that the theory focuses on the behavioral aspects without examining the personality


considerations of the leader. Others praise its impact on leadership studies but caution that there has been little consideration given to the ‘situational or contextual factors’ within the theory.

Still others have charged that there needs to be more research on “followers’ perceptions.” This arises when the query becomes, whether leadership is the cause when an organization is transformed, or is it simply that the leader is credited with the change? This romanticizing of the leader by the followers runs afoul of Bass’s theory. In other words, the followers attribute all change to the leader, when in fact, it is merely the idealized beliefs of the followers in their leader that wish it so.

And, while the theory of transformational leadership is “… strong on the positive aspects of transformational leadership, it is weak on the detrimental or negative aspects.” The theory historically has not dealt with manipulative behaviors like intimidation, for example. Accepting the criticism, Bass added the concept of pseudo

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transformational leadership and has most recently turned his focus to the importance of ethical behavior.\textsuperscript{112}

Lastly, though the benefit of transformational leadership theory has been the actual training of transformational leaders, and the increased use of that training,\textsuperscript{113} it would be valuable to be able to tap those individuals who exhibit transformational leadership to effect selection decisions for prospective transformational leaders. It is this lack of focus by transformational leadership advocates that represents “a real limitation.”\textsuperscript{114}

\textbf{Current Research Applying the Business Principles of Transactional and Transformational Leadership in a Police Leadership Context}

Though there is a plethora of research regarding the police culture, there is a paucity of research relative to leadership at the highest tier in police departments.\textsuperscript{115} The application of transformational leadership theory research, a traditional business concept, to police organizations is topical and possibly fortuitous, especially in light of post-9/11 concerns about leadership and our increasingly complex world. Three recent studies relative to police leadership incorporated the concepts of transactional and transformational leadership that have traditionally been used in the business world.


First Case Study

In 1991, Deluga examined the effects of both transactional and transformational styles of leadership on subordinate police officers. The purpose of the study was to “examine the nature of supervisor-subordinate influencing behavior within the framework of transformational and transactional leadership.” Subordinate upward influencing behavior is defined as ‘attempts by the subordinate to alter the behavior of the superior in a manner desired by the subordinate’.

The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire - Form 5 (MLQ-5), developed by Bass, was given to 117 police officers in a department located on the East Coast; 53 questionnaires were returned. The MLQ-5 measures features of a transformational leader: charisma, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration. The MLQ-5 measures features of transactional leadership factors: contingent reward and management-by-exception.

As Deluga notes, Kipnis and Schmidt (1985) broke subordinate influencing behaviors into three categories: soft, hard, and rational. Soft behavior is used by the subordinate who is relatively powerless, and believes that the leader will resist, so the subordinate resorts to ingratiating behavior. The hard influence is used by a subordinate who anticipates leader resistance but in this case it is the subordinate who has a power

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117 Ibid., p. 50.
edge over the leader. The subordinate, in dealing with the leader, uses direct requests or overt emotion.

The last approach defined by Kipnis and Schmidt is the rational approach. Here the subordinate does not expect leader resistance and the leader and subordinate do not have leverage over one another. The subordinate will utilize logic and will use an exchange of benefits in dealing with the leader. The study’s hypothesis predicted that transactional leadership would be associated with subordinate officer influencing. The results were to the contrary—transformational leadership was implicated in subordinate officer influencing. In contrast, in a manufacturing environment, transactional leadership was reported to promote more manager-subordinate influencing activity than transformational leadership.

Finally, although the results found the three approaches were intercorrelated, it was discovered that only rational upward influencing was found tied to transformational leadership. An analysis of the results offered varied explanations for the outcomes. In future studies, it was suggested that contextual factors may affect the relationship, like organizational structure, cultural differences, the leader’s hierarchical level, and the nature of the external forces impacting the firm.118

Second Case Study

The second study regarding the issue of transformational and transactional leadership behavior did focus on the nature of the organization. A police department has been defined as a “mechanistic” organization in contrast to an “organic” organization. A

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118 Ibid., p. 54-55.
mechanistic organization is characterized by a formalized and rigid structure with members who are expected to conform. In an organic organization, goals and the structure are not rigid, the members are highly educated, the climate is supportive, and the members are expected to be innovative.

Bass surmised contingent reward and management-by-exception, the components of transactional leadership, would be favored by the mechanistic environment. Therefore, in their study, Singer and Singer theorized that police officers who work in a mechanistic organization would prefer a transactional leader. The results conclude differently, at least with the testing of police in New Zealand.

The results revealed that leaders of the New Zealand police officers were in fact slightly more transformational that transactional. Three possible reasons were given for this finding. First, the sample returns may have been too small to adequately render a judgment on the issue. Second, it may be questioned whether the police departments are mechanistic organizations. Third, a mechanistic organization may not cultivate transactional leaders. The authors embellish on this point, theorizing that “[a] plausible explanation for this interesting finding is that the system of reinforcement in mechanistic organizations is thoroughly entrenched in the organizational structure, so that leaders themselves do not need actively or overtly to provide contingent reinforcement.”

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120 Ibid., p. 394.
Third Case Study

The last study reviewed whether organizational rank impacts the relationships between leadership behaviors and leadership effectiveness and queried whether the rank of senior police officers impacts the relationships between leadership behaviors and extra effort. This study directed the MLQ to top ranking Australian police officers.

The sample was comprised of 480 senior police officers who were the mailed the MLQ. The respondents were asked to record “the frequency of non-leadership, transactional leadership, and transformational leadership behaviors displayed by the officer to whom they directly report.”\textsuperscript{121} The study also used the Stratified System Theory (SST) which “uses task complexity across levels to explain the variation in qualitative performance demands at any point in the organizational structure. SST accounts for the leadership differences across levels based on the assumption that task complexity increases in a linear relationship with level in an organization.”\textsuperscript{122}

Densten criticizes the previous studies of Deluga and Souza and Singer and Singer, suggesting that they did not use a multilevel analysis. Although the results of this study did partially reinforce the findings of the prior correlation studies, this study underscored the importance of taking rank into account. The research revealed that the predictors of leader effectiveness varied according to the rank of the senior officers. The study concluded that idealized influence and inspirational motivation was a common predictor of leadership effectiveness for the majority of senior level officers. Other


\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., p. 401.
factors were found to be negative predictors of leadership among different ranks, this included contingent reward.

The second research question sought to identify the extra effort from senior officers that resulted from behaviors of their leaders; this was again dependent on rank. The following predictors were identified as leadership predictors: intellectual stimulation, contingent reward, inspirational motivation, and laissez-faire. The author stressed that more research needs to be accomplished on police leadership.

The results of the aforementioned studies clearly provide fodder for further research. Both Bass and Steidlmeier argue that the transformational leader rises above the exchange relationship and can “identify the core values and unifying purposes of the organization and its members, liberate their human potential, and foster pluralistic leadership and effective, satisfied followers.”  

123 Those studies provide a cornerstone for future research.

It is of note that increasingly police organizations are turning to business concepts and applying them to their own organizations. Manning cautions that this trend towards adopting economic and business management practices in policing may prove antithetical to the “public service” contemplated by police response.  

124 Manning suggests that this “new approach sees [policing] as a competitive, service-producing activity that must show a social profit and must produce, advertise,

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package, market, and distribute its “services” to “customers” or “client.” The idea that policing is a public good like education is being replaced “by the notion that policing can be made profitable and competitive.” This argument is bolstered when one examines the rise of private for-profit prisons. Manning’s concern is that this economic model will benefit the moneyed class and give short shrift to the economically disadvantaged. As he points out, the police are now competing with private security firms, shrinking urban dollars and a relentless media.125

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, transformational leaders are made, not born, if we recall Bass’s admonition that transformational leadership can and should be taught. Bass’s concept of transformational leadership will continue to have application for police organizations. This is true because, as Bass points out, “… leadership has changed drastically in recent years. The world has gotten increasingly complex and fast paced. This requires individuals, groups, and organizations to continually change and adapt. … The role of the leader has changed. Autocratic and authoritarian leaders, although they still exist, are no longer the norm. Leaders are expected to listen to followers and be responsive to their needs and concerns and include them in decision making. Mentoring, coaching, empowering, developing, supporting and caring are not only expected leader behaviors but also necessary for today’s effective leader…. Importantly, followers have also changed… they are also an increasingly diverse group….Moreover, they are the future leaders, so if a unit or organization is going to succeed over time, followers’ leadership

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125 Ibid.
potential must be developed and realized.\textsuperscript{126} Astute police leaders today accept and acknowledge this advice and are looking to the future as to how best to develop the police leaders of the future. Police executives have also looked to best-seller Jim Collins and his unique take on public sector employees.

CHAPTER 3: PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES AND LEADERSHIP

*Good to Great and the Social Sectors*

The last chapter explored the application of transformational leadership theory to police bureaucracy. As the preliminary research revealed the most significant effect of transformational leadership appears to be on followers’ attitudes and their commitment to the leader and the organization. Training followers to be leaders is the gravamen of transformational leadership; this is compelling evidence for the training of prospective police chiefs using a business management model. However, police executives have also reviewed the tenets outlined by Jim Collins in his book *Good to Great and the Social Sectors*. Paradoxically, Collins notes that while the social sector looks to the business world for ideal leaders, Collins suggests that the best leaders may, in fact, be found in the public sector. Executives from the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) invited Collins to address their group and a year later held a conference highlighting the *Good to Great* principles. During that conference Collins addressed the specific issues pertaining to leaders in the social sector.

*Five Key Issues for Taking Public or Social Sector Employees from Good to Great*

The reality of leading a police organization is that police chiefs do not have the unfettered power that a CEO of a corporation possesses or the powers that J. Edgar Hoover had when he was first given carte blanch to reorganize and redesign the FBI. Police chiefs are often hampered in their efforts by the civil service system and/or police unions.

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127 Collins authored a monograph relative to public employees which was an offshoot of his bestseller *Good to Great*. 
In his best-seller, *Good to Great*, Collins examined twenty-eight Fortune 500 companies in a fifteen year study. He established criteria that the companies had to meet for the duration of that fifteen year period. Ultimately, eleven companies met those criteria. These eleven companies were each compared to a company in the same industry and they were both examined as to why one company succeeded and the other fell short. The researchers also examined six additional companies that started out strong but failed to maintain the momentum.

The twenty-eight companies were exhaustively researched. Interviews were held with the key executives from the companies. Every aspect of managerial responsibility was scrutinized, including balance sheets, the corporate culture, and company layoffs. Newspaper and magazine articles published about each company were reviewed. The goal of the research for *Good to Great* was to identify those leadership traits that were represented in executives that ran the best organizations.

Collins describes five categories of leaders: Highly Capable Individual (Level 1), Contributing Team Member (Level 2), Competent Manager (Level 3), and Effective Leader (Level 4). The Level 5 designee is Collins way of identifying the executive leader with the highest capability. As described by Collins, Leader 5 leaders are “fanatically driven, infected with an incurable need to produce results.”

Collins’ research revealed that these Level 5 leaders were not bombastic egomaniacs but, rather, Collins found that the most successful leaders were self-effacing, reserved, quiet, and some were even a bit shy. They were above all else – team players.

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Thereafter, Collins authored a monograph about public sector employees entitled *Good to Great and the Social Sectors.* Much like Wilson and Burns before him, Collins acknowledges that government is a vastly different organization than a private company, however, he rejects the idea that to go from ‘good to great’ the social sector must become more like a business. Instead, he explains that both business and the social sectors need to embrace the principles of greatness. Collins began by outlining five issues that form the framework of taking a social sector organization from ‘good to great.’

1. Defining “Great” – Calibrating success without the business metrics
2. Level 5 Leadership – Getting things done within a diffuse power structure
3. First Who – Getting the right people on the bus within the social sector constraints
4. The Hedgehog Concept – Rethinking the economic engine without a profit motive
5. Turning the Flywheel – Building momentum by building the brand

**Issue One: Measuring Success in the Social Sector or Defining “Great”**

Relative to the first issue – how does a social sector organization measure success? Collins instructs that “The confusion between inputs and outputs stems from one of the primary differences between business and the social sectors. In business, money is both an input (a resource for achieving greatness) and an output (a measure of

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greatness). In the social sectors, money is only an input, not a measure of greatness. A great organization is one that delivers superior performance and makes a distinctive impact over a long period of time. For a business, financial returns are a perfectly legitimate measure of performance. For a social sector organization, however, performance must be assessed relative to mission, not financial returns. In the social sectors, the critical question is not “How much money do we make per dollar of invested capital?” but “How effectively do we deliver on our mission and make a distinctive impact, relative to our resources?”

Collins scoffs at the notion that his principles cannot work in public sector organizations. It is fatuous to think that public sector successes and failures cannot be measured as precisely as the business barometer of increased profits. Collins advised that “[a]ll indicators are flawed, whether qualitative or quantitative. Test scores are flawed, mammograms are flawed, crime data are flawed, customer service data are flawed, and patient-outcome data are flawed. What matters is not finding the perfect indicator, but setting upon a consistent and intelligent method of assessing your output results, and then tracking your trajectory with rigor.” In the social sectors, performance is defined by results and efficiency in delivering on the social mission.

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130 Ibid., p. 5.
131 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
132 Ibid. p. 8.
Issue Two: Level 5 Leaders in the Social Sector

The second issue examined by Collins is how a Level 5 leader contends with the often diffuse power structure of social sector organizations. He acknowledges that social sector leaders “face a complex and diffuse power map.” And when “you add in … civil service, … police unions, or any number of internal factors, most non-business leaders simply do not have the concentrated decision power of a business CEO.”

Collins has hypothesized that there are two types of leadership skills needed for complex and diffuse power structures. He has labeled these: executive and legislative. In the former, he theorizes that the ‘executive’ has enough concentrated power to make the correct decision. The latter, the legislative leader, relies on “persuasion, political currency, and shared interests to create the conditions for the right decisions to happen.” The legislative leader recognizes that given the diffuse power structure no one individual has enough power to make things happen. This hypothesis, Collins admits, still requires years of rigorous testing.

The Level 5 leader that Collins identified in Good to Great is the type of leader needed in the social sectors. The Level 5 leader is that unique blend of personal humility and professional goodwill. “Level 5 leadership is not about being “soft” or “nice” or purely “inclusive” or “consensus building.” The whole point of Level 5 is to make sure the right decisions happen – no matter how difficult or painful – for the long-term

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133 Ibid., 10.

134 Ibid., p. 11.
greatness of the institution and the achievement of its mission, independent of consensus or popularity.\textsuperscript{135}

Collins concludes that the best leaders, in business and the social sectors, will be a combination of executive and legislative leaders. He sees an irony in the social sector looking to the business world for instruction. He suspects that we will find more true leaders in the social sectors. Why this conclusion? Collins looks to James MacGregor Burns for his answer. Burns taught that the practice of leadership is \textit{not} the same as the exercise of power.\textsuperscript{136} As Collins illustrates, if you put a gun to someone’s head, you can get them to do what you want, but this is not leadership, this is simply power. \textit{True leadership only exists if people follow when they have the freedom not to.}\textsuperscript{137}

\textbf{Issue Three: Getting the Right People on the Bus in the Social Sector}

The third issue is the ability to get the right people on the bus. The first thing that Collins discovered about successful leaders is that they did not begin by articulating a new vision and then hire those that would embrace that vision—or fire those that did not. Rather, these leaders initially decided who would be a team member and after they had hired and kept particular individuals, it was only then that they outlined their goals. The key lesson to be learned, according to Collins, was that great leaders created their team before they set off on their course of action. Collins surmised that in one way public sector leaders may have an easier task in managing their people because individuals attracted to careers in the public sector, for example, policing, often possess the skills

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., p. 11.


required for loyalty to their roles: passion about their chosen field, commitment to the goals of the job and internal motivation.

Those in the private sector who are lured in by the economic rewards may not possess the commitment, loyalty and passion demonstrated by public sector employees. Collins noted that it is essential that leaders understand and define the organization’s mission or core purpose. As mentioned previously, Wilson cites clarification of ‘mission’ as an essential ingredient in a bureaucracy’s success. This sense of mission is highlighted elsewhere in this research as being critical in a police organizations ability, for example, to implement the community policing model of policing.

A key factor noted by Collins in the corporate organizations that achieved success was what Collins terms a “culture of discipline.” This culture of discipline is defined by Collins as a culture wherein the employees focus was singular and unwavering on the goals of the corporation. Bureaucracies can wallow in the morass of incompetence, lack of vision, and an entrenched civil service system for decades. Collins suggests that a culture of discipline can trump an ineffective bureaucracy by having the right employees on board from the incipient stage. This culture must include an environment where people have an opportunity to be heard.

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139 Ibid., p. 88.
Issue Four: The Hedgehog Concept

The parable of the fox and the hedgehog highlights the difference between the fox and the hedgehog. The fox is cunning, and uses strategic planning. He sees complexity in everything. The hedgehog, on the other hand, has simplified a “complex world into a single organizing idea, a basic principle or concept that unifies and guides everything.”\textsuperscript{140} In the social sectors the Hedgehog concept is broken down to three motivators: passion, what you are best at, and, the resource engine.

The passion component refers to understanding what your organization stands for (its core values) and understanding why it exists (its mission or core purpose).\textsuperscript{141} The second piece refers to an understanding of what your organization can uniquely contribute to the people it touches.\textsuperscript{142} The third piece refers to an understanding of what drives your resource engine.\textsuperscript{143} Isaiah Berlin also cited Archilochus, “The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows but one big thing,” when he wrote The Hedgehog and the Fox.\textsuperscript{144} Berlin wrote that “[S]cholars have differed about the correct interpretation of these dark words, which may mean no more than that the fox, for all his cunning, is defeated by the hedgehog’s one defence.”\textsuperscript{145} Berlin further elaborates,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{140} Ibid., p. 91.
\item \textsuperscript{142} Ibid., p. 19.
\item \textsuperscript{143} Ibid., p. 19.
\item \textsuperscript{144} Berlin, I. (1993). The hedgehog and the fox: An essay on Tolstoy’s view of history. Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{145} Ibid., p. 3.
\end{itemize}
“[B]ut taken figuratively, the words can be made to yield a sense in which they mark one of the deepest differences which divide writers and thinkers, and, it may be, human beings in general. For there exists a great chasm between those, on one side, who relate everything to a single central vision, one system less or more coherent or articulate, in terms of which they understand, think and feel — a single, universal, organizing principle in terms of which alone all that they are and say has significance – and, on the other side, those who pursue many ends, often unrelated and even contradictory, connected, if at all, only in some de facto way, for some psychological or physiological cause, related by no moral or aesthetic principle…. The first kind of intellectual and artistic personality belongs to the hedgehogs, the second to the foxes.”

A clear understanding of your purpose and goals allows the leader to remain true to the Hedgehog principles; it is the clarity of the vision and adherence to the mission of the public sector agency that allows the agency to move from ‘good’ to ‘great.’

**Issue Five: Turning the Flywheel in the Social Sector**

The analogy of the flywheel to building a great institution is that, as the research proved to Collins, you must push the flywheel with great effort, day after day, week after week, year after year, and it moves forward very slowly. Great effort is continually expended to move the flywheel forward even farther, day after day, week after week, year after year. You don’t stop pushing. Collins advises social sector organizations that adherence to the Hedgehog concept attracts resources and commitment and the more resources and commitment the greater success. People love to associate with winners.

As Collins is quick to point out, a successful organization is one that can survive beyond

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146 Ibid., p. 3.
Berlin’s essay on history examined Leo Tolstoy’s *War and Peace* and suggested that Tolstoy’s view of history was shaped by the struggle between the, monists, who believe in a single, unifying principle versus the pluralists who attribute many, often contradictory theories of being.

147 Ibid., pp. 17-18.
a single program or visionary leader. 148 “Whereas in business, the key driver in the flywheel is the link between financial success and capital resources,” Collins suggests that “… a key link in the social sectors is brand reputation – built upon tangible results and emotional share of heart – so that potential supporters believe not only in your mission, but in your capacity to deliver on that mission.” 149 For example, entities have brand reputations and that impacts the success of the organization. As Collins explains, “… brand reputations give people an easy way to support a cause they care about. NYPD has a brand. The United States Marine Corps has a brand. NASA has a brand. Anyone seeking to cut funding must contend with the brand.” 150 Future research by Collins is going to focus on the role of brand reputation in social sector organizations.

Collins concludes that, “Consistency distinguishes the truly great – consistent intensity of effort, consistency with the Hedgehog concept, consistency with core values, and consistency over time. Enduring great institutions practice the principle of Preserve the Core and Stimulate Progress, separating core values and fundamental purpose (which should never change) from mere operating practices, cultural norms and business strategies (which endlessly adapt to a changing world). Remaining true to your core values and focused on the Hedgehog Concept means, above all, rigorous clarity not just about what to do, but equally what not to do.” 151 “Greatness is not a function of

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148 Ibid., p. 25.
149 Ibid., p. 25.
150 Ibid., p. 25.
circumstance. Greatness, as it turns out, is largely a matter of conscious choice, and discipline.”

**Application of Good to Great to Police Leadership**

In 2004, Collins was invited to address police executives at the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF). In 2005, PERF hosted a conference highlighting the *Good to Great* leadership concepts. Central to the discussion among the participants was the applicability of the *Good to Great* concepts to the public sector.  

Collins acknowledged that labor unions and the civil service system (with its protracted appeals process) can effectively curtail, if not derail, a chief who wants to restructure, hire, fire, or demote personnel. Collins points out that a chief’s entire tenure can be taken up with trying to remove or demote one or two employees—leaving the chief with time for little else. Denied efficacious management tools, a strong leader can see his ability to implement new policy or effectuate personnel changes hamstrung indefinitely. A series of questions in the survey instrument used in this research deal with the ability of the chiefs to implement new policy and focus on the impediments to successful policy implementation.

Collins addressed the critical issue of how to best prepare the individuals who will be our future leaders. Unfortunately, when a chief is appointed in a police organization he or she is often saddled with upper-management who may not share the new chief’s

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152 Ibid., p. 31.

vision. Success can only be achieved, as Collins repeatedly advises, by having the right people in position. This is a key element and essential to success in the social sector.

At the PERF Good to Great conference in 2005, there were some chiefs from around the nation that shared their stories of inheriting poorly performing departments and how they managed a turnaround. Chief Jim Lewis from Green Bay, Wisconsin, assumed command of a department that relied solely on seniority for promotion. The system never looked at performance—good or bad. Lewis changed the system so that promotions were based on successful performance and accomplishments. ¹⁵⁴

In another example, Chief David Couper, from Madison, Wisconsin, served 20 years as chief with civil service protection, but in his case he had latitude in how promotional examinations were structured. However, if an employee was to be removed from a position his performance had to be substandard and removal was difficult. He knew that many of the officers preferred the old school traditional style policing and were resistant to community policing which he instituted. Couper organized an advisory group that met monthly to discuss department issues. He ensured that women and ethnic minorities were present at the meetings. Couper outlined a long-term plan and goals for the next decade. He believed that his long-term planning, in collaboration with these team members, would ensure that team members’ input would remain invested in the goals of the organization. He also wanted the young officers climbing the career ladder to embrace the community policing model. His team effectively sidestepped the

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 21.
recalcitrance of those civil service employees who were comfortable with the status quo.\textsuperscript{155}

Couper instituted a Leadership Promotional Academy at the Police Department. The academy is a two-week course that is open to anyone who plans on being considered for promotion. The two-week course consists of ten days of classes in which the mission of the police organization is highlighted as well as the ethics of leadership. The course is geared to teaching the future leaders of the police department ethical leadership traits and effective management strategies. In addition, it allows the staff to evaluate the students who possess the most promising attributes for future leaders.\textsuperscript{156}

How does the Massachusetts Civil Service system and the labor unions impact hiring and promotion in Massachusetts? What impact do these systems have in hiring the best leaders?

\textit{Massachusetts Civil Service System and Labor Unions}

Public sector employees in Massachusetts have civil service protection as well as the contractual guarantees embodied and bargained for in collective bargaining agreements. The state of Massachusetts is one of the most unionized law enforcement states. The civil service system in Massachusetts was established in 1844. Selection of the police chief and all other positions in many police departments in Massachusetts is accomplished through the civil service system, although some cities and towns have opted to remove the chief’s position from civil service.

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., pp. 21-22.

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., p. 27.
The civil service system in Massachusetts is codified in Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 31. The civil service system was sparked by the desire to thwart political patronage and to remove government departments from the politicians grasp. In Massachusetts, in order to hire a police officer or fire fighter, if the town or city uses the civil service system, the appointing authority must use the “rule of three.”

The rule of three requires that the appointing authority must select the candidate from the top three scorers on the civil service examination. If a decision is made to bypass the name on the list, the appointing authority must justify their decision. This “rule of three” applies to the selection of a police chief in many cities and towns across Massachusetts. This adherence to the rule of three limits the discretion of the hiring body in the selection process.

Candidates who are bypassed for promotion may file a grievance regarding the bypass to the appointing authority and then to the Civil Service Commission. The aggrieved employee has the right to a full hearing before the appointing authority. If the employee is still aggrieved by the act or failure to act by the local appointing authority, the employee may appeal to the Civil Service Commission. This will entail a full hearing before the commission.


159 M.G.L. c. 31, s. 2. Also see, 18 Massachusetts Practice Series, s. 321, p. 409 (1993).
The Civil Service Commission is a quasi-legislative, quasi-judicial body consisting of five commissioners appointed by the governor. The litigant can appeal the Commission’s decision to the Superior Court and onward to the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. Both of these courts review the Civil Service Commission’s decision on promotion to determine if it violates any of the standards set forth in the administrative procedure statute governing judicial review and cases construing those standards.

Massachusetts is a heavily unionized state and members of law enforcement are no exception. If law enforcement is unionized, disgruntled police officers have recourse to mechanisms to enforce rights identified in collective bargaining agreements; included in collective bargaining agreements is a right to arbitration. These rights are in addition to the rights articulated in M.G.L. c. 31 covering civil service employees.

M.G.L. c. 31, section 41, provides that no civil service employee can be suspended or terminated absent “just cause.” “Except for just cause … a tenured employee shall not be discharged, removed, suspended for a period of more than five days, laid off, transferred from his position without his consent if he has served as a tenured employee since 1968, lowered in rank, or compensation without his written consent, nor his position be abolished.” “Just cause” has been defined as “substantial misconduct which adversely affects the public interest by impairing the efficiency of public service.”

160 M.G.L. c. 7, s. 4I. Also see, 18 Massachusetts Practice Series s. 321, p. 408 (1993).
If there is a conflict between the collective bargaining agreement and civil service law, civil service will trump the collective bargaining agreement. Employees who challenge disciplinary action by the appointing authority must elect whether to pursue their grievance through the process outlined in the collective bargaining agreement or take their case to the Civil Service Commission.

Thus, employees are protected by both the civil service system and their collective bargaining agreements. The Massachusetts civil service system has been roundly criticized and, over the course of the past century, Massachusetts has fallen well behind the leaders in public sector personnel administration practice. According to some, it is no longer up to the task of recruiting the best people for positions of leadership. Because the appointing authority is bound by the “rule of three” as mandated by the civil service system, cities and towns are prevented from using their discretion in the hiring of police chiefs. Therefore, a mayor or town manager cannot select a candidate for police chief that shares their vision for a police department. The appointing authority is also effectively shut out from hiring from a national pool of candidates.

Nationally, other states are revamping their civil service systems to ensure that they are hiring the best of the best versus the best of the desperate. Civil service is a rigid system and other jurisdictions are finding ways to sidestep the rigidity of the civil service system. These states include Florida, Nebraska, Michigan, Connecticut, Wisconsin,

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Kansas, Washington and New York. The public sector personnel administrators are orchestrating new ways to help agencies locate, hire and keep good employees. This effort includes long-term strategic workforce planning. In Massachusetts, the line agencies should be given greater latitude in the hiring and promotion process. Virginia, long recognized as one of the best managed state systems in the country, decentralized its hiring decisions long ago.

Success in other states has involved labor and management working together to improve the system; both sides made concessions. Most significantly, other states have begun to question why written tests are even necessary for the selection process. Wisconsin, Kansas and Indiana have eliminated virtually all of its written tests and Washington has only one requirement for many of its positions – does the applicant possess a bachelor’s degree.

**Leadership Development – When to begin?**

When should police organizations begin the development of prospective leaders? This is an issue that is currently fodder for debate and suggestion. The police chiefs in Massachusetts, in their responses to the questionnaire, suggest that the training of the future leaders in law enforcement should begin as early as when new members of law enforcement are trained at their respective police academies. Unfortunately, in Massachusetts, the training for new police recruits is not standardized. Some members of law enforcement are sent to rigorous police academies that cover an extensive legal

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164 Ibid., p. 11.

curriculum, ethics training, and have tough physical fitness requirements; other police academies are mediocre at best.

**Tools for successful police organizations**

First and foremost, police leaders need to have an open discussion about recruitment because once an individual is hired, especially in a civil service context; the organization is stuck with that individual. In most personnel systems, the “screening-out” process is utilized. In this system, applicants are no longer considered if they do not meet the agency criteria. Once these individuals are dropped from the pool of applicants the employees are selected from the remaining candidates. The criticism is that the remaining candidates may not be the ideal candidates either. They merely represent applicants whom the agency has found “no reason to reject.”

“Screening in” applicants refers to identifying the qualities the agency desires in a candidate and identifying these candidates. The prospective employee is then selected from this highly qualified pool. The fundamental difference in these two strategies is that the former, the screening-out process, examines candidates from a minimally qualified pool, while the screening-in process selects candidates from a pool of highly qualified individuals. The latter process ensures that the agency is hiring the best applicants from the incipient stage, which should alleviate personnel problems in the long run. The civil service system does not allow for flexibility in hiring or in promotions, including the

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chief’s position, so the appointing authority is forced to select from the top scorers on the exam.

The fear in the hiring process is that the appointing authority will ultimately end up with candidates whose personality profile does not compliment the stresses of the job. A police officer must, by virtue of his or her duties, interact with countless individuals in the performance of their duties. Members of the public come from a variety of ethnicities and varied walks of life. It is critical that the hiring process focus on candidates that are psychologically sound, compassionate and open-minded.

Why is this so critical in the law enforcement arena? The job is characterized by a tremendous amount of discretion, which includes the ability to forfeit someone’s freedom. Members of law enforcement stand between a victim and the accused and must, often times, make split second decisions. The police officer is the only one in society that can utilize state-sanctioned force. Getting the right people on the bus from the very beginning is critical.

Police chiefs are responsible for their officers’ performance in the community. With the emphasis on community policing, the chief must ensure that his officers’ can relate to and commiserate with the varied individuals in his or her community. The job is difficult from a psychological, emotional and intellectual perspective. Yet, the people that are attracted to the job are those that seek to help their communities. They are passionate about their roles. Leadership training at the start of the recruit’s career will further serve to inspire and motivate these individuals. To forfeit the opportunity to train these recruits at the beginning of their careers is a disservice to the community. The
business world continuously trains its employees to aspire to improve. There is a constant infusion of goal-driven seminars and conferences. The key to long-term success according to Collins, is the dedication of the leader to the individuals climbing the ladder. It was the leader’s devotion to training the individuals who would ultimately assume management positions or the ultimate leadership position that allowed the studied organizations in *Good to Great* to maintain their greatness. Collins discovered that these Level 5 leaders were ambitious, but the thrust of their ambition was directed always to the success of the company and not to their own personal renown.\(^{168}\)

The emphasis for the development of a good to great organization is on development of leaders and talent. Policing agencies would do well to adopt the tenets outlined in Collins’s writings. A review and application of transformational leadership theory deserves a closer look by police executives. The reality is that there are few departments who have management training programs. PERF has the Senior Management Institute for Policing (SMIP) which has operated for the last twenty-five years. Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department William Bratton identified this leadership program as the key development program in his career. Bratton appreciated the fact that the program exposed him to faculty members who were outside the police world.\(^{169}\)

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It may be that members of law enforcement do not put a priority on management practices or it may be that they do not view themselves as prospective managers of people. Consider this – the Western Massachusetts Criminal Justice Training Council, which serves the police departments of western Massachusetts in training police recruits and provides continuing education for those officers on the job has offered a management certificate program for the last decade. The curriculum is designed by PERF. How many officers in the last decade have taken the six courses required to achieve a management certificate and graduate from the program? Not one.

For those individuals who do have the desire to lead, the reality is that there are few slots available to train prospective leaders. “This lack of comprehensive, widely available leadership training is an issue that has been discussed in American policing for decades, and the solution is not yet on the horizon. Even if more training becomes available on the national or regional level, it will remain important for individual police departments to groom their own leaders…”¹⁷⁰ This research becomes all the more salient for our chiefs’ perspective on when leadership development should begin.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 30-31.
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Background

There are few surveys of police chiefs, in part, because they are exceptionally busy executives, and, in no small measure, because they are suspicious of outside agencies seeking information. It is unfortunate because they collectively can provide the sagacity needed as the world continues to diminish in size with the Internet, the erosion between law enforcement territories and the migration of peoples from all cultures across the globe. Their leadership experience and views on leadership are desperately needed as law enforcement strategy continues to evolve. It was no small feat to secure one hundred responses to a fairly lengthy survey on leadership issues. This research was presented to executives at the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP). A request was made for an article which did appear in that organization’s magazine. This is the first survey in Massachusetts to secure the wisdom from so many police chiefs on issues that are on the forefront of the agenda of policymakers and police management.

The two fundamental objectives of this research were to, first, test police leaders’ opinions regarding the utility of civil service for the chief’s position. The second major objective of this research was to deduce, according to the police chiefs’ responses, as to when leadership training should begin in police agencies. There are a number of subordinate issues embedded in the study that will provide material for further research; generally, these are subsets of the leadership question.
These two topics – civil service and leadership development – are currently being debated and analyzed on the state and national level. As the previous chapter detailed, executives on the national stage at the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) are examining leadership models in order to successfully transition prospective leaders into the leader’s position especially in this advanced technological world and our global world. Both theories, Bass’s transformational leadership theory and the seminal research performed using this theory in police agencies show promise, as well, as the police executives’ endorsement of Collins’s work using Good to Great principles in the social sector.

**Purpose of the study**

Though I have been imbued in the law enforcement arena in some capacity over the past twenty years, I did not have a position on the two main areas of the research query. Rather, the pre-test for the survey, dictated the direction of the research. The pre-test of the Massachusetts Chief of Police Questionnaire devolved into heated exchanges between the police chiefs when we delved into the issue of civil service. More poking and prodding by this researcher revealed a similar response with other police chiefs on this issue. Thus, the focus of the research was honed when witnessing the fervor the issue generated among the police chiefs. Prior to the pre-test with the police chiefs it became apparent during the literature review that the civil service issue was being reviewed in Massachusetts as well as nationally. Many states are revamping or simply discarding the arcane system in favor of modern testing methods that test a broad range of dynamics across the human spectrum. One of the goals of the research was to provide a policy analysis of the chiefs’ attitudes about the continued utility of civil service for
their position. Policy analysts are generally concerned with “… concepts of efficiency, effectiveness, feasibility and ethics.” 171 The sagacity of the police leaders may foster a call for policy alternatives to civil service.

When drafting the conceptual framework, it became clear that analysis of the civil service system as a whole was overbroad. Therefore, the research narrowed to the specific issues of civil service for the chief’s position. The focus of the leader’s position allowed the research to evolve, from a policy perspective, to the tangible leadership development issue. Additionally, the pecuniary issues facing the state of Massachusetts underscored the pragmatic inquiry into the leadership development query.

The second area of focus – leadership – has systemic ramifications across a broad array of legal, bureaucratic and political contexts. The leadership of police organizations and the variables impacting leadership is one of the most discussed topics in law enforcement today; this is largely the result of ‘9/11,’ the reevaluation of the civil service system and the implementation of community policing or problem-solving policing programs. Leadership is profoundly important when examining bureaucratic function and critical in times of bureaucratic change and innovation.

This research and the wisdom generated from the respondents, it is hoped, will provide insight into the broader population. Policy-makers may extract from the research better ways to prepare officers for leadership positions in law enforcement and may learn how to direct public monies to areas where it will do the most good. Research can inform policy-makers, stakeholders, within and outside the institution, the polity at large, and

ultimately, the actors within the bureaucracy, in this case, the police agency. Though there is a plethora of research regarding police culture, there is a paucity of research relative to leadership at the highest tier in police departments.\textsuperscript{172}

**MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION**

- Should the police chief’s position remain in civil service?

**MINOR RESEARCH QUESTION**

- When should police agencies begin leadership development?

**Method**

This research involves both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data is the bulk of this research and is comprised of a survey entitled *Massachusetts Chief of Police Questionnaire* (See Appendix A).\textsuperscript{173} Generally, there are five major research strategies used in the social sciences: experiments, surveys, archival analysis, histories and case studies. “Surveys are used extensively for both descriptive and exploratory purposes.”\textsuperscript{174} Survey research can provide, and is an appropriate


\textsuperscript{173} “In the early years of survey research, from the 1930’s through the 1950’s, the word “questionnaire” was a method of data collection wherein the respondents wrote down the answers to the questions…. This was also referred to as “self-administered questionnaires.” … The second meaning of the word “questionnaire” in social research refers to the research instrument itself, whether the data are collected by the interviewer or are recorded by the respondent.” See Capolivitz, D. (1983). *The stages of social research*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, pp. 100-101. Modern usage uses “questionnaire” to describe the research instrument.

methodology, for making inferences about a large group of people based on data drawn from a discrete number of people. Surveys have the advantage when the goals of the researcher require obtaining quantitative data regarding a certain issue or population. The strengths of surveys include their accuracy and their ability to generalize from the results.175

The qualitative data is gleaned from the narrative responses in the survey as well as a brief case study of the Springfield Police Department. The case study will cover a decade-long period of this police department and will focus on and examine the research variables used in the survey.

**Data Collection**

The survey was lengthy and contained forty-four questions (See Appendix A: *Massachusetts Chief of Police Questionnaire*). The survey included both open-ended and close-ended questions and a Likert scale. The questionnaires were e-mailed to the 350 Massachusetts police chiefs; some chiefs, at their request, received the survey via a direct mailing. One hundred questionnaires were returned for a 28% response rate.

The survey advised the respondents that the responses would remain anonymous and confidential. An unsigned consent form was included with each survey pursuant to research protocol and in conformance with research standards promulgated by Northeastern University. The project was approved by the Northeastern University Institutional Review Board. As per the Code of Federal Regulations Title 45, part 46,

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117 (c)(2), signed consent was waived as the research presented no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and involved no procedures for which written consent is normally required. The Unsigned Consent Form advised the respondents that their participation or lack thereof would have neither repercussions nor any advantages to the respondents’ employment status. The survey was disseminated by the Massachusetts Chief of Police Association (MCPA). The MCPA does not endorse research projects and did not endorse this one.

The survey was pre-tested with the cooperation of a number of police chiefs. The pre-test was utilized to determine whether the length of the survey was too time consuming, whether it allowed for sufficient elaboration, whether it hit areas of key importance, and whether the overall appearance of the survey encouraged a response. The pre-test took a number of months and was revised extensively after input from the chiefs who participated in the pre-test.

Limitations of Research

This research population, the police chiefs of Massachusetts, yielded quality data given the sufficient number of responses. The purpose of this research is to draw information from this discrete population. Generalizations cannot be made relative to all police chiefs nationwide because Massachusetts is unique in that its law enforcement agencies are widely unionized. Approximately sixty percent of its chiefs are civil service appointees and the departments may or may not have community policing programs. The research is time-bound and contextually-bound in its focus and limited to the police
chief’s in position at the time of the survey, however, valuable lessons may be extrapolated from the research and provide instruction on the topical issues.

**The Researcher’s Role**

It is suggested that in research where qualitative research is proposed, the research should identify any biases or value judgments they may bring to the study.\(^{176}\) This researcher was previously employed as a labor attorney with an international labor union that represented members of law enforcement in employment disputes. This included civil rights suits alleging civil rights violations pursuant to federal statutes and other law suits filed pursuant to the Massachusetts Tort Claims Act. The legal representation provided to clients included advancing employee grievances, responding to employer initiated sanctions and participating in collective bargaining. Cases were litigated before select boards, the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission and various arbitration panels. From the vantage point of a labor lawyer representing police officers, it allowed this researcher to glimpse the inner-workings of the police culture and work with both the rank and file and management during protracted litigation.

This researcher was a prosecutor in the Massachusetts Superior courts for approximately twenty years. I prosecuted various crimes including homicides, arsons, child and adult rapes, drug trafficking cases and violent crimes. I have worked with local departments and federal agencies including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives Agency. There is, of necessity, a working relationship that develops between a

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prosecutor and members of law enforcement. Again, in this context, the police culture was observed. I would submit that this understanding of the occupational culture and the milieu in which law enforcement operates brings an enhanced understanding and critical judgment to the researcher’s task.

Data Analysis

Once the surveys were returned, the material was vetted for utility. With very few exceptions, the respondents answered every question and offered narrative responses in the appropriate areas. The surveys were analyzed using SPSS, the computer-based analysis program used in the social and behavioral sciences. SPSS allows for descriptive statistical analysis and in most cases the data was offered in tables and for ease of the reader in many cases converted to graphs and bar charts. As previously mentioned, the quantitative data provide the bulk of the research. A case study is included because coincidentally the Springfield Police department had been grappling with the civil service issue for the chief for years. It provides a window into that issue and the response of the politicians, police management and the community members. Additionally, in 1993 the Springfield Police department was attempting to implement community policing. Effective leaders can push the department in the right direction yet on the other hand, leaders are blamed for organizational ineffectiveness. When crime rates go up – it must be the chief’s fault. When an officer does something blameworthy – get rid of the chief. Police departments are difficult places to manage and it takes the right fit for leadership to matter. Thus, protecting a chief can be quite risky depending on what mechanisms exist to remove him or her.
The case study of the Springfield Police department will focus on the two in-depth reviews conducted by two different consultant firms hired by the city of Springfield to assess the police department for its perceived institutional failings. A data analysis was made of the 1993 and the 2004 consultant’s report. The only issue of interest for our purposes is the civil service issue and the concomitant leadership issue as it pertained to the suggestions and struggles of the Springfield Police department. The research is confined to that period from 1993 through 2004. Case studies can be used for three purposes – exploratory, descriptive or explanatory. When seeking something less grand than a methodological synthesis, perhaps etching the problematic, placing it in context, and connecting it, ideally, to structure and history, qualitative methods are superior …. Without explicit and identified problem, description is fatefully boring. Conversely, a problematic such as “class inequalities” has little meaning outside a context.”

*Breakdown of The Massachusetts Chief of Police Questionnaire*

The survey begins with questions relative to demographics – age, years on the job, type of police agency, educational background of respondent and the size of the agency. Leadership issues were folded into most of the questions at intervals and sought to solicit the leaders’ views on issues relative to the media, working with a multicultural community, leadership style and ethics and integrity training. The survey also sought the leader’s opinion on community policing, civil service, unions and the leaders’ views on

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what they perceived were impediments to the implementation of new policies. The respondents, for the most part, were prolific in their response to questions that provided room for a narrative answer. The responses will be highlighted because they provide their own revelations that expound on pivotal issues.

**Demographics**

**Race and Gender**

The Massachusetts police chief respondents ranged in age from 31 years old to 65 years of age. The overwhelming number of chiefs were white (98%) with one African American chief responding. An overwhelming number of the chiefs were male (94%) compared to female chiefs (6%). This finding was disappointing in that Massachusetts is a state rich in diversity and one might hope that the chiefs would more appropriately be more varied in race and gender. In 1990, women police officers (114,000) accounted for 8 percent of sworn police personnel in the United States. Between 1980 and 1990, the number of women police officers tripled. Since 1990, the number of women entering the policing profession has slowed with women increasing in numbers by only 5.3 percent by 1999. A study by the IACP found that a number of issues face women police officers or potential female prospects:

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179 One respondent chose not to self-identify race.

- Departments lack recruiting strategies to reach women.
- Gender discrimination impacts a female’s rise in the ranks and the “glass ceiling” effectively precludes promotion.
- Continued sexual harassment negatively impacts a woman’s ability on the job.
- Departments lack mentoring programs for women officers.\textsuperscript{181}

Minority officers are currently represented in departments commensurate with their population share. However, they face unique challenges in the policing world. Many black citizens resent black officers and the officers suffer may suffer from a double marginality in that their white colleagues do not trust them and they are viewed as traitors to the black citizens. The National Black Police Association and the National Organization for Black Law Enforcement Executives were both established to promote minority hiring, create innovative ways to interact with the community and provide an organization wherein black officers can learn and mentor one another. \textsuperscript{182}

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Hispanic officers are predominantly located in New Mexico, Texas and California. No other agency outside of this geographic area reported having more than ten percent of its force Hispanic. \textsuperscript{183} Carter and Sapp contend that because a college education is still disproportionately inaccessible to


blacks and Hispanics, a requirement that a college degree be possessed by recruits may be a deterrent to hiring.\textsuperscript{184}

**Educational Background**

The educational background of the respondents was estimable. The Massachusetts police chiefs are highly educated, with 84 percent of the respondents possessing a bachelor’s degree, and, of particular note, approximately 68% of the respondents’ possess a graduate degree (See Table 1. Educational Background of Chiefs). The high percentage of college educated respondents may be related to the Police Career Incentive Pay Program Statute, otherwise known as the “Quinn Bill.” M.G.L. c. 41, section 108L, provides additional salary increases for officers who have earned an associate degree, a bachelor’s degree or a graduate degree. The more educated the police officer, the higher the salary remuneration. The statute was enacted in 1970 to provide an incentive to police officers to earn college degrees. Each city or town in Massachusetts has the option of adopting this provision. The degree qualifications are limited to associate or baccalaureate programs in law enforcement; a law degree qualifies as a graduate degree. Lamentably, the state of Massachusetts has eviscerated the program because of the state’s fiscal woes and proponents of the Quinn Bill fear that it may not be revived. The answer is to require all recruits to possess a college degree. Our respondents were almost evenly split as to whether recruits should possess an associate or bachelor degree. Forty-five percent felt an associate degree should be a requirement, while forty-six percent of the respondents felt a bachelor degree should be required.

Table 1. Educational Background of Chiefs.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school diploma</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associates degree</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors degree</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate degree</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*4 Missing cases

A college education, especially as the role of police officer continues to change, can only aid the officer in their ability to negotiate and work with the community. Scott concludes that officers should possess a four-year degree for employment as a police officer. Wilson measured the relationship between college educated police and citizen complaints and discovered after a review of ten years of citizen complaints from the files of 500 police officers, utilizing variables of age, gender, years on the job, ethnicity and a

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college education, certain levels of college education correlated favorably with the logging of fewer citizen complaints.\footnote{Wilson, H. (1999). Post-secondary education of the police officer and its effect on the frequency of citizen complaints. \textit{Journal of California Law Enforcement}, 33, pp. 3-10.}

In research performed by Sapp, Carter and Stephens for PERF, approximately fourteen percent of the agencies that responded required any college education, and less than one percent required a bachelor’s degree.\footnote{Sapp, A. Carter, D. and Stephens, D. (1988). Higher education as a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOG) for police: A blueprint. \textit{American Journal}, 7, pp. 15-59.} Further research revealed that police executives would like to see a broader curriculum than simply the criminal justice system for their officers. There was a feeling that the criminal justice curriculum was too narrow in ideology and there was a desire for a broader curriculum that included time given to multicultural issues and the social issues officers faced in their job.\footnote{Sapp, A. D., Carter, D. and Stephens, D. (1989). Police chiefs: CJ curricula inconsistent with contemporary police needs. \textit{ACJS Today}, 7, p. 1.}

\textit{Respondent’s History as Chief}

Question #5 and Question #6 in the survey (See Appendix A: \textit{Massachusetts Chief of Police Questionnaire}) sought to identify how long the respondents had held their positions as chief in the department and the follow-up question sought to elicit what their rank had been prior to their becoming chief. The majority of the respondents had served between one and five years as police chief. Prior to becoming chief, the majority of respondents held either the rank of captain, lieutenant or sergeant prior to their appointment or selection as police chief. Hiring a chief without prior police experience is
a rarity though it has occurred.\textsuperscript{189} The selection of the police chief often fulfills the political objectives of a mayor, city council or select board. This political reaching satisfies a temporary political objective often with little thought given to the competence of the selected chief.\textsuperscript{190} The educational requirements of chief are varied from a high school graduate to a graduate degree and attendance at one of the noteworthy police management schools like the FBI Academy or the Southern Police Institute.\textsuperscript{191}

The average length of tenure for a police chief is five years.\textsuperscript{192} Police chiefs without civil service protection are at the whim and call of their local select boards, city councils, mayor or town manager. An anecdote will suffice. A small town chief who was hired as chief by the select board was surprised at the level of involvement by one select board member. The board member had a police scanner and more often than not would show up at the scene, giving the new chief advice on how to do his job. The chief walks a fine line between asking the fellow to mind his own business and losing the support of one of the more vocal members of the select board.

Many chiefs, without civil service, are smart enough to negotiate that if they are not rehired they will be able to resume the position they vacated when they became chief. Whisenand believes that the 2000s will see police leadership belonging to those leaders


who are “passionate, driven team leaders-those people who not only have enormous amounts of energy but also those who can energize those whom they lead.” In order to keep their contracts, police chiefs have to develop the political and public relation skills needed to maintain the position.

Goldstein had concluded that the quality of police leadership in this country was poor. He concluded that:

The costs of having made inadequate provision for police leadership are plainly apparent as one views the overall status of policing in the United States. Many police agencies tend to drift from day to day. They respond excessively to outside pressures; they resort to temporary expedients; they take comfort in technical achievements over substantive accomplishments; their internal procedures become stagnant, cumbersome, and inefficient; and they seem incapable of responding innovatively to new demands and new requirements.

The harshness of this evaluation is somewhat ameliorated by the priority policing executives have given the issue of leadership and leadership training. The former chief of the Houston and New York police departments, Lee Brown, encourage police chiefs to view their positions as “major municipal policymakers.” This view forces police chiefs to forget their fiefdoms and involve him or herself in the workings of the

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community versus building their own empires. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) and the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) spend time and energy on the leadership issue and its development. The IACP felt the following were imperative courses of action for chiefs to meet the demands of the 21st century: bring passion to the job, understand yourself and your vision, make customer satisfaction a priority, and provide leadership for transforming the department. The IACP encouraged team building and positive communication skills.\textsuperscript{196} PERF as we have seen in their work with the \textit{Good to Great} principles has made leadership development a priority. The issue for the future is how to best train chiefs and what direction that change will include – is a chief with management skills more valuable than a chief with policing skills? Where should those developing leadership skills focus? Bernard Bass most recently in his transformational leadership theory added a component addressing ethics. Also the recent decade has seen a blurring of the old territorial lines between federal and state law enforcement agencies. The ability to reach out and cooperate and coordinate with other agencies are skills that prospective leaders must develop. No longer can chiefs focus only on their own departments and the internal issues that can consume police chiefs.

\textbf{Size and Type of Department}

The majority of the respondents were from small departments; small departments were categorized as less than fifty sworn personnel. A medium department was categorized as fifty to five hundred sworn personnel. The majority of the respondents were from local departments versus state, county, campus or other (See Figure 1. Size of

Department). Civilians employed by the respondent’s department ranged from a low of no civilians to a high of 134 civilians employed at the respondent’s department.

Figure 1. Size of Department.

We turn now to the questions of whether the respondents’ position is a civil service position and the respondents’ answers as to who can best effectuate change – those coming up the ranks or someone hired from outside the department.
CHAPTER 5: CIVIL SERVICE STATUS FOR CHIEFS

This chapter examines the respondents’ answers relative to their status as civil service chiefs or non-civil service chiefs and reviews their narrative responses as to whether the chief’s position should remain or be removed from civil service. The civil service system is used in most American policing agencies. It is based on the rational-legal formal structure that contributed to the professionalization of policing agencies through a system of rank, published policy and procedure and the removal of political influence from hiring and promotion. Civil service systems reinforce the quasi-military rank structures of police agencies. They do this by upholding the rank-in-person system. For example, an officer who makes the rank of sergeant in a civil service system holds that rank permanently unless promoted again. Demotions in civil service are rare. In private industry, a person may hold a title but may lose it if demoted or reassigned.

The civil service system removes flexibility from management in hiring and promotional decisions. This curtails the police chief’s decision-making power over who he or she will promote or demote. A chief cannot hire, fire or promote his staff at will. Critics of the civil service system contend that the system “...limits the opportunities and incentives for individual officers. Officers cannot earn financial bonuses or receive rapid promotions for exceptional performance.... [t]he provisions for discipline make it extremely difficult for chiefs to terminate bad officers, or even to discipline officers for poor performance.” Management can spend literally years litigating promotional or


termination decisions in front of the civil service boards. The candidate who has been bypassed, who might have scored highest on the list, but for other reasons is unsuitable, can litigate the bypass. This can be a drain on resources, tax manpower concerns and lead to factions developing in the department around the chief’s decision relative to terminations or promotions.

Respondents Civil Service Status

Sixty-three percent of the respondents did not have civil service status in their positions as chief; thirty-four percent of the respondents did have civil service status in their position as chief and three percent provided a written response. (See Table 2. Civil Service Status of Chief).

When queried as to whether the chief’s position should remain in civil service or be removed from civil service, forty-one percent believed the chief’s position should be removed from civil service while thirty-three percent believed the chief’s position should remain in civil service (See Table 3. Chief’s Position: Remain or Remove from Civil Service). Twenty-four percent authored a narrative response to the issue and two respondents did not provide an answer.

Table 2. Civil Service Status of Chiefs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative Response</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Chief’s Position: Remain or Remove From Civil Service.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Remain</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remove</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*2 missing cases

Twenty-four respondents authored a narrative response to the issue as to whether the chief’s position should be removed or remain in civil service. The majority of written answers favored the removal of the chief’s position from civil service. Here are some of the responses favoring removal:
“I have changed my position over the years. I used to think that the chiefs’
needed civil service protection but now I see that the cities and towns need
protection from bad chiefs they cannot get rid of.”

“Civil service should be abandoned so as to ensure employees are hired and
retained on their own merit not where they appear on a list.”

“Civil service is a terrible system and very outdated. That said, the chief’s do
need employment contracts so that they aren’t unduly left to the political will
of the appointing authority” (Female chief without civil service status).

“Civil service should be abolished and a meritocracy established somewhat
like the real world.”

“That’s a difficult question. There are pros and cons to both, but I guess in the
long run the community is best served by a non-civil service chief.”

Here is a sampling of answers from the chief’s who wrote that the chief’s position
should remain in civil service:

“In order to provide a check and balance against political interference, especially
in my community, it needs to remain in civil service.”

“The position should remain in civil service to avoid political interference and
repercussions, but the promotional process needs to be redesigned to allow
greater choice on the part of municipal leaders” (This police chief is in a civil
service position, governs a medium sized department and has been chief for
four years).

The civil service question as to whether the chief’s position should remain or be
removed from civil service was cross-tabulated with department size (See Figure 2.
Department Size and Should the Position Remain in Civil Service). The respondents
favor removal of the chief’s position from civil service but the chief’s in the smaller
departments are more inclined to have a contract chief.

![Figure 2. Department Size Cross-tabulated with Removing Chief’s Position from Civil Service.](image-url)
The same question, remain in civil service or remove from civil service, was cross-tabulated with the chief’s educational background (See Figure 3. Chief’s Educational Background and Should the Position Remain in Civil Service). The variance seems to be with chief’s who hold a high school diploma and they favor the position remaining in civil service; the other groups favor the removal of the chief’s position from civil service.

**Figure 3. Chief’s Educational Background and Should the Position Remain in Civil Service.**
Some police departments, year after year, simply utilize the civil service rolls and are satisfied with whoever places highest on the state issued civil service list. Little thought is given as to whether there might be a better way to select police recruits who are more representative of the community, have skills that will contribute to the overall improvement of the department or share the mission of the particular department. The chiefs may not view management principles as important therefore they are not looking for recruits who can problem solve and be sound decision makers.

The reality of police work is that many individuals view the role as simply ‘crime fighter’ while a good deal of the job is responding to individuals in distress. Simply, most officers are called upon to be peace officers rather than law enforcement officers. The police are organized generally into four categories: firstline supervisors, middle managers, top managers and chief executives. The task of the chief has been defined as “… to enunciate goals, plan programs, develop organizations and staff them for program execution; carry out programming and budgetary responsibilities; evolve essential interrelationships, communication channels, work habits, and organizational doctrine which will convert the available manpower into a team; institute the organization’s control and coordination mechanisms; steer the agency’s operations; and maintain external contacts.”

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200 Ibid., p. 70.

The dilemma facing police departments is what skills or traits do they value in their police chief? Are management skills more important or on par with interpersonal skills? Should the role of police leader be held by an individual with extensive street skills or someone who has years of supervisory experience? The answers to these questions are further complicated by the job itself. The police chief answers to not only his organization but to the myriad of agencies that interact with the police department on a daily basis.

The real issue is whether the civil service system provides us with the best leaders. The leadership issue has, and will remain at the fore on the public policy agenda. It resonated after the events of 9/11 and is being debated and analyzed on the global stage. The role of the police chief is an extremely demanding one and the erosion between state and federal boundaries has broadened the chief’s focus. Technology and increased media attention to crime have added to the pressures of the chiefs’ job. The police chief must possess the talent to lead, motivate and train the patrol officers moving up the ranks. This training and education of the officers must be done with increasingly smaller budgets and with the knowledge that lawsuits against municipalities and police departments continue to rise and show no signs of abating. Police chiefs require the intellectual acuity to respond with alacrity when presented with a crisis.

Who can Best Effectuate Change – and Insider or an Outsider?

The respondents were also asked, in their opinion, who could best effectuate change in the department – a chief who is hired from outside the department or a chief who came up the ranks of the department. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents felt a
chief who was hired from outside the department could best effectuate change within the department. Forty-eight percent of the respondents believed a chief who came up through the ranks could best effectuate change within the department (See Figure 2. Who could best effect change?). Fully, twenty-four percent of the respondents chose to provide a written explanation for this answer. The majority of the respondents who provided a narrative answer felt that a chief who came up from the ranks would be the best candidate to effectuate change in a department.
Police chiefs range from the “good old boys” who have climbed up the ranks in their years with the department to highly educated, professional managers.\textsuperscript{202} The traditional avenue to chief is to climb through the ranks though there is increased interest in hiring from outside the agency to secure a police chief who is a professional manager. An outside hire has a number of advantages – the outsider arrives with new ideas and hopefully the political savvy on how to institute those ideas. The new arrival, in all likelihood, has performed admirably at his or her prior department and has the statistics

to back it up. The new arrival is a highly trained manager who has previously met with resistance and prevailed. The new arrival is not bound by historic personality conflicts, or bound by ‘that’s the way it has always been done.’ The flip side of that same coin is that the new arrival must quickly learn the political landscape. 203

Here are some of the responses from the chiefs who concluded that police chiefs from outside the department could best effectuate change:

“Serious corruption problems are often better handled by an outsider who can come in and sweep problems away.”

“A chief coming in from outside is generally in a much better position to institute change where and when change is needed. He/she is generally free from political interference, at least during the honeymoon, as the individual was hired to run a functioning department or change a troubled department. Even appointing authorities try to avoid interference for the first few months least they be blamed for the person’s failure. Department members are also usually more accepting of an outsider as the new chief will not be hampered by prior relationships whether good or bad.”

The police chiefs who cited chiefs coming up through the ranks as being best able to effectuate change, offered the following in support of their conclusion:

“The in-house chief can see the dysfunction as he heads through the ranks.”

“Knows the folklore, history, dynamics, personnel of the organization and has time to study the needs. Outsider usually brings a pre-packaged model from a think tank.”

“There is a learning curve that is long in Massachusetts as it is mostly a two-tier protected work environment, i.e., civil service and unions.”

“In Massachusetts, the environment is difficult for outsiders in civil service departments.”

The ‘who could best effect change’ question was cross-tabulated with department size and no discernible difference was noted, i.e., the response did not change, the chiefs from smaller departments and medium sized departments still felt a chief coming up through the ranks could best effectuate change (See Figure 5.Who Would Best Effect Change and Department Size).

![Figure 5. Who Would Best Effect Change Cross-tabulated with Department Size.](image-url)
The same question was cross-tabulated with the chief’s educational background and who would best effectuate change – a chief hired from outside the department or one who moves up through the ranks (See Figure 6. Chief’s Educational Background and Who Would Best Effect Change).

![Chief's Educational Background and Who Would Best Effect Change](image)

Figure 6. Chief’s Educational Background Cross-tabulated with Who Would Best Effect Change.

The ‘who would best effect change’ query was cross-tabulated with whether the chief’s position should remain or be removed from civil service (See Figure 7. Who Would Best Effect Change and Should the Position Remain in Civil Service). The results show that those that favor a chief hired from outside the department remain in favor of removing the chief’s position from civil service. Those chiefs who believe a chief who
comes up from the ranks are the best to effectuate change are almost evenly split as to whether the chief’s position should be removed or remain in civil service.

![Graph showing the distribution of responses to the question of whether the chief's position should remain or be removed, with categories for outside the department, promoted within the ranks, missing, and the number of respondents for each category.]

**Figure 7.** Who Would Best Effect Change Cross-tabulated with Should the Chief’s Position Remain / Remove from Civil Service.

**Leadership Development**

The respondents were presented with the following question: I believe leadership training should begin:

- a.) At the academy
- b.) In college
- c.) On appointment to chief’s position
- d.) Once rank is attained
- e.) Other (explain)
A critical element of this survey was to determine when leadership training should begin. Fifty-one percent of the responding chiefs replied that leadership training should begin at the police academy. (See Table 4. Leadership Training: When to Begin).

Table 4. Leadership Training. When to Begin.

<table>
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<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At the Academy</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>In College</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Appointment to Chief’s position</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once rank is Obtained</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20.0</td>
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<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This response did not change when cross-tabulated with the size of the department or cross-tabulated with the respondent’s educational background (See Figure 8. Leadership Training Cross-Tabulated with Size of Department and Figure 9. Leadership Training Cross-Tabulated with Educational Background).
Figure 8. Leadership Training Cross-tabulated with Size of Department.
The response to this question is one of the most important in the survey because this overwhelming response is a mandate from the collective sagacity of the respondents. It would be prudent for public policy-makers to take note as they design their curriculum for new police officers entering the police academy and the development of leadership curriculum for police officers during their career. During these turbulent economic times it is a cost effective measure to utilize the police academy to develop police leaders. In Massachusetts, the educational incentive provided to officers known as the “Quinn Bill”
was recently gutted. M.G.L. c. 41, section 108L, provided, as stated earlier, additional salary increases for officers who earned an associate’s degree, a bachelor’s degree or a graduate degree. The more educated the police officer, the higher the salary remuneration. The money for educational incentives may never reappear. This makes leadership development at the police academy level all the more relevant and necessary for the 21st century training.

It was Herman Goldstein who suggested that our record of providing exemplary police chiefs was far from stellar. Goldstein noted that the 1931 Wickersham Commission concluded that incompetent police leadership was a major problem in policing. Goldstein felt that “The costs of having inadequate provision for police leadership are plainly apparent as one views the overall status of policing in the United States. Many police agencies tend to drift from day to day. They respond excessively to outside pressures; they resort to temporary expedients; they take comfort in technical achievements over substantive accomplishments; their internal procedures become stagnant, cumbersome, and inefficient; and they seem incapable of responding innovatively to new demands and new requirements.”

The chiefs’ response that leadership development should begin at the academy, one could surmise, is the result of hindsight. It is certainly a reasonable inference that if the chiefs could have portended at an early stage of their career that they would be in charge, they would have spent more time on developing the skills needed for effective leadership. The response indicates an acknowledgement that it is never too early to begin leadership development. “Unlike their predecessors, today’s police executives must assume

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circumstance-specific, multidimensional leadership roles, and empower and motivate subordinates who are much more qualified than their predecessors.”

Police leaders are further challenged by the “collapsing organizational hierarchies, matrix organization implementation, heavier caseloads, a broadening mission, shrinking resources, rapidly evolving administrative and managerial technologies, changing citizen and employee demographics and increasing reliance upon interagency responses to multi-agency issues.”

An ancillary argument for early leadership development is that the one variable to combat corruption in a department is leadership: the quality of management and supervision. In a corruption study conducted by Carl Klockars of thirty police departments, he found that regardless of the type of department they worked for the expectation of officers in a department with high organizational integrity was that they would be severely sanctioned if they were caught whereas the officers from departments

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206 Ibid., p. 63.

Note: A matrix structure is based on multiple support systems and authority relationships whereby some employees report to two superiors rather than one, a clear contradiction of the usual one way chain of command employed in police departments. By way of example, a recent arson required investigators to respond to their commander as well as the Joint Task Force on Terrorism because the suspect was here illegally from Pakistan. Another common example is drug task forces wherein officers must report to the task force supervisor as well as their immediate supervisor in their department. This matrix structure is becoming increasingly common as state and federal agencies continue to rely on each other and share information with each other much more than they did in the past.
that scored low on organizational integrity did not have that concern. And, further, the officers from the departments with high organizational integrity believed that officers engaging in corrupt acts should be punished severely.\textsuperscript{207}

\textbf{What Type of Formal Education Should Members of Law Enforcement Possess?}

At this stage in American policing, there are no national minimum standards for either departments or police personnel. Additionally, many states do not require any continuing education after the initial recruit training.\textsuperscript{208} And, while there has been emphasis on higher education for the police, there is no clear consensus on what the college curriculum should include. “Dedication to the attainment of professional standards exists among some police executives, is given lip service by some others, and it totally lacking among some.”\textsuperscript{209} A factor in the importance given to professionalism seems to be the educational level of the chief. Crank and his colleagues discovered that “The most salient background characteristic of chiefs is their level of formal education. Education has been described as the centerpiece of professionalization. Professionalized police agencies place proportionally more emphasis on formal education….”\textsuperscript{210}

In a bid for further professionalization of police departments, the process of accreditation was embraced. The accreditation process is administered by the


\textsuperscript{209} Ibid., p. 47.

Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA). Surprisingly, as of 2004, of the nearly 18,000 law enforcement agencies in the country, there were approximately 500 departments that were accredited. While it must be pointed out that accreditation is a voluntary process and there is no penalty for not being accredited, the low number of accredited departments is significant.211

Given the exemplary educational standards of the respondents one would expect that their answer would be an overwhelming preference for a bachelor’s degree. Their response, in fact, was almost evenly divided between a preference for an associate’s degree and a bachelor’s degree. Forty-five percent of the respondents preferred an associate’s degree and forty-six percent preferred a bachelor’s degree. Five percent preferred a high school diploma. Four respondents did not file a response (See Table 5. Preferred Educational Level).

An insightful observation was penned by one chief when commenting on the educational background of his department, “Eighty percent of my officers now have a minimum bachelor’s degree, unfortunately they all majored in criminal justice. I wish we could … attract candidates who might have a degree in philosophy, economics, history or something other than criminal justice. I think it would make for a more well rounded department. If you are intelligent, motivated and sincerely committed to making a difference, we can teach you all the cop stuff. It has always bothered me that we will pay an educational stipend to someone with an associate’s degree in criminal justice from Bunker Hill Community College but not offer the same to someone with a Bachelor’s degree in sociology from Columbia.”

The aforementioned sentiment is not unique to that police chief, it was expressed by many of the respondents in their written responses. In short, the chiefs are saying that the law enforcement field would be well served with a diversely educated work force, for
example, the addition of forensic accountants for white-collar investigations or mechanical engineers for accident reconstruction. In order to better serve communities and move in time with technological advances, the police forces should reflect this reality with diversification in educational backgrounds of recruits.

It is estimated that “10 percent of all police agencies mandate college degree candidates and 7% mandate community college degrees.”\textsuperscript{212} One author has concluded that a four-year degree should be an entry requirement for police officers.\textsuperscript{213} This conclusion had been previously recommended by the National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for the Police.\textsuperscript{214} This seemingly straightforward suggestion has been the subject of contention since higher education was recommended by the national commission for the police more than fifty years ago. Some have questioned the need for police officers to have a higher education, while others, after examining the early curriculum from the early 1970’s found it to be nothing more than “war stories” and vocational training.\textsuperscript{215}

There has been intellectual growth in the criminal justice curriculum since the 1980’s. A recent study of police executives found that while, generally, the criminal justice curriculum did an admirable job of training students in policing and the criminal justice system the curriculum was “narrow in ideology.” The respondents wanted a


curriculum that involved a broad view of divergent cultures and a curriculum that addressed the particular social issues confronting the police. The consensus was that a liberal arts curriculum should go hand in hand with the criminal justice major. Interestingly, the police respondents were upset that the college and universities rarely consulted policing agencies to garner their input as to what should be contained in the college curriculum.

Others have argued that there is not enough conclusive evidence to require that police officers possess a college degree. Other studies found that those with college degrees are better at communicating with the public, have better problem-solving abilities and have fewer civilian complaints filed against them.

**Satisfied or Dissatisfied with the Education Level of Their Officers**

The chiefs were asked if they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the level of educational attainment of their officers. Fifty-eight percent of the chiefs were satisfied with the educational attainment of their personnel. Twenty-five percent indicated that they were dissatisfied with the educational level of the officers. Fourteen percent of the respondents indicated they were ‘somewhat’ satisfied with the educational attainment of their department and three percent filed a written response (See Figure 10, Education and Training). Herewith are some of those responses:

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“Most of my officers have a college education thanks to the Quinn Bill.”

“Quite satisfied. Educational incentives for earned degrees has led to much better educated officers at all levels.”

“Somewhat satisfied. Half of the members of the department have college degrees (approximately 45 members). I would like to see all the members of the department obtain some type of college degree.”

Figure 10. Education and Training.
There is no conclusive evidence that officers with college degrees perform better than those without college degrees. However, since 1967 every major commission on crime and violence has recommended a college education for police officers. The overall benefit to having college educated officers would seem to outweigh the naysayers, these benefits include, better communication with the public, better written reports, more effective performance, a professional attitude, faster promotions, more sensitivity to minority and ethnic groups and few disciplinary problems. Other studies have shown that college educated officers have better peer relationships, have fewer citizen complaints filed against them, are more likely to accept leadership roles, and are less authoritarian.

Ultimately the desire for education indicates a thirst for knowledge and exposes the learner to ideas he or she may not have considered. Curriculum development on the college and graduate level is critical. Colleges would do well to solicit the input of


221 Ibid., p. 7.


officers who have a graduate degree. The graduate curriculum should include courses in ethics and ethics training. Taking the reins of bureaucracy cannot be an easy feat, and as the role of the chief continues to expand and develop, graduate course curriculum should continue to adapt to the changes. There are leadership courses and seminars offered to police chiefs, for example, the IACP and the Federal Bureau of Investigation offer a wide range of programs, but the inclusion of leadership programs, in the college curriculums and at the police academy, addresses the issue at the incipient stage of the career development of members of law enforcement. The next chapter focuses on some of the issues the police chiefs grapple with in the day to day management of their departments.
CHAPTER 6: UNIONS, POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND TECHNOLOGY

When asked what type of leader could effectuate the most change, one respondent replied that a chief who had come up from the ranks would be the best one to effectuate change because “There is a learning curve that is long in Massachusetts as it is mostly a two-tier protected work environment, i.e., civil service and unions.” Two questions dovetailed with one another in the survey, one question asked whether unions helped or hindered the chief in his or her job. The second question asked whether members of the department were receptive to new policy initiatives. In those that filed a narrative response, the biggest reason for failure to implement a policy was the union. First, we will look at the history of the unionization of police departments and follow with the respondents sentiments about unions in their departments. 226

Labor Unions: Help or Hinderance?

The state of Massachusetts is one of the most unionized law enforcement states. Public sector employees in Massachusetts have civil service protection as well as the contractual guarantees bargained for in collective bargaining agreements. M.G. L. c. 31, section 41, provides that no civil service employee can be suspended or terminated absent “just cause.”

“What except for just cause … a tenured employee shall not be discharged, removed, suspended for a period of more than five days, laid off, transferred from his position without his written consent if he has served as a tenured employee

226 It must be noted that though I have worked as a labor lawyer representing police officers in the past, my opinion about unions has no bearing on this research.
since 1968, lowered in rank, or compensation without his written consent, nor his position be abolished.”

“Just cause” has been defined as “substantial misconduct which adversely affects the public interest by impairing the efficiency of public service.”\(^ {227}\) If there is a conflict between the collective bargaining agreement and civil service law, civil service law will trump the collective bargaining agreement. Employees who challenge disciplinary action by the appointing authority must elect whether to pursue their grievance through the process outlined in the collective bargaining agreement or take their case to the Civil Service Commission. Therefore, the employer must show “just cause” if it moves to terminate an employee or the employee can litigate the termination through the collective bargaining process. This affords the police a panoply of rights relative to their job security as civil service employees and as union members.

The first efforts to unionize police began after WWI by the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The Boston police commissioner refused to recognize the union and on September 9, 1919 the Boston police went on a three day strike that left the city reeling from the violence. Massachusetts Governor Calvin Coolidge stated at the time, “There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime.”\(^ {228}\) In the 1950’s and 1960’s labor unions for the police made great strides. During this time period the IACP, representing the voice of the police executive, urged its membership to resist all efforts by the rank and file to unionize. By early 1970’s police unions were strong and


vocal voices for their membership.\textsuperscript{229} Today, nearly three-fourths of all American police officers are union members.\textsuperscript{230} Police unions in Massachusetts exert a tremendous amount of political control. Police unions seek out and are sought out by politicians in their bid for political office; this occurs on the local, state and national level. Union officers encourage the rank and file to hold signs, contribute financially to politicians and take out ads to support their candidates. This potent combination of unions and politicians can aid or weaken the police chief.

By 1987, the majority of states allowed police unions to engage in collective bargaining. Collective bargaining is a process where the union and police management must sit down at the bargaining table and negotiate a written contract relative to pay, holidays, sick time, grievance procedures and the like. The collective bargaining agreements or contracts usually run in duration from one to three years. If the police chief wants to initiate a new policy or change an existing one contained in the collective bargaining agreement, he or she must sit down with the union and bargain the new terms. Collective bargaining is often an adversarial process with each side unwilling to give up what it has gained. Bargaining must be done in good faith by both sides. It is not unusual for both management and labor to spend a year bargaining for a new contract. If the parties cannot reach an agreement, recourse may be had to an arbitrator. I have sat at the bargaining table and can attest to the contentious bargaining from both sides of the table. A lengthy bargaining session between the town and the union can result in lingering animosity if either side feels that they have been badly treated in the

\textsuperscript{229} Ibid., p. 135.

\textsuperscript{230} Ibid., p. 136.
negotiations. Bargaining in good faith is a mandate for both sides. Inexperienced municipal officials or zealous union members with a chip on their shoulder can prolong the process and can ultimately lead to unfavorable results for either side. The same mediation and negotiation skills so commonplace in law school curriculums are the same that have been suggested for police academy training.

Are unions good or bad for police departments? Some believe that unions have impeded progress relative to the sanitizing of corrupt departments. Others believe that unions fan racial tensions, promote the seniority system over a merit system and produce inefficiency.

The power of the police chief has been diminished by the presence of strong unions. The union, if powerful, can make the chief’s job much more difficult by countermanding initiatives that are proposed by the chief if the union decides to grieve the policy. Additionally, unions, have resisted efforts to improve community-police relations; one area of resistance has been to civilian oversight boards.

The majority of the respondents felt that unions hindered their progress as the chief administrator. Here are some of the responses from respondents with a negative attitude toward the union:

“Unions, if reasonable, can help solve minor disputes. They sometimes become too radical and turn small issues into major issues.”

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“Unions only help problem employees keep their jobs or minimize discipline.”

“Unions along with private details are the two biggest issues holding back professionalism in Massachusetts. Unions have squeezed all the benefits they can from contracts and now want to take over running the departments through irresponsible infringement into management rights that towns give away to keep harmony – leaving the chiefs in untenable positions.”

“Because of labor laws designed to force bargaining over key managerial issues the union has been able to effectively slow down or halt progressive chiefs from implementing key and needed changes.”

“We have no union. We cannot afford it as a town.”

“They (unions) hinder the chief in discipline cases, when they have an employee who needs to be separated from the department for serious offenses. Example of an officer that shows violent behavior in making arrests, officers will not testify, and the union will protect him. Department loses confidence from the public. Unions do protect the incompetence of the small number of officers that discredit the departments.”

Those respondents who had favorable sentiments about unions said the following:
“I am a former union president. I understand the need for the union and find that having mastered the process and fully understanding what the authority of the chief of police is, I don’t find that the union hinders my job. It is sometimes time consuming, but in the final analysis, the process usually allows a free exchange of information. This exchange of information is a positive thing.”

“I have had very effective relationships with unions in my department over the years but have also experienced adversarial unions as well. When you can develop a collaborative relationship with a union there are a lot of progressive and mutually beneficial initiatives that can be achieved. When it becomes adversarial then you are both tied up expending valuable time, energy and resources on grievances, arbitration and other litigation.”

“I don’t consider them a hindrance even when they oppose something I want to do. The labor/management relationship, by its nature is very beneficial to helping implement effective policing strategies.”

**Competing with Private Security**

If the cities and towns of Massachusetts do not recover quickly from the tough economic times that currently beset it, collective bargaining will be protracted and vociferous as the need for concessions will most assuredly continue to make itself felt at the bargaining table. Police departments will continue to compete with private security
firms as the use of private security continues to rise. There are twice as many private police as public police. The growth of private security firms has been in business settings, industrial and residential settings. There has been a huge growth in gated communities throughout the country. In housing projects, private police are responsible for security.

According to Nasser:

“In some low-income housing projects here [Los Angeles], the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development pays for security guards to protect residents from gang warfare. New York city uses private guards to police schools. Miami hires rent-a-cops to patrol its metro-rail system…. In Kansas City, Missouri, police want to contract private companies to pick up twenty-two jobs done by the department. Already they’ve replaced civilian officers at school crossings and may soon be hired to respond to security alarm calls.”

The rise in the use of private security raises issues of “class, equality and the gap between the rich and poor.” Manning has cautioned that the idea that policing is a public good like education is being replaced “by the notion that policing can be made profitable and competitive.” This argument is bolstered when one examines the rise of

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private for-profit prisons. The private for-profit prisons operate like hotels, the more rooms that are filled the more money they make. Manning’s concern is that this economic model will benefit the moneyed class and give short shrift to the economically disadvantaged. As he points out, the police are now competing with the private security firms and shrinking urban dollars. In summary, as towns and cities continue to grapple with leaner budgets, unions may have to concede ground or see the use of private security and civilians vigorously embraced by municipal planners seeking answers to tough fiscal issues.

**Receptive to Policy Initiatives**

The Massachusetts chiefs were asked if members of their department were receptive to new policy initiatives. Fifty-nine percent responded that members of their departments were receptive to new policy initiatives. Twenty-three percent responded that members of their department were not receptive to new policy initiatives and fourteen percent responded that members of their departments were ‘somewhat’ receptive to new policy initiatives (See Table 6. Receptive to Policy Initiatives). Many of the chiefs that responded faulted the union for the resistance to policy implementation. The respondents wrote the following relative to the unions:

“It took me two and a half years to revise my policy manual. The unions fought each and every word in each and every policy. They see everything as a potential threat. They do not seek partnership with the chief but only seek to tie their hands so that officers have no

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expectations placed upon them.”

“My department was working with a thirty year old manual and it took me two years to negotiate an updated manual.”

“Most are receptive to policy initiatives but the union regularly attempts to extort money for policy initiatives.”

“Unfortunately, if the initiative remotely affects a change in working conditions, the unions will demand an opportunity to impact or mid-term bargain which will stall the implementation of the policy.”

As stated previously, the average tenure for police chiefs is five years if the position is not civil service. The instability of the position and the relative brevity of an individual in the position cannot bode well for organizational change. The union can simply wait till the end of the chief’s contract and prolong policy implementation that is of importance to the chief. Strong and effective leaders, like the Ed Davis’s of the world can move their organization in a specific direction. Chiefs struggle to be effective and one way to achieve their goals is through policy initiatives. The chief has to answer to the mayor or select board, the men and women he works with look to the chief for direction, and the interest groups in the community, from neighborhood associations to organizations like Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) all look to the chief for
answers and policy directives. A chief with a brief tenure may have a negative impact on the organization in that there is little to be done in the area of long range planning, the turnover results in aborted policy implementation and reversals in policy, the chief is not in office long enough to develop sustainable relationships and establish a firm political power base. The selection of a new chief is an expensive and time-consuming process. If the chief is a team player, he or she will include others in the long range planning and in the implementation of policy, thereby, creating a lasting legacy if his or her career is short-lived. Getting the right people on the bus, for the chief executive, can make the goal of policy implementation a reality not an exercise in futility.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Missing case
Respondents’ Ranking of Job Issues in Order of Importance

Respondents were asked to rank, in order of importance, certain aspects of their job. There were five categories:

a.) Communication with other law enforcement agencies is an integral part of the chief's job.

b.) The chief of police must work with political groups in the community.

c.) The chief of police must work with government leaders in the community.

d.) Fulfillment of the expectations of citizens is an integral part of the chief’s job.

e.) The chief of police should be the most visible member of the police department in the community he/she serves.

The first question takes into account the erosion of boundaries between federal and state/local agencies. This question tests whether the chief is aware of the changing parameters of his or her position. The second question tests the political savvy of the chief and tests how important that issue is to the chief. The third question tests the political realities the chief must contend with on a day to day basis. The fourth question is a community policing question – the purpose is to test what order of importance the citizenry plays in the chief’s view of their role; this mirrors Lee Brown’s advice. The former chief of the Houston and New York City police departments chided chiefs for not
realizing that they are ‘major municipal policymakers’ and they need to get involved in programs that enhance the lives of the residents they serve. He believed that chiefs were missing opportunities if they did not build partnerships with government and businesses in their community. These chiefs need to see themselves as part of a public service team versus building their own fiefdoms. Police chiefs must work with groups in their communities to be successful.

The last question tests the chief’s comfort level with their own visibility in the community.

The results were tabulated and the overwhelming majority of the respondents felt that the “Fulfillment of the expectations of citizens is an integral part of the chief’s job” was the most important part of the chief’s job. Answers (c.) and (d.) were ranked second in order of importance. The least important was (a.) Communication with other law enforcement agencies is an integral part of the chief’s job, and, (b.) The chief of police must work with political groups in the community.

**Technology and the Future**

A critical part of the chief’s job is to secure the level of funding necessary for his or her department to be effective. This includes having sufficient purchasing power relative to keeping pace with technological updates. The effective chief executive requires the skill to persuade the city council or select board that these expenditures are warranted in these increasingly bleak fiscal times. The advances in technology are so swift that it demands constant oversight on the part of the chief to keep up with the speed of the change. Computer technology and advances in science have greatly improved and

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aided in the detection of suspects but it all comes at a price. Police departments rely daily on the accuracy and proficiency of state crime laboratories. Crime laboratories, among other things, test firearms, fingerprints, semen and blood, analyze materials for the presence of accelerants or explosive materials. The list goes on and on. The chiefs are chasing dollars that the district attorney’s offices desire, the public defenders have their own investigators and the state laboratories must fight the same pecuniary battle.

In 1994 Police Commissioner William Bratton introduced a program called Compstat (computerized statistics) in New York which allowed precinct commanders to keep track of the crimes committed in their locale and devise problem-solving methods for dealing with those crimes. There are four components to Compstat: 1.) the collection and review of crime data, 2.) the development of strategies, 3.) the deployment of available resources, and, 4.) evaluation.\textsuperscript{238} Compstat allows chiefs to keep a finger on the pulse of their neighborhoods and watch for upticks in crime, therefore, it is hoped there will be a monitoring of the situation and a speedy resolution of the issues.

The technological shifts in criminal justice continue to evolve. State laboratories are inundated with requests from police departments and district attorneys’ offices to expedite cases. Contrary to the television show CSI: Miami, detectives are not in the crime lab performing analysis, only chemists and those so trained are conducting the analysis. It can be difficult for state laboratories to keep trained chemists because they can make so much more money in private industry. Recently there have been some shocking disclosures relative to lab technicians falsifying data for their own self-

aggrandizement and this has resulted in dubious verdicts of guilt. Can national standards for crime laboratories be far behind?

The use of DNA evidence has changed the way a criminal case is processed; however, waiting for the DNA results can be lengthy. DNA profiles are kept in a database, the Combined DNA Index System (CODIS). This software program allows local, state and federal law enforcement agencies access to compare suspect DNA to DNA profiles of convicted individuals. This allows for inclusion and exclusion of suspects in criminal cases. These are just a few of the technological issues facing criminal justice practitioners.

The chain of custody issue is critical for both the prosecution and the defense but many police departments do not have written policies about how officers are to maintain and log evidence or if there are policies they are poorly enforced. Should all police departments have standards on how to retrieve, catalog and house evidence? Many small departments work out of offices with little technical accoutrements and, therefore, are woefully unprepared on how to deal with serious cases.

Willingness to utilize technological advances will continue to define the role of chief. The request from the department to the appointing authority for new technology is fraught with disappointment in some areas and cause for celebration in others. The wealthier towns are quick to approve any crime fighting device for their officers. Laptops in the cruisers were once a luxury and now are commonplace. The use of databases has increased from fingerprint and simple background inquiries to detailed

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database searches of public records. Facial recognition software is a tool that many industries are using and many police departments are investing in this tool. Most departments have TASERS and although their use is limited, it is an option for police officers. A recent three year study of TASER use in a large metropolitan area found that officers tended to use the TASER on violent suspects who were “emotionally disturbed.” The study deduced that the TASER was effective in these situations in that the suspect was quickly subdued in 85% of the cases and taken into custody without further problems. The authors conclude that further research is necessary before the utility of the TASER can be recommended.

Video equipment in cruisers is being used with more frequency to document police/citizen interaction. This may occur during road stops and suspected drunk driving stops. Convenience stores, banks and drugstore chains have upgraded their video systems so that the suspect’s face is crystal clear; this has improved the detection of criminals. The state of Massachusetts now requires that custodial interviews with suspects be audio and video-taped.

The proliferation of computer crimes has left many departments reeling because they do not have the manpower or the resources to contend with sophisticated check rings or computer crime. There is an increase in awareness and prosecution as credit card companies and banks work together to install their own law enforcement contacts for


police departments. White collar crime is labor intensive and requires a great deal of expertise in finding the paper trail. Law enforcement must grapple with “cyber bullying,” which has been defined as “when a person uses IT (information technology) to embarrass, harass, intimidate, threaten, or otherwise cause harm to individuals targeted for such abuse. Cyber bullying amounts to a technological extension of physical bullying.”

Law enforcement is taking advantage of GPS software to track suspect whereabouts via their cell phone. GPS software is used in creating a trail that the suspect used when, for example, a serial arsonist has traveled a great distance and torched houses along the way. However, it is a daily learning curve for members of law enforcement in keeping abreast of the legal requirements for preservation orders and search warrants directed to Internet providers and cell phone companies for computer related information.

Unfortunately, some departments lag far behind. The present budget crisis will not help matters and departments will have to do more with less technology in their department (See Figure 11. Technology). Fifty-three percent of the chiefs were satisfied with the technology in their departments, forty percent were dissatisfied, two respondents did not author a response and five respondents wrote a narrative response. Many of the respondents chose a ‘satisfied’ or ‘dissatisfied’ response and also authored a narrative response.

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Most of the narrative responses were negative, i.e., dissatisfied with the technology in their departments. One chief wrote, “Grants to purchase technology are gone – we are falling behind.” One chief expressed his frustration writing, “This state is so far behind other states in tech and training.” Another chief wrote, “Small department, less money from grants and programs doesn’t mean we don’t need the same tools as
bigger departments.” One chief honed in on the rise in computer crimes and his inability to deal with it because of the lack of access to technology when he wrote, “We are always behind in technology and the number one reason is money. It’s hard to convince our town leaders that we need computers and upgraded systems. Law enforcement has become very technological savvy in the last few years. Most departments do not have a clue on how to investigate the ongoing computer crimes.” Another chief sounded off when he wrote, “I am very frustrated with the lack of technology on the state and federal side. We have been talking about the fusion center for over three years now and they’re still spinning their wheels.”

One chief believed that his technological needs were thwarted by the union. “While my community was willing to promote the use of technology, it was done mostly by obtaining state and federal grants. The unions were successful in preventing important technology such as video cams and vehicle locators.”

**The Future of Technology in Policing**

The predictions for the future of technology in policing include the following: greater use of laptop computers and digital phone technology; enhanced use of computer software including voice-activated programs; routine use of computerized databases on criminal behavior, and satellite photography for investigations. Others predict that the model of policing may change to a business, rather than a quasi-military model of

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management, customized policing bases on the needs of the individual community, and
digital documentation of all encounters.  

        Chiefs will continue to ride the technological highway. In many instances, the
technological advances have been cost effective for law enforcement. The willingness of
the federal agencies to work with smaller departments has benefited these departments
both technologically and financially.

**Leadership Issues**

The respondents had the opportunity provide input about the availability of
leadership programs, rate their ability as a communicator and to answer specific
questions dealing with issues like diversity, gender issues, and the need for more minority
leaders. There were questions on the media and the availability of leadership training
programs. The ten questions regarding leadership training were posed using a Likert
scale, which calls for respondents to specify their level of agreement with a statement.
The scale provided six categories for response: strongly agree, agree somewhat, neither
agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat and strongly disagree.

The quality of training and education varies tremendously state by state and
across the nation. Some departments want to hire men and women with four year college
degrees and other departments barely focus on an educational requirement. Commission
after commission strongly suggests higher education results in a better officer on the
street but this advice is often not heeded or simply unknown. Recruit training at the
academy varies and is often lectures on search and seizure and criminal law and neglects

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ethics and integrity training, community policing and problem solving. A core issue is the lack of agreement as to what the police officer’s role should be and what the education and training of the police officer should entail. Do we continue to place an emphasis on community policing? If so, should the curriculum at the college level and the academies and in-service training reflect that reality with more courses on communication, working with a multicultural community, social skills and negotiation? Should the collaborative education model be a primary piece of the college curriculum for policing and a fundamental part of academy training? The discretion afforded police officers and that reality should involve an equal measure of training in mediation skills. Officers, from the outset as patrol officers, are called to domestic scenes, bar fights and the like. From the incipient stage the patrol officer should treat his or her skills as a negotiator as important as the skills of fighting crime.

The basic training curriculum at a police academy falls into the following categories. First, there is an introduction to the criminal justice system. The next component is an overview of criminal law and procedure. Law enforcement needs to have a basic understanding of the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Police officers use the Fourth Amendment on a daily basis and require an understanding of search and seizure law and its nuances. There are courses on patrol and investigation procedures. This focuses on evidence collection, arrest procedure, quelling situations and handling suspects. There may be a segment on testifying and report writing. The section on police administration educates the recruit on how the police department operates, chain of command and responsibility for knowing and understanding the department’s policy and procedure manual. A course on human
values offers a range of courses on “humanizing” the officer to the public that he or she will serve.  

This variance in training extends to the chief executive and the level of leadership training is remarkably divergent. I have spoken to chiefs at length who have had no leadership training and think it is a waste of time. A few chiefs that I spoke at length with embrace the notion that leaders are born, not made. Charisma does not a leader make. An individual can be charming and well-liked but that does not translate to possessing the traits of a true leader as outlined by Bernard Bass and Steve Collins. One study revealed that the popular model for traditional police departments is the authoritarian chief executive that believes crime will be solved in his or her community by the use of force. The other model, as evinced by Ed Davis in Lowell, is the chief executive who sagely analyzes his community and engages both the department and the community in problem-solving.

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Leadership Training

Let us examine the respondents’ answers relative to leadership issues. The first two questions focused on the availability of leadership training for chiefs in Massachusetts (See Table 7. Availability of Leadership Seminars) as well as availability of leadership training for upper-management (See Table 8. Availability of Leadership Seminars for Management Staff). The majority ‘agreed somewhat’ at 44% that there were leadership training seminars for chiefs. The respondents ‘agreed somewhat’ at 41% that there were leadership seminars available to upper-management.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*4 Missing cases.
Table 8. Availability of Leadership Seminars for Management Staff.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*5 Missing cases.

The third question focused on whether leadership training should be available to the rank and file in the police department (See Table 9. Should Leadership Training be Available to the Rank and File). This is the question that generated a strong consensus among the respondents that leadership training should be available to the rank and file. Some would suggest that leadership training should begin in the college curriculum. This curriculum would prepare those interested in policing career for their prospective leadership roles.
Table 9. Should Leadership Training Be Available to the Rank and File.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*4 Missing cases.

It is a reasonable inference that the chief executives who responded to this survey believed that leadership training beginning immediately would have been a valuable resource for them. The chiefs did favor the Massachusetts police chief associations spending more time on developing and presenting leadership programs (See Table 10. Should Massachusetts Chiefs’ Associations Spend More Time on Developing and Presenting Leadership Programs).
Table 10. Should Massachusetts Chiefs’ Associations Spend More Time Developing and Presenting Leadership Programs.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response.</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*4 Missing cases.

**Multicultural Groups and Outside Agencies**

On issues that were addressed to gauge the respondents’ attitudes toward multicultural issues the respondents rated the least interest in training relative to working with outside agencies. As the reader can discern, there was more interest in leadership training dealing with multicultural issues versus working with outside agencies. James S. Griffin, an African American, worked for forty-two years for the St. Paul, Minnesota police department; he served his last twelve years as deputy chief. He had this to say about the multicultural issues in policing. “There is an increased hostility against the
police in minority areas, where they are viewed as invaders in the community. Often, over fifty percent of white police officers do not live in the city. They come into the city only to work and then return to their homes. Therefore, they have very little interest in the city’s problems.”

Training and education in multicultural issues should be an essential part of a college curriculum as well as academy training. As part of the leadership component of the survey, the chiefs were asked if leadership training should devote more time to working with a diverse, multicultural community (See Table 11. Leadership Training Should Devote More Time to How to Work with a Diverse, Multicultural Community).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*6 Missing cases.

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As part of the same outreach questions embedded within the leadership aspect of the questionnaire, was the query as to whether leadership training should spend more time on how to work with outside agencies. The responses in the Strongly Agree category were not as plentiful as in other categories of agreement (See Table 12. Leadership Training Should Spend More Time on How to Work with Outside Agencies).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*8 Missing cases.
Female and Minority Leaders

Questions were posed to the chiefs relative to the need for more female leaders in law enforcement and the need for more minority leaders in law enforcement. The agreement that there was a need for more female leaders in law enforcement led these two categories by a small margin. (See Table 13. There is a Need for More Female Leaders in Law Enforcement and Table 14. There is a Need for More Minority Leaders in Law Enforcement).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*4 Missing cases.
Table 14. There is a Need for More Minority Leaders in Law Enforcement.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*6 Missing cases.

Policewomen and Minority Police Officers

Policewomen still struggle to find their place in this male dominated environment. A recent brilliant student of mine, a female, was hired by a small town department. She was subjected to caustic remarks, sexual innuendo and largely ostracized by male police supervisors. She owed the town three years because of her contract and academy training. After much consideration she moved across the country and is now with a very
large department that is recognized for its innovation and opportunity. She is now in a supportive and challenging environment. Initially, because of her youth and inexperience, she did not want to believe what was happening to her in the small department. She could not believe that she was the subject of sexual harassment. She would call me often and I would urge her to leave; I was afraid she would not. I could readily see that her colleagues were intimidated by her intelligence. Happily, she left the department never to return.

Research relative to policewomen reveals that the public support them and have a favorable attitude toward them but policemen, generally, do not have a favorable attitude toward policewomen. Supervisors in particular, it was discerned, have negative attitudes toward policewomen. A police chief had this comment to make about hiring policewomen, “I could see all kinds of problems … jealous wives, injuries …. It was a headache I didn’t want.” A bright spot relative to this issue is the appointment of Marion McGovern by the governor to be the first female colonel of the Massachusetts State Police. I heard a groundswell of support for her from male troopers. The same sentiment was echoed over and over, they felt she deserved to be there because she had various positions in her career and was well-rounded from patrol work to detective duties; she is articulate, smart and had a reputation as having an exemplary work ethic. Colonel McGovern will be a very public female face for women in law enforcement. Having a female colonel will serve as an inspiration to female members of law enforcement. She will be a role model for women in colleges, police academies and with

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members of the general public. However, with that being said, policing still does not have a representative number of women in its ranks although a recent longitudinal study revealed that there was a significant increase in the number of female police officers in the decade of the 1990’s. This study noted that the percentage of female officers increased nineteen percent during the course of the past decade from 5.12% in 1994 to 6.10% in 1999. The study noted that the National Center for Women and Policing found that in 2001 female officers accounted for 12.7% of sworn personnel in large agencies which was 3.4% higher than in 1990.\(^{251}\) The authors attributed the increase of female police personnel in the 1990s to the time when many police organizations were adopting the community policing paradigm. “The pursuit of workforce diversity has been a central feature of community policing in most instances with the hiring of women officers being a priority concern, because diversity in police agencies is also considered an important organizational change.”\(^{252}\) Other factors were noted in the survey as where the highest percentage of female police personnel were located, for example, the highest percentages of female officers are in larger cities. Police departments in the American South have a larger percentage of female officers. There are more white female officers in populations with high minority concentration of residents.\(^{253}\)


\(^{252}\) Ibid, p. 464.

\(^{253}\) Ibid., 467.
It has been suggested that male officers resent the presence of women in a role that they view as traditionally male. Women officers suffer stress in their roles as policewomen when they are viewed as tokens and are always trying to prove themselves.

One study found that women left the job because of the discrimination on the part of male officers and the lack of promotional opportunities. There is much that needs to be done to hire qualified women. Recruitment of female officers is still a challenge and keeping female officers once they have been hired is even more of a challenge. One study found that African American women, as police officers, suffer in departments in that they are ostracized by not only black officers but by white female police officers as well.

African Americans and Hispanics continue to see law enforcement as a career option. In local departments from 1987 to 1990 the percentage of African Americans increased from 9.3% to 10.5% and the percentage of Hispanic officers went from 4.5% to 5.2%. As with women, minority officers continue to battle the “glass ceiling.” Officers of all minority groups are underrepresented at levels above the patrol level.

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The Media

There is a certain antipathy in the relationship between the media and law enforcement. Most police departments do not have a person on staff to answer the media’s questions. New York, Chicago and Los Angeles do have full time staff that serves as liaisons between the department and the press. It behooves police executives to cultivate a good relationship with the press. The press can mold an opinion of the chief through its reporting. Given the political nature of the job and the high profile most chiefs have in their community the media can be a critical element for their future. The media can often slant police and community relations for the better or for worse. A content analysis was performed of the television tabloids and television entertainment talk shows and it revealed a pervasive attitude of negativity toward the police.258

The respondents did feel that leadership training should devote more time on how to work with the media (See Table 15. Leadership Training Should Spend More Time on How to Work with the Media).

Table 15. Leadership Training Should Spend More Time on How to Work with the Media.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>95</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*65 Missing cases.

The respondents were asked whether they believed that they were good communicators. Of the ten questions posed relative to leadership, this response was the highest in the Strongly Agree and Agree Somewhat category (See Table 16. I Believe I am a Good Communicator).
Communication skills are a critical part of the effective officer’s success because
pared down to its simplest denominator, policing is about people. Officers become
captivated by the job because it is rarely dull. Every day is a new event which involves
interaction with other human beings in mundane, dangerous or tragic situations. Officers
become addicted to the challenge of the job. And while communications skills courses
are becoming more popular as academy training fare, such training in “communications,
human relations, minority relations, analysis of encounters, and negotiating” are still
poorly attended unless the officers are required to be there.259 These skills are
increasingly in demand in the community policing model where officers are back walking


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>59.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Agree or Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*4 Missing cases.
a beat, holding community meetings and in the traditional sense of conducting interviews. Most importantly, these skills become relevant when the police are training their own.\textsuperscript{260}

**Attendance at Leadership Conferences**

The respondents were asked how many leadership conferences they had attended in the past five years (See Table 17. Number of Leadership Conferences Attended).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than 10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents were asked whether they believed that their upper-management staff had benefited from attendance at these leadership conferences. Most of the responses were positive and a sampling of those responses are as follows:

“Positive. Exposure to other leaders in similar and dissimilar departments, learning how to identify problems, dissect the problem and work with

others to solve the problem.”

“Helps them to begin to understand the need to transition from a paramilitary authoritative management to a more effective leadership style.”

“They develop a clearer understanding of the management function.”

“Opened their eyes as to what leadership can be.”

**Leadership Style**

The Massachusetts police chiefs were asked to identify their own leadership style and were provided the following potential responses: a.) top-down management; b.) democratic; c.) autocratic; d.) other (explain). There was a tie in the results with 38% identifying their leadership style as democratic and 38% identifying their style as ‘other.’ Only 15% of the respondents identified their leadership style as ‘top-down’ leadership. Many chose to provide a narrative response (See Figure 12. Leadership Styles).
Figure 12. Leadership Styles.

Following are some of the narrative responses:

“Democratic till I say no. I have a participatory management style and solicit their input but reserve the right to have the final say when required.”

A female chief authored the following:

“I lead based on two factors: 1.) Always make a decision based on the good of the “team” not the individual, and, 2.) I ask a lot of questions, comments and opinions from my rank and file. Sometimes I take their input, sometimes I don’t.”

“Combo of both – democratic when practical and autocratic when necessary.”
“Limited participatory.”

“It depends on what you are leading and who, size of department a big factor when determining the way in which you lead.”

“I’m a little of all plus a few others. I’m an advocate of situational management. There are some employees that you can supervise or lead by simple suggestion, there are others that you have to hit with a fence post just to get their attention.”

The authoritarian style of leadership has fallen into disfavor with the emphasis on community policing and a flattened hierarchical model. There is a reason to be sanguine about the respondents’ view that their leadership style is for the most part democratic. The top-down or authoritarian style, according to a recent study, is difficult for well-educated college graduates to accept. This authoritarian style can ruin morale and allows for little creativity or input on the part of employees. This is a layer of unnecessary stress that is piled on an already stressful occupation. Management styles have a great deal to do with the happiness and satisfaction of employees which in turn

can affect productivity and allegiance to the institution. When employees have little to say in organizational decision-making this can generate undue stress.\footnote{Greene, L. W. (1997). Uplifting resilient police families. \textit{Police Chief}, 64, p. 70.}

Leadership style is of paramount concern in every organization and critical in the policing of a community. Collins pointed out that he suspects that the best leaders may be found in the public sector because the individuals who are attracted to the public sector genuinely want to serve their constituents; money is a secondary consideration. The desire to help and the passion the individual brings to their chosen field can be squelched by the authoritarian leader.

\textit{Community Policing and Participatory Management}

One question asked the respondents whether community policing required participatory management. Ninety-one percent responded that ‘yes’ community policing does require participatory management. Four percent responded that it does not, four percent filed a written response and one respondent did not file an answer. Those responses, reveal at a minimum, that the respondents are familiar with the style of management that is required in a successful community policing model. If the department uses a community policing model than it can be hoped that a participatory model is attempted if not successfully implemented in all cases. As detailed elsewhere the community policing model has been espoused by many for the benefits it reaps not only for the community and its members but for the benefits that it reaps for the rank and file that can operate using more discretion in solving problems in the neighborhoods. It is a problem-solving model that builds communication and negotiation skills that are
developed in this philosophy. This team building approach should ideally build leadership skills.

**Job Stress**

I asked a friend why he had taken himself out of a prestigious unit of a particular department and was now at the police academy teaching. He replied that the last unattended death scene had finally ended his interest in the major crimes unit. He was summoned to the scene of a fourteen year old boy who had hung himself, and after cutting the boy down, the officer found that, for the first time, he didn’t have words of comfort for the parents. He knew it was time to leave. He told me he couldn’t deal with the death anymore. Police work is stressful. It is true that other jobs have an equal amount of stress but, according to Adams, for the police stress is the most common occupational hazard. The stress can exhibit itself through stress-related injuries.\(^{263}\)

Peak divided stressors originating within the police department and those originating outside the agency. The psychological stressors in the agency, particularly among the rank and file include: poor supervision, the absence of career development opportunities, inadequate reward system, offensive policies, offensive paperwork and poor equipment.\(^{264}\) The stressors identified by Peak that originated outside the agency include absence of career development opportunities; this was mentioned in the intra-organizational stressors but refers to the officers inability to move from one department to another owing to seniority rules and civil service rules. The remaining external

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stressors are jurisdictional isolation or professional jealously; this relates to the territorial disputes that often arise in law enforcement. The other outside stressors concern the criminal justice system and include a seemingly ineffective correctional system, the courts, distorted press accounts of police incidents, unfavorable minority and majority attitudes, derogatory remarks by neighbors and others and adverse government actions. The job itself can cause stress in the performance of police duties, namely, role conflict – officers must be many things to many people – social worker, minister, crime-fighter, and psychologist and so on. There is often shift scheduling whether it is working around the clock or being transferred back and forth from days to nights. This can wreak havoc on the body and well as family life and responsibilities. There is fear and danger on the job and a sense of uselessness and the inefficiency of referral agencies. This deals with the countless alcoholics and drug addicts that the officers tend to who just plunge back into that lifestyle no matter how many programs or inebriate centers they attend. Peak describes the absence of closure for officers where if a case is referred to the detective division they never know what happens to it. The other absence of closure comes when the department makes arrests they think will have an impact on crime, for example, the arrest of particular drug dealers and before they know it more drug dealers have taken their place. Stress comes from ‘people pain.’ Officers see human beings at their worst but they will not be able to cope if they become upset by death, grief or blood. And lastly, Peak identifies ‘consequences of actions’ as a stressor. Officers are familiar with personnel evaluations, citizen review boards, lawsuits and internal review boards,

265 Ibid., pp. 345-348.
however, very few officers receive a monthly or yearly pat on the back from the department or the community.\textsuperscript{266}

The lack of promotional opportunities in a police department has been cited as a stressor. “The organizational chart looks like a pyramid, with very little room at the top, indicating promotional opportunities occur only periodically and that one may have only a limited number of chances to be promoted during a twenty-year career. For those desiring to move up the rank ladder, every opportunity must be grabbed and pursued energetically. Yet only a few individuals, sometimes only one individual, will be selected for advancement. How are these few to be selected?”\textsuperscript{267} For many promotions, the winner is selected from a list after passing a written examination. Many examinations now have an oral component to the test. In many police agencies, officers believe that those with political juice will be the one chosen for the position. If the tests are objective, why in so many instances are the top scorers passed over for the promotion. There are many issues in the promotional context that make it a stressful event.\textsuperscript{268} Leaders need to be cognizant of the stress issues for the rank and file. There is an abundance of research on this issue and committed leaders should be mindful of how stress impacts their employees. A leader who is educated about these stressors can work to ameliorate stress for their employees. Team meetings and encouraging feedback from employees facilitates team building and allows employees a forum to vent and provide input.

\textsuperscript{266} Ibid., pp. 348-350.


\textsuperscript{268} Ibid., p. 188.
A recent study involved training police management in how to effectively deal with officers who were possibly vulnerable to stress and intervening in order to combat the inevitable absenteeism, misconduct or resignation. This training occurred in the Cleveland Police department and eighty-three police supervisors took part in the training. The goal of the study was to train the police supervisors in implementing a reward system that would remove the stigma of officers reaching out and seeking help. The training was conducted over a ten year period with the Cleveland Police department and the Partnership for a Safer Cleveland (PSC). Members of the U.S. Army – two social workers – worked with the team. They both brought extensive experience in dealing with combat related stress and both had been mental health responders to the September 11 terrorist attacks. Police management was trained on how to recognize stress in their officers. The goal was to provide early intervention to officers dealing with operational stress. Emphasis was placed on reducing the stigma associated with getting help for stress. As the authors note, a significant limitation of the study is that no formal quantitative evaluation instruments were utilized to measure the training or its outcomes.

**Most Frustrating Aspects of the Job**

The respondents were asked what the most frustrating aspects of their job were; a narrative response was called for. The two most frustrating aspects of the job that were consistently cited by the chiefs were unions and lack of monetary support.

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270 Ibid., p. 347.
Below are the respondents’ replies:

“Dealing with problem employees who have too much job protection.”

This from a chief in his mid-thirties who oversees a small department:

“You are all alone. The public/town leaders are constantly barking your ear off and your officers try to avoid you like you are the enemy.”

“Trying to change the police culture from within.”

“Politics, apathy by voters and lack of turnout at important budget meetings.”

This from a chief in a small town:

“The annual budget cycle, not the facts and figures but the hours upon hours of explaining what cops do to a group of civilians who have no concept of the rigors of the trade. Year after year of explaining why you need food for someone in lock-up, why you use so many disposable gloves, why the need for a new computer (the one I do my shopping on is eight years old and works just fine Chief), why do you need an overtime budget and so forth. Year after year it beats you down.”

This from a female chief:

“When changes are needed but implementing them is met with resistance and discord.”
“Routine administrative matters which distract my focus from goals of improvement in department. Lack of support and self-direction of staff.”

“Frustrated by strong labor unions.”

This from a chief of eighteen years:

“Politics and complacent supervisors.”

And, finally, this wry comment from a chief with three years experience:

“You don’t have enough time for me to get into it.”

**Most Satisfying Aspect of the Job**

Over ninety percent of those that took the survey filled out both questions – the most frustrating aspect of your job and the most satisfying part of your job. Herewith are some of those responses relative to the most satisfying part of being chief:

“Continuously improving the PD and reducing crime. It’s also very important to be part of the police community at large. This PD tended to be very parochial and rarely left the safety of the city borders. We’ve changed that and hopefully, that mindset will never return.”

This from a female chief:

“Interacting with the public and schools and providing programs to the public.”
This from a chief in a small town:

“I wouldn’t limit it to the satisfaction of being chief, but as how satisfying the whole job of policing is. Simply put I have the opportunity to have an enormous impact on someone’s life. Further, I often get to see the fruits of my labor, even if only giving someone directions to someone who is lost, there’s that look of gratitude on their face that makes it all worthwhile. I remember back when I was a patrol officer, now some thirty years ago, my partner and myself had changed a flat tire for some elderly fellow one evening. A few days later he came to the PD and dropped off an envelope for Wally and myself. Here I was expecting a $5.00 bill and when I opened the envelope I found a mass card for the living. This fellow was so grateful that he had a mass said for us. It obviously had an impact as I have related that story many, many times over the years. You know you must be doing a good job when someone asks God to thank you.”

“The pride I have for all the employees with whom I have the pleasure of working with who day in and day out are motivated by public service, are problem solvers, have effective communication skills, are adaptable and flexible and who are highly respected and supported by our community.”

“Seeing and nurturing young sergeants and lieutenants to step up and be effective, leaders, giving them more responsibility and empowering them to think outside the box.”
These last sentiments seem to bear out Collin’s supposition that many are attracted to policing because they want to do something for their community. They want a career where they can make a difference. The next chapter looks at the Springfield Police department and the difficulty they had with implementing suggestions made by two outside consultant groups asked to review the department. Both consultant groups noted that the lack of promotional opportunities was a stressor identified by the rank and file. Both consultant groups made recommendations about the chief’s position in civil service.
CHAPTER 7: CASE STUDY OF SPRINGFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT

The case study of the Springfield Police department is relevant because the department grappled with the same issues that are germane to this research – civil service and leadership. The case study covers the period from 1993 through 2005. In 1993, and in 2000, the city of Springfield hired two different consulting groups to evaluate the Springfield Police department. The consultant’s findings and the reaction to those findings is the subject of this case study.

The City of Springfield, Massachusetts

The city of Springfield, Massachusetts is located in the western part of the state. It is part of Hampden County which is comprised of twenty-three cities and towns; Springfield is the largest city in the county with approximately 152,000 residents. Springfield, along with most of western Massachusetts, has always felt removed from the rest of the state. Western Massachusetts is the area with the smallest population and feels like the poorer relation when compared to Boston and even Worcester. During political cycles the same refrain is heard over and over, the politicians really don’t pay attention to western Massachusetts. This leads to the inevitable and obligatory visit by whatever Boston politician is running for governor. Many in western Massachusetts feel that the Boston politicians have no knowledge of what happens west of Worcester and, more to the point, could care less.

The industrial revolution brought prosperity to the city. Manufacturing firms erected mills along the Connecticut River in Northampton, Holyoke and Springfield. The mills provided employment for countless immigrants, most notably, from Ireland, Italy
and Poland. African Americans from the south flocked to Springfield and the promise of jobs. Manufacturing has deserted Springfield and the city struggles to employ its citizenry. Springfield is a fairly poor city and in 2000, 23.1% of its population lived below the poverty line. The racial makeup of the city in 2000 was 1.9% Asian, 21% black, 27% Hispanic and 56.1% white. The unemployment rate in 2004 stood at 6.7%.

Foreclosures on homes are high and the city led the state in violent crime and homicides in 2004 and 2006. Firearm seizures in Springfield have remained consistently high. For the period 2001-2003, Springfield ranked second for number of firearms charges lodged against defendants in the district court. During this time period, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) ranked Springfield as the eighteenth most violent city in the country.

**The Wasserman Report**

In the early 1990’s the city of Springfield was attempting to implement the policy of community policing. To that end, the Springfield City Council hired Wasserman Associates of Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1992 to complete a study of the Springfield Police department. The six-month study was conducted by staff from Wasserman Associates. The president of Wasserman Associates, Robert Wasserman, guided the project and headed the policy discussions regarding the strategic planning of the study.²⁷¹

The methodology used by Wasserman Associates included interviews with Springfield residents from various neighborhoods, interviews with members of all ranks

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of the Springfield Police department, members of the Police Commission, and numerous public officials. At the time, then-chair of the Police Commission, Henry Thomas, said, “I’m hopeful that the community policing strategy that comes out of the Wasserman report will add additional fuel to motivate change…. We’re at an exciting crossroads as it relates to public safety. We can move into the 21st century or take outmoded policing, equipment and policies that don’t allow for the best we have to offer.”272 A city-appointed citizens group, Citizens for Effective Community Policing, had started discussing the possibility of the community policing approach being utilized by the Springfield Police department two years prior to the hiring of the Wasserman team.

The Wasserman study team focused on the leadership of the unions and garnered their perceptions about the department. Members of the study team actively observed the police department in operation and data was collected regarding the internal functioning of the police department.273 The study team presented their findings to the Mayor, Police Commission and the city council in March 1993.274 According to the Wasserman report dated April 1993, their findings generated much public and private discourse about the issues raised and the goal of community policing.275 The study team posited that “All across the United States, cities are discovering that community involvement is the crucial element in solving urban problems.”276 There had been discussion about the

274 Ibid., p. 9.
275 Ibid., p. 9.
276 Ibid., p. 10.
The six month Wasserman study also included interviews with Springfield residents from various neighborhoods, interviews with members of all ranks of the Springfield Police Department, members of the Police Commission and numerous interviews with public officials. The consultant’s argued that there must be collaboration between the Springfield Police Department and the community – a collaborative problem-solving - this skill was necessary for successful implementation of community policing.

Residents’ Concerns

The Wasserman study team divided their evaluations of residents’ concerns into perceptions about police service and perceptions of policing needs. The study team concluded from their interviews with community residents that they were concerned that police officers were more concerned about forwarding their own personal interests than tending to the needs of the community. The residents desired an efficient and professional response to average calls for service. The interviews with residents revealed that they wanted enforcement of minor ordinance violations. There was a perception among some residents that the police would overlook the small fish in order to catch the larger fish. This bothered residents because it indicated, to them, a lack of concern for the neighborhood and a dereliction of the officer’s duty to the neighborhood. A repetitive

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277 A citizen’s group, appointed by the city of Springfield had discussed the concept of community policing in 1990.

complaint from residents was that the Springfield Police Department did not enforce minor violations. If police do not even respond to reports of raucous parties that disturb the neighborhood then members of the community who are urging cooperation with the police lose their credibility.

Residents wanted officers to mirror the race and ethnicity of the neighborhoods they were patrolling and wanted consistency in the officers who patrolled the neighborhood. If the same officers were assigned to the same neighborhoods, the residents felt, then the officers would form attachments to the residents, interact with the residents and become an integral part of the neighborhood. Minority residents cited a disconnect between the officer’s knowledge of the neighborhood they were patrolling and its residents. Residents wanted the officers to know who in the community is trustworthy and who isn’t. Residents expressed a desire to work with the police to tackle issues in the city. In 1993, the city of Springfield was beset with unemployment problems, drug abuse and violent crime. Residents acknowledged the issues facing the community, and hence, the issues facing the police department were difficult, but residents expressed a desire to work with the police to tackle and solve these issues.

Community leaders and residents expressed concern for police officers in that the stress that they were facing needed to be addressed. Residents queried as to whether there were enough services at the disposal of officers who might become overwhelmed by the stress of their job. Residents approved of police officers attending public meetings. These meetings have included such issues as protection of the elderly. Individuals involved with the Springfield Action Commission, a drug outreach group, gave high praise to the Springfield Police Department’s Narcotics Unit. In particular, the
captain was repeatedly lauded for his “sensitivity” and “integrity”. This sentiment was unanimous. The D.A.R.E. program was given high marks by Springfield residents. One female resident touted the professionalism of the D.A.R.E. officers and the pleasant way the officers worked with the children. Residents extolled the efforts of the police department in emergency situations. The study team heard countless stories told as examples of police officers compassion and professionalism in the most dire of situations.

Relative to Springfield residents’ perception of crime in the city many said that they were more afraid then they had been a year earlier. Residents complained of visible crimes in neighborhoods from open air drug sales, to groups of youths disrupting the neighborhood and the overflow of patrons from bars and malls loitering on the street. Residents persistently complained that though they made 911 calls regarding disturbances or public drinking and drug sales the police did not respond. A repetitive complaint from residents was that the Springfield Police Department did not respond to public nuisance calls.

There was anecdotal evidence of some residents’ frustration with the police. One resident phoned the police about suspicious activity by kids in his neighborhood. Thereafter his walkway lights were destroyed; the homeowner viewed the destruction as retaliation for his phone call to the police. When the homeowner reported the destruction to the police, the officer told him “if he was afraid, he should just stay inside.” A persistent complaint echoed by many residents was that the police simply did not respond to calls for aid. The police just never showed up. Residents were dismayed that a call to
911 resulted in no response and some residents just resigned themselves that their 911 calls would go unheeded.

**Minority Residents’ Concerns**

Minority residents cited a disconnect between the officers knowledge of the neighborhood they were patrolling and its residents. Residents want the officers to know the community. Minority residents expressed a desire for officers from their race and ethnicity; they want officers who speak another language besides English. As the Wasserman report denotes, it was a female resident’s opinion that “… an officer’s trepidation going into a situation he or she cannot fully comprehend can be a greater problem than the incident itself; knowing a language helps the police to police.”

The Wasserman report in its conclusion about the community views of the police department underscores the residents desire to have officers visible in the neighborhood. Residents did express appreciation for the police officers that were present at community meetings and those that were offering solutions to neighborhood problems. Residents acknowledged how difficult the job of a police officer in Springfield was and they were aware of the frustration officers must feel when a suspect is released from the District Court after arraignment and back on the street within hours of their arrest.

The Wasserman Report details what residents perceive are policing needs. Relative to individual police officers - residents do not want officers looking slovenly and sloppily attired, they want a courteous and professional decorum on the part of their police officers. Residents wanted walking patrols and would love to see police officers view themselves as models for the youth. Years ago, the Springfield Police Department

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279 Ibid., p. 15.
sponsored baseball teams. Residents, in 1993, wanted to see this happen again. Community members in 1993 wanted police officers to be involved in the community and make community relations a top priority. Residents believed, in 1993, that police involvement in the community will improve the city for everyone. Suggestions from residents ranged from police developing a rapport with all local businesses, extensive use of the D.A.R.E. program, training all police officers on how to deal with victims and being able to direct victims to community resources, more minority officers and neighborhood committees partnering with the police. Residents believe that police involvement in the community will improve police efficacy.

**Recommendations from Consultant Group**

In the end the Mayor, City Council, the Police Commission and the Police Chief all publicly endorsed the Wasserman evaluation. The study instructed that a certain amount of goals must be realized before the Springfield Police Department could successfully work towards implementing community policing. The following initiatives were recommended:

- “Bringing together community, police officers and government officials to constructively engage in developing plans for community policing.

- Changing the relationship of the Police Commission and the Police Department to strengthen the management and oversight of policing activities; and

- Correcting some of the technical deficiencies in the Police Department to provide the support and resources needed by the city’s police officers in meeting the challenges of policing an urban environment.

- Create a Task Force of citizens, police officers, business leaders and city officials to develop a statement of mission and values for the Springfield Police Department,
setting forth the standards to be applied to policing the Springfield community.

- Select a single neighborhood policing beat (or assignment area) to experiment with a small group of police officers - covering all hours of the day - developing “beat profiles” of the community, identifying policing priorities with a group of neighborhood residents, and impacting those problems with police and community action.

- Form a Technical Advisory Committee to the Police Commission and Chief of Police consisting of members from other Massachusetts Police Departments experienced as police administrators.

- *Introduce a Home Rule Petition to remove the position of Chief of Police from Civil Service.*

- Support an independent audit yearly of the internal affairs function to provide credibility to the process in the eyes of the Department and the community.

- Civilianize selected functions in the Police Department, including telephone answering, clerical or mechanical roles.

- Design and implement a system for carefully screening 911 calls for service, diverting to appropriate resources those not requiring a police response.

- Redesign police beats to ensure they reflect the natural boundaries of Springfield’s neighborhoods.

- Appoint a citizen/professional panel to review the issue of police officer incentive pay and make recommendations for action in dealing with this issue.

- Formalize and strengthen the Department’s employee stress programs.

- Strengthen the Department’s stress and officer counseling capabilities so Springfield Police Officers have access to the best possible assistance in dealing with the unique pressures of policing the urban environment.

The Wasserman report suggested that if the Springfield Police Department was to become a community-based department it must ensure that the department must assign its
patrol staff so that the patrol staff was meeting the needs of the community. An examination of the department’s resource allocation for its staff by Wasserman Associated deduced that although most of the calls for service occurred on the evening shift “fewer officers work the evening shift than work any other shift.”

Table 18. Dispatched Calls for Service by Patrol Squad, 1992

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C Hours</th>
<th>Squad</th>
<th>% of calls</th>
<th>N of Calls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0000-0800</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0800-1600</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>43,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-2400</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>62,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>146,167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

280 Ibid., p. 22.
281 Ibid., p. 22.
Another glaring deficiency in service noted by the Wasserman study was that “51 full-time officers were performing civilian and administrative tasks (emphasis added).” Wasserman had devised a patrol allocation that greatly improved service but required no increase in personnel (emphasis in the original). The Wasserman team in their reorganization plan that they submitted to the Mayor and City Council allocated personnel so that the number of personnel working on the busiest shifts were increased from 37 to 73 officers, a 97% personnel increase, that would not require the hiring of any additional personnel but would increase personnel where they were most required but would not impact service elsewhere.

Community Policing Component

Community policing requires that the officers in the field exercise greater discretion when they are out on the street. The Wasserman report addressed this issue in its suggestions relative to the reorganization of supervisory personnel. The committee recommended moving supervisory personnel from plainclothes assignments to patrol assignments. The lack of talented uniformed supervisory members of the department who were not in uniform and on the street perpetuated the belief that the Springfield Police Department exercised favoritism for its staff and ignored the needs of the community by not putting its senior officers who had achieved rank on the street. As the Wasserman team astutely pointed out, “…promotion should be a time for experienced, talented officers to return to uniformed duty and reacclimate themselves to the community’s needs and desires” (emphasis in the original). Wasserman concluded that

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the use of supervisory personnel back on the street and visible to community members would “…provide the department with unprecedented opportunities for community policing and organizational integrity.” The Wasserman group further delineated the responsibilities of the supervisory personnel suggesting that sergeants be responsible for their own neighborhoods only. This would create a bond between the sergeant and the neighborhood and provide the sergeant with insight and knowledge as to what was occurring in his or her sector.

More Civilian Positions Needed

In 1993 the Wasserman team had the prescience to recommend removing police personnel from positions that could be handled more cost effectively by civilian personnel and, thus, freeing more police personnel to patrol the community. In far too many instances the Springfield Police Department was using police staff to handle clerical assignments. Not only was this a tremendous waste of talent but it was cost prohibitive. And in the same vein, the police staff did not have the requisite skill set to handle computer tasks and budget issues. It was suggested that civilian personnel replace officers in the Radio, Record and Booking room. Wasserman proposed the expansion of the Cadet program to groom those desirous of working for the department in the future be given the opportunity to start their career in a civilian position.

The study team deduced that the three primary departments - the Detective Bureau, Crime Prevention and Narcotics - duplicated many of the same efforts. This duplication of effort hampered efficiency and exhausted supervisory resources. The criticism by the team was unflinching, “…the existing division separates similar crime

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types from one another, preventing problem-solving, neighborhood crime reduction, and - most important - the identification of patterns of criminality. It is out of touch with the most basic modern understanding of recidivism, problem-oriented policing, and decentralized investigating. These bureaus could be combined at no cost, freeing up personnel and improving the quality of investigations. The only cutbacks will be in the individual “fiefdoms” the leaders of such specialized detective units tend to create for themselves. Efficient organizational structure and enhanced supervisions are two characteristics of all high-functioning community police agencies.”

Lastly, the examination of the organization revealed a Traffic Bureau that was unnecessarily large for a city the size of Springfield. The study team found that the traffic bureau commanded too many officers and took away personnel that could be better served in community policing positions throughout the city.

**Define the Chief’s Role and the Commission’s Role**

The evaluation of the Springfield Police Commission contained trenchant criticism. The commission’s role, among others, was to serve as the civilian overseer for the community. Springfield has had a history of polarizing incidents that set the police department at odds with the minority community. The commission has also had a voice in the promotion of police officers that emphasized political favoritism over talent and merit. The commission’s role had expanded to include discipline relative to the most minor infractions and had involved itself in the day to day operation of the department that should not be a consideration for a civilian review board. The commission had become a substitute voice for the Police Chief’s role as chief executive officer.

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285 Ibid., p. 32.
As the Wasserman group pointed out, “the commission should be like a board of directors setting policy and providing linage between citizen’s concerns and the police administration. The commission has a role in monitoring discipline within the department. Discipline should occur within the agency and the commission should only hear the most serious cases. Discipline should be resolved at the lowest possible level within the agency. The commission is responsible for acting as the appeal avenue for citizens and police officers who are aggrieved by discipline decisions within the department. The highest and most useful role for the commission is to empower the police chief to act in furtherance of the role and mission of the police department as articulated by the citizens of Springfield acting through its Police Commission. The Chief’s role must be strengthened to assume responsibility for the managerial tasks now deemed to be under the aegis of the commission. No longer should the commission be involved in lengthy hearings around injured on duty status or minor complaints about police officer conduct. These matters can and must be resolved by the day to day managers of the department.”286

286 Ibid., p. 41.
Table 19. Commission vs. Chief’s Roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commission</th>
<th>Chief of Police</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Makes Policy</td>
<td>Carries out Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considers Appeals from Investigative complaint decisions</td>
<td>Conducts internal investigations and recommends discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes Promotional Decisions</td>
<td>Evaluates performance and recommends promotional decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sets resources levels</td>
<td>Assigns resources to meet needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sets performance measures</td>
<td>Manages the day to day operations of the department to meet those measures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study team found that in many ways, in 1993, the Springfield Police Department was in crisis. This was attributable to the general feeling among many of the officers that promotion was not based on merit but on being in the right crowd. Officers felt that community members were antagonistic and non-supportive of their roles as members of law enforcement. This disconnect between the community and members of the police staff could be ameliorated, the Wasserman staff advised, “…if collaborative problem solving can be put in place - if police officers and community member can engage in constructive dialogue and planning for high-impact policing - they will find a common ground upon which a new philosophy of policing for Springfield can be built.

287 Ibid., p. 42.
That philosophy is community policing, the development of a partnership between police officers and residents of Springfield’s neighborhoods to deal with citizen fear, crime and disorder.\textsuperscript{288}

\textit{Need for Mission Statement}

The tasks facing the city and the department were not insurmountable. The Wasserman team devised a strategy for action which included the creation of a Task Force of citizens, police officers, business leaders and city officials to develop a mission statement for the Springfield Police Department. This mission statement should articulate the standards that would apply to policing in Springfield. It was suggested that key players should meet in a retreat setting to fully flesh out the direction and strategy to achieve the goals outlined by the Wasserman team. This retreat would provide a forum to strategize on how best to implement the recommendations to achieve the goal of community policing. The Wasserman team provided a number of contacts and suggested that the members of the implementation team visit their contacts to assure smooth and knowledgeable execution of their proposals.

\textit{Remove Chief’s Position from Civil Service}

Relative to the Chief’s position the study recommended that the position of chief of police be removed from Civil Service. The Wasserman panel had this to say about their suggestion, “[t]here are two separate issues involved with civil service. First, is whether future chiefs of police ought to be recruited from a broad base, including inside and outside members of the department. Second, is whether a contract between the

\textsuperscript{288} Ibid., pp. 44-45.
police chief and Board of Police Commissioners is a better means for ensuring quality performance of a chief than civil service protection. Experience shows strongly that outside recruitment provides a community with a far better range of options than restriction to inside selection. And civil service has been shown to make it very difficult to remove a chief who has been unable to achieve the objectives for which he or she was employed. The cynicism existing among a large part of the community will make it very difficult for the public to have confidence in the future chief if they have not been able to compare candidates from inside and outside. Likewise, the public will not believe the appointing authority has truly been committed to selection of the most capable candidate unless all qualified applicants are encouraged to apply. We believe the city would be well served by taking the process out of civil service so the process can be modernized by relying on sophisticated selection techniques not easily utilized within the civil service process.\(^{289}\)

**Resistance to Removal of Chief’s Position from Civil Service and Community Reaction to the Wasserman Report**

Members of the community weighed in on the Wasserman study team’s findings after the report was made public. Then-Mayor Robert T. Markel felt that the removal of the chief’s position was the most controversial recommendation. He announced that the recommendation relative to the chief’s position did not have to be implemented immediately. In fact it was never done. Other politicians endorsed Markel’s position and the department returned to the status quo. The city of Springfield hired another consultant group approximately ten years later.

\(^{289}\) Ibid., pp. 51-52.
Citizen groups and their spokespersons embraced the idea of community policing and welcomed the consistency of having the same officers patrol the same neighborhoods. The Springfield Citizens for Effective Community Policing, an organization which included neighborhood leaders and representatives from the business and religious communities was anxious to begin implementation of the community policing model as articulated in the Wasserman study. The report’s authors had suggested that the city of Springfield experiment with the community policing model by trying out it out in one or two neighborhoods before it attempted to implement community policing throughout the entire city.²⁹⁰ A review of community policing was performed by the second consultant group some ten years later with scathing results.

The Police Chief Ernest Stelzer in a May 11, 1993 interview rejected the Wasserman’s study’s suggestion that the personnel assigned to the Traffic Bureau should be reduced. The Police Commission, Police Chief Stelzer, consultant Robert Wasserman and members of the Springfield Citizens for Effective Community Policing scheduled a marathon meeting held at Hampshire College in Amherst to brainstorm, review and strategically plan for the remodeling of the Springfield Police Department. The retreat had been one of the recommendations suggested by the Wasserman study team to formally address and plan the expeditious implementation of the myriad recommendations proposed by the study in an effort to assist the Springfield Police Department in its adoption of a community policing philosophy.

In September of 1993, three months after the strategic summit at Hampshire College, the chairman of the Police Commission, Henry Thomas, announced that the police commission was working successfully with the Citizens for Effective Community Policing. Thomas said, “We’re on a roll of success with this group; we want to continue.” The Police Commission and the citizens group, headed by Chairman Brian Long, jointly issued a mission statement that they had drafted for the police department. It read, “To provide public safety and contribute to the quality of life for the citizens of the City of Springfield by protecting, serving and working with the community to develop philosophies which promote equity and establish partnerships between citizens and police to enhance law enforcement, aid in the prevention of crime and preserve the public peace.” The Wasserman report had criticized the Springfield Police Department for not having a mission statement. The Police Commission unanimously accepted the proposed mission statement. An earlier draft had included the phrase: “to enhance law enforcement through community policing.” That phrase was eliminated when commissioners said “they believed that community policing is a means for the department to accomplish its mission, rather than the mission itself.” So the mission statement removed the commitment to community policing.

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One Year Later

Almost one year later, most of the suggestions made by the Wasserman study had yet to be implemented. Chief Ernest Stelzer, when interviewed in May 1994, said he expected the switch to community policing would take approximately four years. Stelzer acknowledged that, “Community policing is certainly a major change from the way we’re operating now. Ordinarily, the youngest officers are on the midnight shift and middle officers are on the evening shift and senior officers are on the evening shift. With community policing, younger officers will be moved to days to walk beats in the neighborhood, and they will be given the power to make a lot of decisions in the field that supervisors formerly made.” Stelzer said that, as per the Wasserman reports suggestions, several jobs in the department had been turned over to civilians.


The 1993 Wasserman report concluded that the police chief’s position should be removed from Civil Service. The Wasserman consulting group had also been hired to guide the Springfield Police Department in its implementation of community policing. In 1996, Paula Meara was appointed the first female chief of police of the Springfield Police Department. A seven year legal battle ensued that was initiated by other supervisors, all male, who desired the chief’s position but were not selected. Thus, the new chief worked alongside captains who were in protracted litigation to overturn her appointment as chief.

In 2005 Carroll Buracker & Associates, Inc., a firm from Harrisonburg, Virginia was hired to once again examine the Springfield Police Department; the cost of this study was $171,000. The final report consisted of some 400 pages and contained in excess of 200 recommendations. The city was still grappling with a high crime rate. The city government of Springfield still consisted of a strong mayoral form of government with nine city council members. The city was facing a severe fiscal crisis.

In July 2004, the city of Springfield teetered on the verge of bankruptcy and, in response, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts enacted M.G.L. c. 169 of the Acts of 2004 which established the Springfield Finance Control Board (SFCB). The SFCB had tremendous power including control of all appropriations and governance over personnel matters. The SFCB had on its board, the mayor of Springfield, the president of the Springfield City Council, and three gubernatorial appointees.

**The Springfield Police Department in 2005**

In February 2005 the Springfield Police Department had 552 positions; this included 92 civilian employees and 460 sworn positions. The Carroll Buracker study team made a number of observations relative to personnel. The team discovered that the Springfield Police Department’s staffing was in fact above average both in Massachusetts and nationwide. The team compared comparable cities with a population range of 100,000 to 180,000. Springfield’s population at the time of the study was 152,082. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) keeps staffing data and their 2003 data revealed that the city of Springfield’s Police Department had the highest ratio of sworn personnel to 1,000 residents (3.05) and, according to the data, the highest ratio of total employees
(3.84) among the cities of Springfield, Lowell, Worcester and Cambridge. The Carroll Buracker report contained the following ratios of sworn and total employees per 1,000 residents:\(^294\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>SWORN</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>3.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowell</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>2.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20. Sworn Employees.

The sentiments expressed by the Carroll Buracker team are reminiscent of the Wasserman consultancy group’s conclusion more than a decade earlier when they declared that the morale in the Springfield Police Department was poor. The Carroll Buracker team pointed to fiscal matters and issues about assignments but most significantly point to questions of leadership as contributing to low morale in the department. The chief’s position had not been removed from civil service as first recommended by the Wasserman Report of 1993.

The study team discovered friction and tension in the hierarchy with the causative factor being the promotional process of the 1990’s. The employees interviewed by the study team said there was very little teamwork within the department. As this 2005 study

team noted in their exhaustive report the role and responsibility of the chief of police and Springfield Police Commissioner have been the subject of debate for more than a decade; as far back as the Wasserman study. Again, this 2005 study team reiterated the recommendation made by the 1993 Wasserman study team - take the position of the chief of police out of civil service. The other recommendations made by the Carroll Buracker study team, among others, but pertinent to this issue, were the following:

A. Remove the position of chief of police in Springfield from Civil Service System (as recommended in a 1993 Study, under a former chief of police);

B. Assign direct authority over the Springfield Police Department to the Mayor;

C. Develop a contract of three to five years for the position of chief of police; this contract should have specific performance objectives and expectations delineated, including roles and responsibilities;

D. Conduct an evaluation of a chief of police periodically (e.g., semi-annually); the evaluation should be done by the Mayor;

E. Consider assigning the Police Commission to serve as a Citizen’s Review Board and as an advisory Panel to the Mayor;

F. Consider contracting for police promotional examinations, including the interview phase; and,

G. If the Police Commission continues to conduct interviews on promotional processes, consider the following: 1.) develop written guidelines, 2.) identify dimensions to be rated, 3.) utilize a standard grading form, 4.) train members to
conduct evaluations, and, 5.) utilize two police chiefs (or officials) from cities in Massachusetts as members of promotional panels.²⁹⁵

The 2005 study team noted that the Springfield Police Department had no formalized performance evaluation program for its employees. The team instructed the city of Springfield to do the following:

A. Establish a formal Job Performance Evaluation process for all ranks;

B. Train supervisors on the administration of Performance Evaluations; and,

C. Utilize the results of Performance Evaluations as part of the selection for specialty assignments and promotions.²⁹⁶

The study team’s findings relative to Civil Service promotions in the Springfield Police Department is reprinted here:

“It was reported that the last promotions made were in 2003 to the rank of captain (i.e., two white males). There have been a number of civil actions relative to promotions and additional cases are currently pending. As currently administered, the promotional process for police personnel in Springfield is not a state-of-the-art process. Given the past processes and the pervasive questions about politics and unfair practices, the City should consider a new course in police promotions. The recommendations include:

A. Explore options to the current State Civil Service system, and/or

²⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. viii-ix.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. xvi.
B. Effect an agreement with the State to delegate the promotional processes to outside vendors;

C. Utilize an employee’s job evaluations as part of the promotional process;

D. Assure that there are written, job-related guidelines on the interview component, a standard form with specific dimensions to be measured and training for the interviewers; and,

E. Encourage minority (i.e., ethnic/racial and gender) participation in all promotional processes.²⁹⁷

The promotional system and the unfairness of it was a refrain of the 1993 Wasserman report and caused much dissatisfaction and disappointment among the employees of the Springfield Police Department.

One of the key reasons offered for hiring the Wasserman study team in 1993 was that stakeholders, city officials, community members and the Springfield Police Department wanted to implement the community policing model. This model touts a decentralized organizational structure and encourages officers to problem solve and interact with members of the community. In 1996 there were 84 police officers assigned to community policing. While there were 75 police layoffs in the Springfield Police Department in 2003, 26 had been rehired by March 2005. The Carroll Buracker study team in its examination of the much touted “Community Policing Unit” in the Springfield

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. xvi.
Police Department was unable to discern who made the selection of personnel to that unit because there were no written guidelines or policies. In fact, the study team discovered that “There is no written policy or procedure governing the selection or de-selection of personnel for specialized assignments in the Springfield Police Department” (emphasis in the original).

There was an approximate thirteen year interval between the findings of the Wasserman consultancy team and the release of the Carroll Buracker report. Two issues figured prominently in both reports: the implementation of the community policing model and the recommendation that the police chief’s position be removed from civil service protection. This latter recommendation was in reference to both study teams’ finding that there was a policing leadership void at the Springfield Police Department. Relative to the community policing policy implementation in 1996 there were 84 police officers assigned to the community policing unit; in 2005 there were 17 police officers assigned to the community policing unit. There were no black or females assigned to the community policing staff in 2005, this in spite of Carroll Buracker’s finding that the Springfield Police Department’s staffing levels were above average for communities of similar size in Massachusetts and nationwide. As the Carroll Buracker study team pointed out the selection of personnel for the much-touted “Community Policing Unit” should be of grave concern to the politicians, stakeholders, and especially the residents of Springfield. The lack of written guidelines relative to the “Community Policing Unit” made it impossible to discover how the selections were made to that unit. As the study team concluded, “Regardless of who made the selections for the Unit, as of February

298 Ibid., p. xix.
2005, there were no women or black officers assigned to the “Community Policing Unit.”

This contradicts the very meaning of community policing” (emphasis in the original).  

The 2005 study team did credit the Springfield Police Department with implementing a number of programs in the city however there was no written plan in the police department relative to the respective roles and duties of the community policing function for its personnel. The Carroll Buracker study team offered the following recommendations relative to the Community Policing Unit:

A. Develop a Comprehensive Written Plan on Community Policing in Springfield, including the roles and responsibilities of each function and specifically those assigned as the Community Policing Unit, Safe Guard Unit (renamed Street Crimes), Liaison, and Crime Watch/Elder Affairs officer;

B. Assign the Community Policing Unit, the Street Crimes Unit, the Community Policing Liaison and Crime Watch/ Elder Affairs Officer to the Field Operations Bureau. The Senior Deputy Chief should decide the reporting relationships within this Bureau and the role, if any, of the Crime Watch/ Elder Affairs officer;

C. Add officers to the Community Policing Unit and Street Crimes Unit through civilianization of non-police functions (identified under civilianization) or transfers;

D. Ensure that the workforce comprising the Community Policing Unit is diversified in both race/ethnicity and gender; and,

299 Ibid., p. xix.
E. Request a written report on the date and criteria employed for selection of officers currently assigned to the Community Policing Unit, and what, if any, role did the Police Commission, the Deputy Chiefs and the Unit Commander at the time have in the selection process for this Unit. 300

Community policing as an implementation of a policy in a paramilitary organization requires a profound change in the mindset of police personnel. It is, in essence, a communitarian model of policing. As stated previously, it involves a mission statement that underscores the value of community policing; an opportunity squandered in 1993 when the community policing advocates in Springfield chose not to incorporate the community policing mission statement in the Springfield Police Department’s mission statement. The structural changes, the innovations necessary for this transformation are a decentralized structure. There must be a definitive move away from a top-down structure. The problem-solving model espoused by the community policing paradigm requires a flexibility to be creative by police personnel out on the street, the freedom to fashion solutions and the latitude to make decisions without the micromanagement usually associated with the paramilitary bureaucracy that typifies a police organization. The research conducted using the transformational leadership model in the business world and applied to police research with police subordinates cited elsewhere shows that line personnel respond to the creative leader versus the more mechanistic transactional leader. This does not eliminate the requirement of carefully drafted job descriptions outlining the parameters and specifics relative to the duties and responsibilities of members of a community policing unit. Most importantly, the

300 Ibid., p. xxxv.
paramilitary organization of the police must “de-emphasize discipline and focus on leadership.”\(^{301}\) This approach includes, as Williams notes, a move to ‘team decision making’ thereby moving towards a ’mission-driven’ agency rather than a ’rule-driven’ agency\(^{302}\). This mission of service should include leadership training and training should be a part of the new recruit’s academy training. Some researchers have acknowledged that the change to community policing requires a monumental, a transformational change, if it is to be a success. It is further acknowledged that those in charge, the chiefs and their administrators, receive virtually no training “… on how to manage a transformational change of this magnitude.”\(^{303}\)

In summary, could a visionary leader have successfully implemented the community policing model in Springfield in the mid-nineties? We will never know. What we do know is that in 1993 a consultant group recommended that the chief’s position be removed from civil service. The consultant group recognized the importance of strong leadership in the Springfield Police department to address the wasteful use of personnel, the need for improved morale among the rank and file and the task of making community policing a reality in Springfield. The politicians publicly endorsed the Wasserman Groups’ report when it first was made public but then countered its suggestions with resistance and ultimately failed to implement the very changes that might have made a difference. A decade later, a different consultant group, found that


very little, if anything had changed in the Springfield Police department. Again, the recommendation to remove the chief’s position from civil service, again, the recognition that a strong chief was needed to lead the department. This is not to say that a leader would have been able to resolve the issues central to Springfield’s problems - poverty and a lack of jobs. Two decades ago there was a manufacturing base in Springfield but all the factories have closed or moved south. The gang problem in Springfield has exacerbated an already difficult situation. However, Springfield squandered the opportunity it was presented in 1993; leadership in the police department may have made a difference.
CHAPTER 8: LEADERSHIP FOR THE FUTURE

The last part of the survey for the Massachusetts chiefs of police focused on ethics and integrity training. There was also a question that sought to elicit what sources the chiefs relied on for information in their role as leader. Morals and ethics have often been used interchangeably. Morals refer to what is judged as “good conduct.” Ethics refers to the study and analysis of what constitutes good or bad conduct. Morals refer to the sum of a person’s actions in every sphere of life, whereas ethics refers to certain types of specific behavior, usually related to a profession. A specific type of applied ethics is professional ethics. Just as other professions have codes of ethical conduct, for example, medicine and the law, so to can police develop their own ethical code.\(^\text{304}\) The International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1957 adopted the original “Law Enforcement Code of Ethics.” The code was revised in 1989 and renamed the “Police Code of Conduct.”\(^\text{305}\) Corruption has been defined as “actions that involve the potential for personal gain and the use of police power and authority to further that gain.”\(^\text{306}\) In keeping corruption at bay in a department, the most important organizational variable is leadership. This is interpreted as the quality of management and supervision.\(^\text{307}\) Before we turn to ethics and leadership, let us review the survey results.


There were a series of questions on ethics, the first and second inquired as to whether the chief had received ethics training and, second, whether his or her staff had received ethics training. The last question in this series asked whether the respondents’ felt that these ethics course were valuable. Eighty-nine percent of the respondents’ staff has received training on ethics and integrity (See Table 21. Received Ethics Training)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1 Missing case.

Ninety-six percent of the respondents have received ethics and integrity training. When asked whether the courses were valuable the percentages declined, with seventy-six responding that the courses were valuable and sixteen percent answering that the courses were ‘somewhat’ valuable. Four percent felt the courses were not valuable, three respondents did not provide an answer. There were quite a few commentaries from the respondents about this issue. (See Table 22. Were Ethics Courses Valuable).
Many of the police chiefs noted that their ethics and integrity training had been limited to what had been taught during their academy training. Given the fact that academy training in Massachusetts is not standardized the training on ethics and integrity may have been quite dissimilar academy-to-academy. The ethics training for members of many of the police departments had also been limited to only the training they had received at the academy.

Lack of funding was one reason cited for the absence of ethics training in some departments. One chief who cited only academy training for he and his staff added, “There needs to be much more conversation on this topic as well as policy and formal training. I have found that ethics and integrity is no longer a given but rather needs to be taught, shown and enforced.” One chief who hails from Illinois remarked that in Illinois “they put a very heavy emphasis on integrity and ethics.” He noted the political scandals
in Illinois as a possible reason for the mandated training. One chief lamented that the small amount of programs available that were devoted to ethics and integrity training were not sufficient to curtail those officers who have a desire “to use the system for personal gain.”

A chief from a medium-sized department opined that “We also need to improve hiring and retention with regard to integrity.” One chief replied that he had ensured that all of his supervisory staff had attended ethics and integrity training. He added, “We will continue to send others as the opportunity presents itself. I believe this to be the most important area for police to focus on.” This chief had also invited a college professor to the police station to lecture on ethics and integrity. Another police chief found his ethics and integrity training at Northeastern University to be of value.

Many police chiefs revealed that their ethics and integrity training was a component of leadership seminars; one chief wrote that the town had mandated training on ethics and integrity. A few chiefs responded that they made certain that their command staff had attended such training. One chief credited this training as being an aid to him in his leadership position. One chief, when asked whether members of his staff had received training on ethics and integrity replied, “No, so far there is no need for it.”

Another chief, when responding that the ethics courses were not really valuable, explained, “I know of unethical cops. You either have it or you don’t” (referring to ethics and integrity). A chief who created a special integrity and professional standards unit in a southern state advised that more training was needed in ethics and integrity in terms of
handling cases, but not necessarily as it related to unethical behavior, such as graft. A couple of the respondents served as lecturers in ethics training at their respective academy training.

Some chiefs cited the International Association of Chiefs of Police as their source for training in ethics and integrity. One chief, who found his ethics and integrity training “very valuable”, felt that it “…forced me to look at the profession in a different light.” A police chief from a small department replied that his staff received training on ethics and integrity because it was a part of the accreditation process; however, he did not feel the courses were valuable, writing, “I think officers know what is expected without this.” A female chief from a small department seemed to echo this sentiment when she wrote, “I feel peoples’ ethics and integrity are already established before they are hired and it isn’t something that is learned in a class.” Many chiefs cited the Massachusetts Chief of Police Association as providing valuable training for them on ethics and integrity training. It is unfortunate that some of the respondents, police leaders, dismiss the utility of ethics and integrity training; more so, it is unfortunate for their followers.

*Ethics, the Heart of Leadership*

In the introduction to *Ethics, the heart of leadership*, Joanne Ciulla writes, “No matter how people become leaders, no one is a leader without willing followers. Manager and generals may act like playground bullies and use their power and rank to force their will on people, but this is coercion, not leadership. Leadership is not a person or a position. It is a complex, moral relationship between people, based on trust, obligation, commitment, emotion, and a shared vision of the good. Ethics is how we
distinguish between right and wrong, or good and evil in relation to actions, volitions, and character of human beings. Ethics lie at the heart of all human relationships and hence at the heart of the relationship between leaders and followers.”

Ms. Ciulla dedicates the book to James MacGregor Burns because “his theory of transforming leadership rests on the ongoing moral relationship of leaders and followers.” Ms. Ciulla notes that leadership scholars have begun to pay more attention to ethics. Ciulla contends that most of what is considered leadership literature emerges from the social sciences, specifically, psychology, business, and political science. In her review of 1800 articles from various fields, though ethics is lauded as central to leadership, she finds very few authors spending much time on the subject of ethics in any decidedly in-depth manner. She concludes that ethics, as a component of leadership, is given short shrift by authors and what is written is fragmented and reads as an afterthought to the central subject of leadership. Ciulla cites Joseph Rost’s book Leadership in the Twenty-First Century, as one of the better leadership books and notes that even though this work contains a chapter on ethics it is conclusory at best. The noteworthy and acclaimed Bass and Stogdill’s Handbook of Leadership does not, according to Ciulla, carry much information on ethics, in part because not much research is available. “Nonetheless, for all of the research that went into this book, Bass seems to

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309 Ibid., p. xv.

310 Ibid., p. xvii.

311 Ibid., p. 8.
wing it when it comes to talking about ethics.” However Bernard Bass contributes a chapter *Ethics, Character, and Authentic Transformational Leadership Behavior*, in Ciulla’s book.313

Bass draws a distinction between authentic transformational leadership and ‘pseudo-transformational leadership.’ Bass argues that authentic transformational leadership is consistent with Judaic-Christian philosophical traditions in that these traditions center on a trusting community as the central life context. In other words, these Western moral ideals stress finding the truth not imposing it, behavior should not be coerced by leaders but truth should be deduced by the follower’s authentic inner commitment. “Questioning and creativity should be encouraged. Followers should not be mere means to self-satisfying ends for the leader, but should be treated as ends in themselves. We label as inauthentic or “pseudo” that kind of transformational leadership that tramples upon those concerns.”

Bass cites Burns initial work on transformational leadership theory wherein he opined that both the leader and the led should be transformed in both performance and outlook.315 Bass goes one step further and insists that the ‘processes of vision articulation and choice are matters of moral concern. “It is the presence or absence of such a moral

312 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
314 Ibid., p. 177.
315 Ibid., p. 177.
foundation of the leader as a moral agent that grounds the distinction between authentic versus pseudo-transformational leaders” (emphasis in the original).\textsuperscript{316}

Bass had originally believed that there could be both good and evil transformational leaders. As his theory has evolved Bass has concluded that only morally good leaders are authentic transformational leaders, those who do not operate with their followers’ interests in mind are pseudo-transformational leaders. Bass suggests that the follower-leader distinction should fade away.\textsuperscript{317} The tension between individual liberty and living in the pluralistic Western world should compel the leader to recognize that an organization can only move forward and improve if the member’s thoughts, ideas and intellect are challenged, allowed voice and respected. “… true transformational leaders identify the core values and unifying purposes of the organization and its members, liberate their human potential, and foster pluralistic leadership and effective, satisfied followers.”\textsuperscript{318} Bass concludes that the modern world demands a transformational leader and a transformational leader has become a necessity in the postindustrial world of work. Critics have argued that transformational leadership is unethical in that it appeals to emotions rather than reason and it ‘lacks the checks and balances of democratic discourse and power distribution.’\textsuperscript{319} Bass counters that the fixed, rote jobs held by individual workers has been replaced by a manufacturing or service process complete with a diverse skill set in a team environment so authentic transformational leaders can, “… as moral

\textsuperscript{316} Ibid., p. 178.
\textsuperscript{317} Ibid., p. 191.
\textsuperscript{318} Ibid., p. 193.
\textsuperscript{319} Ibid., p. 193.
agents, expand the domain of effective freedom, the horizon of conscience, and the scope for altruistic intention. Their actions aim toward noble ends, legitimate means, and fair consequences. Engaged as they are in the moral uplifting of their followers, in the sharing of mutually rewarding visions of success, and in enabling and empowering them to convert the visions into realities, they should be applauded, not chastised.”

**Leadership for the Future**

The aforementioned sentiments and leadership style echo Collins’s sentiments in his bestseller *Good to great* although he makes no mention of ethics in his book. Joanne Ciulla is cited by James MacGregor Burns as a “leading authority on the ethics of leadership” and states that at its essence, the “question of what constitutes a good leader lies at the heart of the public debate on leadership.”

Burns writes that “Ethics reflect modes of more formal and transactional conduct – integrity, promise keeping, trustworthiness, reciprocity, accountability – supremely expressed in the golden rule”. And that the transforming values are such public principles as “order, liberty, equality (including brotherhood and sisterhood), justice, the pursuit of happiness.”

“Transforming leaders define public values that embrace the supreme and enduring principles of a people….Such values are not ordinarily part of the daily discourse of the citizenry. But at testing times when people confront the possibilities – and threat- of great change, powerful foundational values are evoked. They are the inspiration and

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320 Ibid., p. 193.
322 Ibid., p. 28.
323 Ibid., p. 28.
guide to people who pursue and seek to shape change, and they are the standards by which the realization of the highest intentions is measured. Transforming values lie at the heart of transforming leadership, determining whether leadership can be transforming.”

As stated elsewhere previously, leadership is an ‘expanding’ field of study and as Burns points out ‘there is yet, no grand unifying theory to provide common direction to thinkers and researchers,’ but this makes it all the more an exciting time to be involved in leadership studies. In policing, the leaders are ultimately leading and accountable to the public. In Police for the future, Bayley concludes that policing must institutionalize the diagnosis of crime and the formation of solutions at a community level because the solution to crime prevention is a task that must be monitored “through multilayered consultation within communities.” And, “… the top levels of a police system are made explicitly responsible for collecting and publicizing information about the effectiveness of strategic programs, as well as the legality, fairness, and rectitude of actions.”

Police misconduct and the ‘code of silence’ have been a problem that has plagued policing since its inception. There is example after example of commissions who have examined particular departments again and again and ferreted out corruption only to see it reappear almost overnight. The global world and the internet have changed our world and allowed the public to scrutinize the police world. The media is embedded in the police arena relying on the human condition for its sustainability with domestic violence, murder and mayhem. The public is enamored and clamors for true life crime shows,

324 Ibid., p. 29
326 Ibid., p. 161.
books and reality television for its daily dose of crime and law enforcement
entertainment. This has included police corruption and cops caught committing crimes
themselves. This spotlight on the law enforcement milieu has only escalated the
necessity for ethics and integrity training. This includes what law enforcement can
ethically tell the media and the public about a pending case, grappling with issues of
corruption in a department, coping with poor morale within a department and too many
issues to adequately address in this paper. The best place to start with ethics and integrity
training would be at the recruitment phase of hiring. Who gets on the bus in the first
place is the first tenet of Collins’ advice for turning an agency from ‘good to great.’ In
Massachusetts this would implicate the civil service system wherein many law
enforcement agencies hire from a list. Does scoring high on a civil service list presage
success as a police officer? Does it insure that a community is selecting from the pool of
the most qualified, the most ethical candidates?

There has been a surge of interest in leadership courses in liberal arts colleges and
in military academies. In a recent survey of colleges, at least six hundred leadership
courses were offered. Transformational leadership theory training has been added to the
U.S. Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs. As Bernard Bass maintains, leadership
can be taught.\textsuperscript{327} Does it make sense, as the respondents in this research have advised, to
start leadership training in police academies with the recruits? It seems to make a great
deal of sense.

\textsuperscript{327} Bass, B. M. (2007). From transactional to transformational leadership: Learning to share the
vision. Vecchio, R. P. (Ed.) (2007). In Leadership: Understanding the dynamics of power and
**The Future is Problem Solving and Community Policing**

Future leaders need to appreciate that there has been erosion in the boundaries between local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies. This is largely due to our global world, terrorist threats to the United States and our world neighbors, and, the instantaneousness of communication and information. Future leaders need to disabuse themselves of the mindset that their success hinges on the ability to squelch the clamor of competing interests but instead their aim should be to forge alliances based on the mutuality of interests. The insular environment of policing is the old way of doing things. Crime prevention through problem solving utilizing the brains and resources of other agencies, interested stakeholders and the citizenry has proven an efficacious combination. The idea of developing team leaders from the beginning of an officers’ career should curb the ‘us against them’ mentality and temper that aspect of the police culture that regards others outside that world with suspicion and contempt.

A superb example of law enforcement problem solving and teamwork in the community is the Lowell, Massachusetts initiative to reduce gun and gang violence; the initiative commenced in October 2002. The initiative used the same “pulling levers” strategy that had been successfully used in Boston’s Operation Ceasefire years earlier. Boston’s Operation Ceasefire was fully implemented in mid-May 1996 and was aimed at reducing the number of youth homicides in Boston.\(^{328}\) Though there was never a formal evaluation of the program, the reduction of youth homicides, number of shots-fired calls and youth gun assaults was dramatic. “Pulling levers” uses law enforcement resources to

target known gang members, and, specifically those members within the gang that are the intractable criminals who commit the majority of crimes. The approach differs from ‘zero tolerance’ policies where law enforcement broadly targets suspects and metes out the harshest of sanctions in an effort to deter crime. “Pulling levers” identifies the incorrigible gang members and brings the message home by letting the suspects know that their criminality will be zealously monitored and every sanction available will be brought to bear.

In the Lowell initiative, Hispanic and Asian gang members were the targets; not all gang members were the object of such myopic interest but only those who were reluctant to curb their violence. It was discovered that for many gang members “heightened levels of police, probation and Department of Youth Services enforcement were sufficient to end the violence. For certain hardcore gang members, it was necessary to involve the enhanced enforcement capabilities of the federal authorities to stop the violence.” This initiative, like Boston’s Operation Ceasefire, did not simply rely on law enforcement but was a partnership of law enforcement, both federal, state and local agencies, probation and parole officers, department of youth service workers and juvenile correction caseworkers. The message was carried directly to violent gang members and the message was communicated through television and radio spots, billboards, and a toll-free hotline. The task force utilized city-employed street workers; these

329 Ibid., p. 142.
330 Ibid., p. 138.
331 Ibid., p. 143.
individuals were social service providers who were out on the street talking to gang members and residents rather than sitting in their offices.

When a gang initiated offense occurred the task force members went immediately to the gang members’ turf. This direct message could not help but be understood by the gang members. The task members used some of the following measures to effectuate their message – probation checks, altering community supervision conditions, service of outstanding arrest warrants, specialized attention to gang violence by prosecutors, and disruption of street sales of drugs.\(^{332}\) Members of the criminal justice task force that analyzed the problems facing the city of Lowell deduced that the crime was predominantly committed by “impact players;” those individuals who “served as carriers of criminal ideas across social networks and whose presence in particular groups facilitated violent action.”\(^{333}\) These individuals did not want to stop their violence and they needed to be removed from the scene to protect others and themselves. The end result of the Lowell initiative and the problem solving analysis and strategy was a significant decrease in the gun-aggravated assaults and gun homicides in the city.\(^{334}\)

An analysis of the strategy revealed that success was founded on the use of the social services agencies and their ability to help that provided gang members with alternatives to the violence. Gang members were made aware of counseling and drug treatment; they were educated about schooling and job training options. A critical conclusion made about the initiative was the importance of involving the community

\(^{332}\)Ibid., p. 142.

\(^{333}\)Ibid., p. 142.

\(^{334}\) Ibid., p. 158.
because the initiatives were protracted and “without the political support of the community, the police cannot pursue an innovative enforcement strategy that targets truly dangerous youth at the heart of urban violence problems.”

During the time period of the Lowell initiative, some Massachusetts cities saw a decrease in gun violence; Springfield was not one of them. Springfield had its own Project Safe Neighborhood grant and focused on gun violence in a different manner.

The Springfield District Attorney’s office cross-designated one prosecutor to work with the U.S. Attorney’s office and this prosecutor was deputized as an assistant United States attorney. All gun charges originating in the city were filed in the computer system and the prosecutor would be instantly notified and the decision of the prosecutor as to how the case would be handled would be fast tracked into the system. The number of prosecutions of gun cases adopted by the feds doubled. The federal sanctions are harsher for felons in possession of guns. Springfield would be well served with the implementation of a program such as the Lowell initiative. Springfield has a gang problem that has riddled the city with unabated gun violence. The future is contingent on the methods used to tackle their very real crime problems.

The lesson is clear – problem solving policing works. It cannot work however without the support of the community. The community will be engaged when a police department has as its mission the community policing paradigm. The community policing model insists on commitment from the participants to look outward in fashioning solutions to crime prevention. The research conducted in this study revealed that the Massachusetts police chiefs feel very strongly that leadership development must begin at

335 Ibid., p. 158.
the academy. This is the perfect time to mold future leaders. As teaching has adopted a collaborative learning model so must policing. We must learn from the sagacity of the Massachusetts leaders; they have the experience and wisdom to direct us how to proceed. Ethics and integrity training is essential for the recruits, police management and the community. Police do not arrive on the job with all the answers. Their job involves a tremendous amount of discretion, that discretion must be tempered with ethics and integrity training. It is reckless and an abdication of duty for leaders to maintain that such training is unnecessary. This closed mindset invites lawsuits and intolerance. “...the quality of all our lives is dependent on the quality of our leadership.” As Bennis points out, “The pace of change is not slowing. It is accelerating as never before. Ever-changing problems require faster, smarter, more inventive solutions, solutions that can only be achieved collaboratively.” This translates on a local level and a global level. One of the last questions posed to the Massachusetts police chiefs is what sources they relied on for their information.

**National Sources of Information for Police Chiefs**

The respondents were asked to check off what agencies they used for leadership information and support from the following list:

- International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP)
- Police Executive Research Forum (PERF)
- National Sheriff’s Association (NSA)
- The Police Foundation
- National Organization of Black Law Enforcement (NOBLE)


337 Ibid., p. 336.
The agency used most by the respondents was the International Association of Chiefs of Police at 78%. Following are the results of the five agencies used most by the respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use Agency</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Use Agency</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 24. Office of Community Oriented Policing (COPS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use Agency</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Use Agency</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25. National Institute of Justice (NIJ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief’s Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use Agency</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Not Use Agency</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The respondents listed the use of the following and percentage of use: BJA (26%); Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (23%); OVW (18%); OVC (13%); Police Foundation (7%); NOBLE (6%) and NSA (6%). The respondents added, among others, agencies that they used that were not on the list: FBI LEEDA program (2%), the Internet (1%) and the Massachusetts Chiefs’ Association (1%).
Conclusion

The study of leadership is a new field and never more exciting a study than now as our world is smaller and our ability to communicate faster and easier. The Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) Project is a study of leadership from a cross-cultural perspective; it involves social scientists from sixty countries. We cannot have dialogue unless we understand each other. We need to comprehend our commonality, our differences and where we can compromise. It is an equally exciting time in police management as police executives, policy makers and scholars examine how leadership, problem solving and community policing can aid our police departments and our citizens. Progress is made in small steps but the relentless drive and spirit to improve our communities and global world is what makes us uniquely human. Leadership research has had a rich and varied history shifting from various schools of thought. “Nowadays, the ethics of leadership and leader’s degree of moral development are increasingly becoming essential elements of leadership research.”

The growth of progress in policing will continue with leaders imbued with the ethical and moral strength to embrace problem solving as a strategy and to place the interests of the community first.

APPENDIX A.

Massachusetts Chief of Police Questionnaire

1. **BACKGROUND**

   1. Age ____________
   
   2. Race ____________
   
   3. Sex ____________
   
   4. Educational background:
      (a.) high school diploma
      (b.) associates degree
      (c.) bachelor’s degree
      (d.) graduate degree
   
   5. How long have you held the position of chief of police? ________
   
   6. What was your previous position? ________________________
   
   7. Is your current position as chief of police a civil service position?
      Yes ______ No ________
   
   8. Size of agency:
      (a.) small – less than fifty sworn
      (b.) medium – 50 – 500
      (c.) large – 501 and up
9. **Type of agency:**
   (a.) state
   (b.) county
   (c.) local
   (d.) campus
   (e.) other ___________________

10. **Number of civilian employees:** ________________

II. **GENERAL QUESTIONS (Part One)**

11. **Who can best effectuate change in a department:**

   (a.) ____ a chief who was hired from outside the department or

   (b.) ____ a chief who came up through the ranks of the department

   Explain. ___________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________

12. **Do you believe that building partnerships with various groups in the community is an integral part of the chief’s job?**

   Explain. ___________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________

13. **RANK** the following aspects of a chief’s job in order of importance with #1 being the most important and #5 being the least important.
____ (a.) Communication with other law enforcement agencies is an integral part of the chief’s job.

____ (b.) The chief of police must work with political groups in the community.

____ (c.) The chief of police must work with government leaders in the community.

____ (d.) Fulfillment of the expectations of citizens is an integral part of the chief’s job.

____ (e.) The chief of police should be the most visible member of the police department in the community he/she serves.

GENERAL QUESTIONS (Part Two)

14. I am satisfied with the diversity (racial, ethnic, and gender) in my department.
   Explain. __________________________________________
   __________________________________________________

15. I am satisfied/dissatisfied with the current state of technology in my department.
   Explain. __________________________________________
   __________________________________________________
16. I am satisfied/dissatisfied with the level of educational attainment and training of members of my department.
Explain. ___________________________________________
___________________________________________________

17. How do unions help and how do unions hinder your job as chief?
Explain. ___________________________________________
___________________________________________________

18. Should the position of police chief remain in civil service or should the position of chief of police be removed from civil service?
Explain. ___________________________________________
___________________________________________________

19. Do you believe that community policing requires participatory management?
Explain. ___________________________________________
___________________________________________________

20. Are most members of your department receptive to new policy initiatives?
Explain. ___________________________________________
___________________________________________________

21. What type of formal education should members of law enforcement possess?
Explain. ___________________________________________
___________________________________________________

22. Have members of your department received training on ethics and integrity?
23. Have you received training on ethics and integrity?
   Explain. ______________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

24. Were these courses valuable?
   Explain. ______________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

III. LEADERSHIP QUESTIONS

Note: The following questions can be answered by checking the appropriate box below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree Somewhat</th>
<th>Neither Agree or Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree Somewhat</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. There are plenty of leadership training seminars available to chiefs of police in Massachusetts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. There are plenty of leadership training seminars available to upper management in police departments in Massachusetts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Leadership training should be available to the rank and file in the police department.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Chief of police associations in Massachusetts should spend more time developing and presenting leadership programs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
29. Leadership training should devote more time on how to work with a diverse, multicultural community.

30. Leadership training should devote more time on how to work with myriad outside agencies.

31. Leadership training should devote more time on how to work with the media.

32. I believe that I am an effective communicator.

33. There is a need for more female leaders in law enforcement.

34. There is a need for more minority leaders in law enforcement.

IV. CONCLUSION

35. How many leadership conferences or courses have you attended in the past five years?

   a. more than 10
   b. 5-10
   c. less than 5
   d. none
36. What were the **best** and **worst** characteristics of these conferences? Explain. _____________________________________________
_____________________________________________________

37. Have members of upper-management in your department (captain, lieutenant, sergeant) participated in leadership conferences?

   a. yes  
   b. no  
   c. don’t know  

38. In what ways did they benefit from attending these conferences? Explain. _________________________________________
___________________________________________________

39. If the answer to the preceding question is ‘no’ what is the reason for nonattendance?

   a. no money for leadership training  
   b. no interest on the part of upper-management in attending leadership conferences  
   c. leadership training is not a priority  
   d. leadership conferences not available in this area  

40. What best defines your leadership style?

   a. top-down management  
   b. democratic  
   c. autocratic
41. I believe leadership training should begin:
   a. at the academy
   b. in college
   c. on appointment to chief’s position
   d. once rank is attained
   e. other (explain) _________________________________

42. When you seek police leadership information and support on the national level, which agencies, from the following list, do you utilize (check all that you contact).

   _ International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP)
   _ Police Executive Research Forum (PERF)
   _ National Sheriff’s Association (NSA)
   _ The Police Foundation
   _ National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE)
   _ U.S. Department of Justice - Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS)
   _ U.S. Department of Justice - National Institute of Justice (NIJ)
   _ U.S. Department of Justice - Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA)
   _ U.S. Department of Justice - Office for Victims of Crime (OVC)
   _ U.S. Department of Justice - Office on Violence Against Women (OVW)
   _ U.S. Department of Justice – Office of Community Oriented Policing (COPS)
What is the most frustrating aspect of your job as chief?
Explain. __________________________________________
_________________________________________________

What is the most satisfying aspect of your job as chief?
Explain. __________________________________________
_________________________________________________

Thank you.
References


Goonan, Peter. “*Input Sought on Police Evaluation.*” Union News. April 16, 1993


*Union-News (Springfield, MA) December 1, 1992 “Frustrated official quits police panel.”* Author: Carol Malley.


