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MOBILITY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CAREER SYSTEM IN POLICE PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

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The police field, as presently constituted, does not provide a Career System for its practitioners. Large individual police agencies, it is true, may offer diversified career opportunities for its employees, but the police field, as a whole, lacks this element of sound personnel practices. Instead, each of the nearly 50,000 police jurisdictions in the nation provides its employees with its own version of a closed police "career" system.

True career systems are characterized, among other things, by job mobility; they permit and encourage transfer of employees from one assignment to another, from one agency to another. Job mobility within the police field, however, is drastically limited. For the young man or woman entering police work as a career it is tremendously important that they select the "right" agency at the beginning of their employment. What career opportunities exist for them in police work are normally limited to the opportunities available within their own agency. Their opportunities to transfer to another agency except at that agency's entrance level are practically non-existent. As the recruit rises through the ranks of his agency, his opportunity for transfer diminishes. Should he find it necessary to move to another jurisdiction, for health or other reasons, he would normally find it necessary to enter his career field again on the entrance level.

The absence of a police career system, under any legitimate definition of that term, and the inability of police personnel to transfer to other jurisdictions complicates the administration of the police function. Young men and women are limited to only one or two "mistakes" in selecting a career employer. After the age of 30 many jurisdictions will not accept these people as applicants. If the person had been reasonably successful, he (she) may have too much invested to transfer to another agency. A history showing more

than one or two employers may be taken as an indicator of "personal instability." Truly, the career-minded person must make his or her choice of first employer very carefully.

This situation probably limits the number of competent young people who desire to enter law enforcement as a professional calling. Surely it penalizes many persons who desire to transfer to other agencies but find themselves trapped for life. Even an unusually competent person, finding himself in a dead-end job, may lose his spark, may lose his motivation to do a creditable job of serving the public.

The loss of competent administrative personnel is even more critical. As the person advances through the ranks, his value to the police field should increase. His present agency, however, may lack the right opening. Another agency may have such an opening. Normally that person is trapped. His inability to effect a transfer across jurisdictional lines is symptomatic of a common practice in police personnel administration.

The present paper will focus attention on this critical aspect of personnel administration. It will attempt to define the problem, to isolate obstacles to the establishment of a police career system. It will conclude with a proposed system for effecting such a career pattern on an experimental basis.

THE NEED FOR A CAREER SYSTEM GENERALLY

Concern over the quality of public employees has led many writers and groups to advocate the establishment of genuine career systems. In 1935, for example, the Commission of Inquiry stated:

We find that our governmental units, federal state, and local, do not generally offer the more capable men and women a fair chance, in any way comparable to that offered by private business, industry, or the professions, for a lifetime of honorable work affording the opportunity for advancement based on merit and accomplishment.

We therefore recommend that the day-today work of the government be definitely made a career service.¹

By a career is meant a life work. It is an honorable occupation which one normally takes up in youth with expectation of advancement, and pursues until retirement. A career service in government is the aggregation of laws, organization, rules, and procedures by means of which the career service is maintained and developed.²

Opportunity for advancement and promotion within each career service must be open to all within the service on the basis of work done and capacity for the higher post. Each service must be viewed in the broadest possible light so that the top posts may be filled from a wide base and so that those who enter at the bottom may have the opportunity of reaching great eminence. Particularly in local government, this will require opportunity of transfer between jurisdictions.³

In the same year, Professor Leonard D. White addressed the same problem. Although he focussed his attention primarily upon the top administrative posts of the federal government, his observations have application to local government personnel problems generally, and to police personnel administration specifically. Professor White observed:

Our administrative system has produced many able administrators; too commonly they have been fortunate accidents. The system as such is not constructed to develop administrative ability or to capitalize the measure of ability it attracts.⁴

The essential point in the improvement of the public service of the future is the establishment of the type of a career that will be attractive to the strongest and most intelligent young men and women of each generation. The day has gone when the public service can be manned by persons who have failed to achieve success in the competitive world and who in middle age seek refuge in the official world.... [The achievement of a career service] cannot be done by allowing nature to take its course. We have to reconstruct the conditions of service of the higher grades by consciously and patiently planning for the kind of service that we believe to be necessary.⁵

Successive Hoover Commission Reports on the Executive Branch of the federal government have also advocated measures which would improve the career aspects of the federal service and which would make possible a better utilization of employee talents. The last Hoover Commission advocated the establishment of a Senior Civil Service Group. It succinctly identified the problem in the following terms:

Although the Government is the largest employer with the greatest continuing need for managerial competence, it has no system by which it identifies men and women of great capacity within the Government.... The Civil Service System emphasizes positions, not pecple. Jobs are classified, ranked, rated and their compensation determined on the blind assumption that they can always be filled like so many jugs, merely by turning the tap.⁷

Public personnel administration is not that simple. Recruitment and management of personnel even on the lowest employment level involves the application of carefully-designed and refined techniques and processes. The identification and recruitment of administrative and executive personnel is even more difficult. Piece-meal approaches do not work. In order to be successful, the entire personnel system must be carefully structured in ways which will make possible the realization of the goals of public personnel administration.

Implicit in the discussion of career systems is the matter of job mobility. The establishment and development of a career system involves, among other things, the meaningful assignment of personnel, making sure that each successive position adds materially to the professional growth of the employee. Ideally, each successive assignment of the capable employee should offer new challenges and should entail an ever-widening scope of

¹ Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, Better Government Personnel, 1935, p. 3, hereinafter referred to as the Commission of Inquiry.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28. ⁴ Leonard D. White, Government Career Service, 1935, p. ix.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17. ⁶ U. S. Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Personnel AND CIVIL SERVICE, A Report to Congress, 1955, p. 44. ⁷ *Ibid.*

responsibilities. The capable employee who possesses the talents to reach the top of his career should not be deterred by artificial barriers.

CAREER SYSTEMS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Personnel administration in local government is complicated by the small size of many governmental units, and by the small number of personnel employed in any given unit of government. Local government generally, therefore, cannot offer a wide assortment of career possibilities within any one functional field. This fact can be demonstrated by analyzing the employment situation in law enforcement. Collectively, local governmental units probably employ at least 300,000 police personnel. These are distributed, however, among agencies of various sizes. Small police departments are the rule—not the exception. In 1959, the average size of police departments reporting to the Department of Justice was 47 personnel.8 In 1952, Earle W. Garret reported that at least 90 per cent of the nation's police departments employed less than 24 personnel each.9 In a more recent study, California's Attorney General reported that 63 per cent of the state's municipalities employed less than 20 sworn police personnel.¹⁰

The police field, therefore, employs a large number of persons. As a whole, it offers a wide assortment of job opportunities. Viewed nationally, the police field is surely capable of providing career opportunities to persons with a wide range of abilities, aptitudes, and interests. Police personnel systems are not administered nationally, however. Instead, the independence of local governmental units creates a vast number of independent police personnel systems. There is virtually no pooling of personnel resources by these independent units.

What is true of the police field is true in many other areas of local governmental employment. Each municipality and county must forage its own chief executive, its own director of water works, its own clerks, and its own librarians. The saving feature is that in some occupational areas professional organizations have encouraged the development of occupational career systems. City

⁸ U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, CRIME IN

THE UNITED STATES, Uniform Crime Reports, 1959, Sept. 16, 1960, Table 23, p. 105.

⁹ "The police and organized crime," in Morris Ploscowe, (Ed.) Organized Crime and Law Enforcement, Vol. I, p. 179, 1959.

10 Calif., Attorney General, SURVEY OF CALIFORNIA POLICE AND SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENTS, 1957.

managers, city planners, librarians, teachers. social welfare workers, and others are now recruited from a wide base. In recent years the idea of pooled personnel resources has been adopted by many local government units. It is now common experience for City Managers to have begun their career as "administrative analysts" or "administrative assistants." Often their first job as city manager has been in a smaller city. In successive transfers they have transferred to larger municipalities. The same is true of some other occupational groupings.

In recent years, therefore, certain occupational groupings in local government have been able to achieve the establishment of "open" career systems. In many areas, positions in local government are open to any member of the desired career group. Generally, city managers, for example, may apply for positions which are open anywhere in the nation. Teachers, to take another occupational group, are generally eligible to apply for any position open in the states for which they have a credential. They are not restricted to employment in a single school district. Promotion opportunities in some occupations are also open to all qualified persons.

One measure of the extent to which a particular occupational group has achieved a career system would seem to be the amount of mobility which can be found within that occupational grouping. In order to validate this assumption some method was sought to test job mobility. Since job openings are often published in trade journals and magazines an effort was made to determine the relative mobility of city managers and chiefs of police. For the western United States, Western City Magazine appeared to offer the greatest variety and largest number of job announcements. The "Jobs and Men" column of this magazine was checked for the year 1960. The job announcements in this magazine during this period covered 135 openings. Ninety-eight of those openings were for city managers or for other department heads in local government. An analysis of these openings appears below:

- 30 City manager/city administrator
 - 3 City clerk
 - 1 City clerk/director of finance
- 10 City engineer/director of public works
 - 7 City engineer
- 13 Director of Public Works
- 1 Director of Personnel

- 8 Director of Finance
- 2 Controller
- 1 City recorder
- 3 Director of parks and recreation
- 4 Director of recreation
- 10 Chief of Police
- 2 Civilian defense director
- 2 Fire chief
- 1 Librarian

Using this analysis, 7.4% of the job openings were for the office of Chief of Police, 21% were for the recruitment of City Managers. The largest city recruiting a Chief of Police was 17,000 population; the largest recruiting a City Manager was 434,000! This analysis gives the impression that the position of City Manager is nearly three times as mobile as the position of Police Chief. The present writer thinks this is true; probably it is an understatement. The limitations of analysis above are apparent. Western City Magazine appears to be as accurate an index of job openings for Police Chief as it does for openings as City Manager. There is really no way in which to validate this assertion, however.

The Job Finder, published by the Western Governmental Research Association was also checked. From March, 1958 to March, 1961, no listing was carried announcing an opening for Chief of Police.

A final measure of job mobility in law enforcement may be gained from a recent article by Chief of Police Bernard L. Garmire of Tucson, Arizona.¹¹ Chief Garmire reported that 182 Chiefs received outside appointments in 1959. His article is based upon an analysis of a questionnaire which he mailed to these chiefs. The 114 responses which he received revealed the population of the cities in which outside chiefs had received an appointment. These were grouped as follows:

> 7 over 100,000 18 50,000 to 100,000 89 10,000 to 50,000

From this analysis it seems clear that there is some mobility within police personnel administration. Mobility, however, is limited to the entrance level (patrolman) and to the position of Chief of Police. Only rarely are positions between these two posts open to competition from outside the jurisdiction. It also seems clear that mobility among police chiefs is less than among

" "Appointment of outside police chiefs," Public MANAGEMENT, 42: 170-4 (August, 1960).

city managers and some other occupational groups of local government. What mobility that does exist is found usually among the smaller jurisdictions.

Discussion of job mobility and unrestricted recruiting cannot avoid arguments on the subject of "Open versus closed civil service systems." About this persistent controversy perhaps the best conclusion is that of Lewis Mayer:

The guiding principle would seem to be that selection should be restricted to those in the service unless it appears that a substantially better class of service will be obtained by resorting to general competition.12

Proponents of open recruiting claim that it will result in "... the broadening of opportunity to young men and women, the provision of wide competition, and the foundation of a career."13

Personnel problems may be particularly troublesome in the smaller governmental jurisdictions. A system of pooling personnel resources has been suggested as a way to effect career systems in local government. The Commission of Inquiry suggested the necessity of some system which would permit transfer of public employees across jurisdictions boundaries.14 By pooling personnel resources, local governments may often achieve all of the advantages of the open civil service system of recruiting and may avoid many of the disadvantages of the closed systems.

No larger number of first-class positions is created, of course; but the pooling of all similar positions in a state or national competition gives ability and talent the essential chance to come to the front.15

"Pooling, either by formal or informal arrangement, seems to afford the principle hope for the development of a career service in the smaller American cities. . . ."16

Wherever feasible, promotions probably should come from within the ranks of the department. There are times, however, when the best man is not available from within the department. In these cases, drawing from a larger pool of personnel resources would tend to improve the police

¹² FEDERAL SERVICE, 1922, quoted in International City Manager's Association, MUNICIPAL PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION, 1950, p. 181.

13 I. C. M. A., MUNICIPAL PERSONNEL ADMINISTRA-

TION, loc. cit.

14 See p. 4, supra.

15 I. C. M. A., MUNICIPAL PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION, op. cit., p. 181.

16 Ibid., p. 182.

service as a whole. The following remarks by Donal E. Nemetz were written in discussing the appointment of outside chiefs of police. They seem applicable, however, to promotions generally and to discussion of the pooling of personnel resources.

[Appointment of the chief from within the Department]...is in agreement with the career service system, under which new recruits are brought in at the bottom, and top positions are filled by promotion from among those in the service. But carrying the career concept to its logical conclusion, it follows that the best qualified man be selected, regardless of resistance or any other factor not directly related to the requirements of the job. To open police chief positions to intercity competition will not restrict the opportunities for advancement for good police officers within the department. In fact, it will enlarge the opportunity and at the same time raise the level of competence of the whole police service.17

OBSTACLES TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLICE CAREER SYSTEM

The recruitment of outside police chiefs regularly encounters resistance. If the next logical step were to be taken-to make all positions in the police field open to qualified personnel regardless of residence-even greater resistance would likely be encountered. There seem to be compelling reasons, however, for doing just this. In the long run such a policy is likely to have had the following effects: 1. to have raised the morale of the police service generally; 2. to have encouraged many of today's "drop-outs" to remain in law enforcement; 3. to have helped to raise even further the present competence of the police field as a whole; and 4. to have aided in the establishment of a genuine career system in the police field.

It seems proper at this point, however, to examine briefly some of the obstacles which may frustrate any proposal to make promotional positions open to all qualified persons.

A pathy. One of the greatest anticipated obstacles is apathy—the general lack of interest which inspires complacency and self-satisfaction, the lack-luster attitude which drives individuals to turn their backs to new ideas. Resistance to any

 17 I. C. M. A., Municipal Police Administration, 5th Ed., p. 153.

new idea or concept is normally to be expected; apathy simply adds another dimension to this phenomena. Apathy explains at least partially, however, why no career system worthy of the name exists today in the police field or in many others. The present author has even detected this attitude of apathy and resistance among some professional personnel officers with whom he has discussed the matter!

Political Opposition. Time after time, in talks with law enforcement people and with others in local government the present author has been told that a proposal to establish a career system in law enforcement would be killed by political opposition. To be sure, such a plan would be opposed by those who have the philosophy that "local jobs are for home-town boys." But cries of other political opposition were voiced. According to some, such a proposal would be viewed by local political leaders as a threat to "home rule," to local control and decision-making in personnel matters. After all, the argument ran, remember the opposition which local government groups threw into the path of the first attempts to pass a "California Peace Officers Standards and Training Act." Much of this opposition revolved around local control over personnel matters, and it was not until this was guaranteed that the Act was finally passed in 1959. Surely, control over personnel matters is an important key to good government; remove this and you have removed one of government's most important instruments to control its destiny. An effective career system, based upon our philosophy of decentralized government would surely have to be structured in such a way as to leave final selection of personnel in the hands of local government, exactly where it resides today.

In addition to the above, persons who were interviewed on this matter were prone to recall the many painful sessions before local governing boards when attempts were made to remove residence requirements from personnel rules and city charters. Residence requirements have been eliminated in many areas but scars have been left in their wake. Furthermore, some of the persons interviewed mentioned as a serious obstacle to inter-jurisdictional transfers the matter of the uniqueness of each governmental environment. How well, they asked, could an outside person adjust to the different policies, procedures, and philosophies of a new agency? How well

could the most capable sergeant in City A perform as a Lieutenant in the wholly new environment of of City B? Surely, these are matters which need careful consideration, but it is felt that they would not present serious handicaps to capable and willing persons who transferred to new agencies.

Finally, several persons interviewed were frank to admit that law enforcement groups themselves would fight such a plan. According to this view such a plan would be viewed as an unknown and consequently dangerous threat. Many personnel might view such a plan as a threat to their vested right to the next higher opening. One police captain in a smaller city—standing only a breath away from the chief's job—emphasized to the author that no one else had any right to the chief's job. After all, he had performed his services for his city meritoriously; bringing in an outside chief would mean many things to him, but surely it would be an ungracious act by the city fathers!

Many persons who expressed support for the plan were frank to admit that they would probably constitute a minority in the police field. The incompetent or complacent employee would view the plan as a threat to their unrealistic level of expectation. In other words, even lacking ability and/or the desire to do a first-rate job, hope springs eternal in the hearts of these employees that they can look forward to a regular progression of assignments and promotions. Why rock the boat then by bringing in outside threats? Furthermore, the familiar charge that such a system would cause a loss of morale among present employees was leveled at the plan. It is not known whether these attitudes are characteristic of the majority of persons in the police field or in any other career field. Surely this type of opposition must be anticipated and planned for if such a proposal is to be effected.

Differences in Retirement Systems. Most of the law enforcement personnel interviewed mentioned the matter of retirement systems and its relation to interagency transfers. A minority felt that it was really no obstacle at all. Interestingly, this group was composed of the young, the competent, the personnel who were on the make for more challenging jobs. Most of those interviewed, however, particularly those who were between forty and fifty years of age, did view the matter of retirement as a deterrent to transfers. This reservation was the most frequently made argument any system which would permit transfers

and the recruitment of outside personnel. The matter of retirement, therefore, looms as a formidable obstacle to the possibility of interagency transfers.

In addition, the matter of other employee benefits was mentioned. Several persons observed that they would be very cautious in examining an offer to work for another agency, making sure that the working conditions and job benefits were comparable to those presently being enjoyed. Working conditions and employee benefits vary from department to department. Pay for the same rank varies. These are characteristic of any system of decentralized government. These matters do not appear, however, to be crucial obstacles to the proposal offered. The person who was eligible and interested in transferring to another agency would probably be attracted by things other than pay and fringe benefits. The challenges of the new job, the added responsibilities, the changed working environment might be significant inducements, provided the pay and other benefits were nearly comparable.

Legal Restrictions. In order to determine the extent to which city and county charters might restrict the giving of open promotional examinations, the charters of several California cities were reviewed. One of these limited eligibility for promotion to persons serving in the next lower rank in the department where the vacancy existed. All other charters carried an escape clause which would permit the recruitment of outside personnel where this was necessary for the good of the city. This provision was normally similar to a section of the model personnel ordinance of the League of California Cities. This ordinance provides:

In so far as practicable and consistent with with the best interests of the [competitive] service, all vacancies in the competitive service shall be filled by promotion from within the competitive service, after a promotional test has been given and a promotional list established.

If, in the opinion of the appointing power, a vacancy in the position could be better filled by an open, competitive test... then the appointing power may instruct the Personnel Officer to call for applications for the vacancy and arrange for an open, competitive test and

¹⁸ San Francisco, City and County, CHARTER, Sec. 146.

for the preparation and certification of an eligible list.¹⁹

There do not appear, therefore, to be formidable legal problems or obstacles to the proposal to open promotional examinations to all qualified persons.

Technicalities of Personnel Administration. Pooling police personnel resources—or the use of any other similar device—in order to effect a system of interagency transfers would create some technical problems in personnel administration. The problems would be difficult, but not impossible to solve. Essentially, these problems would revolve around the matter of standardization—of position classification, of examination procedures, of employee evaluation, and of personnel record-keeping.

If there was to become reciprocal arrangement between jurisidictions, positions would have to be classified and rated uniformly. To be successful, such a system would have to be fair to the personnel of each jurisdiction; it cannot grant careers to the personnel of one jurisdiction at the expense of the personnel of others.

To a degree, the excellence and adequacy of examination and promotion procedures depends upon the adequacy of personnel records. To what extent can these be standardized? To what extent is standardization desirable and necessary? To what extent would standardization involve "seeking the lowest common denominator," thus penalizing the personnel of jurisdictions which maintain complete personnel records. Adequate personnel records should reveal the strength and weaknesses of personnel; this could penalize personnel in a pooling arrangement when they were competing with persons on whom adequate records were not kept. To what extent can other personnel procedures, such as periodic employee evaluation, be standardized? These are not insuperable problems, but their resolution could help assure the success of any plan to pool personnel resources.

PROPOSED: A PLAN TO POOL POLICE PERSONNEL RESOURCES

Tremendous strides have been made in the field of police personnel administration. Much remains to be done, however. Generally, personnel

¹⁹ A SUGGESTED PERSONNEL SYSTEM, Berkeley, (mimeo.), March, 1950, Rule XIII, Sec. 2. practices of a given police agency have not been too different than those followed by its general government in other functional fields. One of the matters which still remains to be accomplished is the establishment of some semblance of a career system. It is proposed here that the logical first step in this direction is the development of an experimental system for the pooling of police resources.

Early in this paper the statement was made that the law enforcement field, as a whole, lacked a career system. It is felt that this statement will withstand examination. It is true that many of the larger police agencies offer many fine career opportunities. This would certainly be true of agencies such as the Los Angeles Police and Sheriff's Departments, the New York City Police Department, many of the state police or highway patrols, and the F.B.I. Personnel of these agencies are offered a wide choice of assignment and responsibilities. Strictly speaking, however, each of these agencies has established a closed system, with opportunities limited to persons who are already in the system.

The critical problems with which we are concerned in this paper, however, do not concern the larger agencies as much as they do the smaller units. It is the smaller agency which is most numerous, most common, and usually most deficient in offering career opportunities to its recruits. All other considerations being equal, it is generally the smaller jurisdiction which is most deficient in using up-to-date personnel practices. Certainly, the recruitment base and the personnel training resources will be most severely restricted in the smaller jurisdiction.

Therefore, while the proposal to be made in this paper has general application to the entire law enforcement field, it is most specifically directed at the smaller police unit.

The cultural climate seems particularly appropriate today for the development of a system to pool personnel resources. New York and California have recently established state-wide systems for the certification of peace officer personnel. A similar proposal has been introduced in the Missouri Legislature, and it is anticipated that within the near future other states will follow the California and New York pattern.

In California there has been established a Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training.20 Operating under the aegis of the Attorney General, this Commission prescribes minimum standards for the certification of peace officer personnel. The program is voluntary for the cities and counties of the state, but it provides a system of grants-in-aid to jurisdictions which conform to the state's minimum standards. The Commission in California has been operating for only two years, and it provides now for the granting of only one type of certificate—the basic patrolman's. Certain groups in the state, however, are already considering the possibility of providing for "intermediate" and "advanced" certificates. The concept of the Commission carries the germ, therefore, of developing into a system which may prescribe minimum standards for all levels of police personnel. The posssible effects of this are cumulative.

The movement toward the standardization of police personnel qualifications and a proposal to pool police personnel resources, therefore, would appear to be independent yet related efforts to improve even further police personnel practices.

CONTROLLING FACTORS

Earlier an effort was made to identify the obstacles which might frustrate any proposal to pool police personnel resources. To be reasonable, therefore, any serious proposal should take these obstacles into consideration. Consequently, it seems that a proposal to pool resources should be conditioned by the following controlling factors:

- 1. The need for a common political unit.
- 2. The need for a common retirement system.
- The necessity of leaving the control over personnel matters in the hands of local officials.
- 4. The need for reciprocity.

There is no irreconcilability between the political process and public personnel matters. Certainly it is true that the original interest in public personnel matters was stimulated by and directed at the spoils system in government. The impetus for many of the early civil service reform movements was directed at getting politics out of personnel matters, and at the need for insulating public servants from the political bosses. Even recognizing this, however, does not mean that personnel matters can or should be divorced from the political process. If the term *political process* is

²⁰ Penal Code, Secs. 13500-13522, added Stats. 1959, c. 1823, pp. 4332-5, Sec. 2.

used properly, i. e. to describe the public decision-making process, public personnel administration would seem to be an intergral aspect of this process. The very fact the spoils system has been eliminated and that public personnel matters are as wisely handled as they are today is evidence of the fact that these matters have not been divorced from the political process. For the most part, the political process has determined that public personnel matters should be free of politics.

It seems that a proposal to pool police personnel resources will stand the greatest chance of success, therefore, if it is proposed to jurisdictions which share a compact, homogenous, common political unit. Generally, citizens of two or more communities in this country share three levels of common political units: viz. the county, the state, and the nation. Generally, these units may coordinate certain governmental activities within successively larger spheres of influence. A proposal to pool resources throughout the nation would appear to have the least chance of success; a proposal to pool these resources within a county would seem to have the greatest chance of success. Within a county one is more likely to encounter social homogeneity, social cohesion, and shared attitudes and philosophies than one would expect to find within a state or throughout the nation. Contact between citizens of different communities and between local government leaders within a county is likely to be more frequent and more permanent than within a state or throughout the nation. Proposals for inter-governmental cooperation, therefore, would seem most likely to get a fair and receptive hearing from governmental and community leaders within a single county.

The most frequently mentioned obstacle to any plan to pool personnel resources was the diversity of retirement systems. Particularly among senior officers the necessity of joining another retirement system would be a crucial matter. Of the persons interviewed on this matter, the overwhelming majority would turn down even highly attractive offers to transfer to another jurisdiction if it involved the necessity of joining another retirement system. The retirement system which is shared by more local government jurisdictions in California than any other is the California State Employees' Retirement System. The law permits local jurisdictions to contract with the State retirement system. For fiscal 1960, the police departments of 135 cities and the sheriff's departments of 27 counties were members of the State retirement system.²¹

Any plan to pool personnel resources which seeks to deprive local jurisdictions of authority in personnel matters seems doomed to fail. If local officials were to lose their control over personnel policies their direction of local government would be frustrated. They could not be held responsible for the conduct of local government if they lacked basic authority in personnel matters. Within the context of sound personnel administration practices, local control over these matters must be retained by the individual jurisdictions. Cooperative arrangements can be worked out which allow the responsibility for basic decisions to reside in the local jurisdictions.

In order to gain support for a plan to pool personnel resources the reciprocal features of the plan should be stressed. Opposition initially to such a proposal should be anticipated. If the proposal is submitted correctly and if an effort is made to explain adequately and completely the positive ramifications of the plan, this initial opposition should diminish. The reciprocal features of the plan should be stressed in order to appeal to the professional interests of the personnel affected. Personnel will have to be convinced that there will be reciprocity in fact in order to find the plan attractive. To an extent this may be conditioned by the degree of cooperation and friendly relationships which have characterized inter-action between the participating jurisdictions. In some areas the relations between police agencies in an area have been marred by friction, suspicion, and by lack of cooperation. Such an environment would appear to doom to failure any proposal to pool personnel resources. Only where there has been mutual respect and a desire to resolve problems could such a personnel proposal be successfully implemented.

THE PROPOSAL

It is proposed that police agencies within metropolitian counties which share a common retirement system examine the possibility of entering a formal arrangement to pool police personnel resources. Using Santa Clara County, California as an example around which to construct a model, such a proposal would involve potentially the following jurisdictions:

Jurisdiction	Number of personnel
Mountain View	34
Palo Alto	67
Santa Clara	50
Sunnyvale	57
County Sheriff	235
Total	443

The following jurisdictions would be excluded from the proposal because the personnel are not members of the same retirement system.

Jurisdiction	Number of personnel
Alviso	1
Campbell	12
Gilroy	17
Los Altos	17
Los Gatos	13
Milpitas	12
Morgan Hill	6
San Jose	258
-	
Total	336

Santa Clara County represents a convenient model for such a proposal. In the first place, the general excellence of law enforcement is high in the county. Furthermore, the county is one of the ten Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in California. This means that it is considered by demographers and others to be an area with a relatively homogenous population which is socially and economically integrated with the central city of San Jose. The county has a population of approximately 650,000.

Interaction between the residents of the political jurisdictions of the county is frequent and people often reside in one community and work in another. Metropolitan areas throughout the nation are characterized, among other things, by the interdependence of governmental problems. That is, although the metropolitan area represents a single social and economic community it is not organized into a single governmental unit. This necessitates frequent and persistent contact and interaction between the governmental leaders of different jurisdictions. The leaders of Santa Clara County have recognized and resolved many of their more pressing common problems.

²¹ California State Employees' Retirement System, TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL FINANCIAL REPORT AND REPORT OF OPERATIONS OF THE BOARD OF ADMINIS-TRATION, June 30, 1960, p. 16.

The affected areas are within relative proximity to each other and are largely contiguous.

The details of the proposal to pool personnel resources may be described, as follows:

The Basic Agreement. The signatories to this agreement, desiring to provide a career system for their police personnel, agree to form a common pool for the selection of experienced police personnel. All promotional examinations for positions in the competitive service of cooperating agencies shall be open to qualified personnel of all cooperating agencies. Residence requirements and requirement for service in the department having a promotional vacancy shall be waived.

Police Personnel Advisory Committee. There shall be established a Police Personnel Advisory Committee. The City Council of each cooperating city and the Board of Supervisors of the County shall each appoint two members of this Committee. One of these members shall be known as the Police Member and so far as is practicable shall be a person trained in police administration. The other member shall be known as the Personnel Member and so far as is practicable shall be a person trained in personnel administration. Each jurisdiction may appoint an alternate to serve in the absence of its regular members.

From time to time and at least once per annum the members of the Committee shall elect one of its members as Chairman. The Chairman shall appoint a member of the Committee to act as Recording-Secretary. The Chairman shall also appoint a member of the Committee to act as Chairman pro tempore in the case of the Chairman's absence.

The Chairman shall have the responsibility of setting the dates of regular meetings; he shall prepare the agenda for each meeting; he shall serve as chairman for each meeting unless he cannot attend such meeting in which case he shall appoint the Chairman *pro tempore*; and he shall prepare an annual report.

A quorum of this Committee shall consist of one half of its members plus one member. The Committee shall conduct no meeting or other business unless there shall be a quorum present.

The Committee shall have the responsibility of holding regular conferences concerning matters of interest to cooperating agencies. It shall concern itself with such matters as the following: 1. The standardization of position classification; 2. the standardization of examination procedures; and 3. the standardization of personnel records kept by

cooperating agencies. It may properly concern itself with other personnel matters which are of interest to the cooperating agencies so long as the matter has been approved by a majority of the members present.

The Committee shall have the responsibility of preparing an annual evaluation of this cooperative personnel arrangement. The report of this evaluation shall be prepared by the Chairman and shall be approved by a majority of the Committee. The report shall provide space for the remarks of any member who shall desire to dissent from the majority report or from any phase of the report. A copy of the report shall be sent to the Chief Executive of each cooperating jurisdiction and to the City Council of each cooperating city and to the Board of Supervisors of the County.

Promotional Examinations. The qualified personnel of each cooperating jurisdiction shall be eligible to take the promotional examinations given by cooperating jurisdictions. So far as is practical the written examinations shall cover subjects and knowledge which will prove useful in the position to be filled.

Responsibility for the preparation, the administration, and the evaluation of the examination shall rest with the jurisdiction in which the vacancy occurs. This responsibility may be delegated to the Police Personnel Advisory Committee or to any other agency, corporation, or person approved by the Committee.

After the examination process has been evaluated the agency, corporation, or person making the evaluation shall prepare a list of successful candidates and forward this list to the agency having the vacancy. This list shall show the rank ordering of the candidates.

Selection of Candidates. The appointing authority shall appoint to fill the existing vacancy a person whose name is among the highest three names on the list prepared by the examination group. In the event the appointing authority does not choose to make the appointment from the highest three candidates, the appointing authority shall within seven calendar days prepare a report stating his reasons for not making the appointment. This report shall be filed with the Chairman of the Police Personnel Advisory Committee. As soon as practicable the Chairman shall convene the members of the Committee at which time the appointing authority's report shall be approved or disapproved. The members of the Committee representing the jurisdiction in which the disputed vacancy occurs shall be ineligible to vote on the matter.

The action of the Committee shall be immediately reported in writing to the appointing authority and to the Chief Executive of the jurisdiction. If the Committee disapproved of the appointing authority's action, and if the appointing authority, after receipt of the Committee's report, still chooses not to fill the vacancy as required, this action on his part shall constitute grounds for rescinding that jurisdiction's membership in the cooperative personnel arrangement.

Probationary Period. The candidate appointed to fill a vacancy under this cooperative arrangement shall satisfactorily fulfill a probationary period of six calendar months before his appointment shall be considered permanent. During this probationary period the candidate may be dismissed without cause.

Protection of Former Job Rights. A candidate appointed to fill a vacancy in another jurisdiction shall be given a leave of absence without pay for six calendar months by his former employing jurisdiction. This period shall be exclusive of any vacation time, accumulated time off, sick leave, or military leave which may be taken by the candidate. Should the candidate unsatisfactorily fulfill the probationary period he shall be entitled to return to his former position with all rights of pay, seniority, and other benefits.

Appeal. Should any police personnel serving in one of the cooperating jurisdictions feel that he has suffered any damages resulting from a decision, policy, or action of the Committee, that person shall prepare a written statement concerning his alleged damages. This statement shall be filed with the Chairman of the Committee and shall appear upon the next agenda of the Committee. The Committee shall hold a hearing upon the matter and decide the issue upon its merits. Its decision upon the matter shall not be construed to be legally binding upon the cooperating jurisdictions, upon individual members of the Committee, or upon other parties. Its decision shall have the force only of an advisory opinion.

CONCLUSION

To what extent can the police forces of American communities become professionalized? This is a

question which has interested and disturbed a number of persons both within and without the police field. There are numerous measures of the degree of professionalism possessed by a particular career field. One of these is the degree to which practice of the skill is predicated upon a system of knowledge and a period of preservice training. Another measure of professionalism is the degree to which the practitioner is mobile, is free to practice his chosen field unrestricted by geographical or political considerations. A further measure is the degree to which the person actually enters a career field, a life work, in which upon the demonstration of merit he can anticipate promotion and other rewards and recognition.

All of these three measures—and there are many others—may be included explicitly or implicitly in a plan to pool personnel resources. If a person entering the police field could be assured that there was a wide field of career opportunities, he could dedicate himself to the development of his greatest potential. He could feel confident that he would be restricted only by the limitation of his own abilities, not by arbitrary considerations which bore little relationship to proven merit.

The police field would also benefit from the judicious implementation of a proposal to pool personnel resources. It could offer its personnel career opportunities which would exceed the organizational limitations of any one unit. It could reinvigorate the personnel processes. It could develop personnel with a variety of talents, having knowledge that it had a larger pool of resources from which to draw than it could find within its own organization. It could offer true career opportunities to the capable young men and women who wished to enter the field of law enforcement.

The proposal made in this paper is limited to a single county. For the reasons given, the county appears to be the logical unit for experimentation. To have lasting effect upon police personnel administration, however, experimentation should be undertaken in more than one county. If such experimentation proves successful and beneficial, there is no reason why ultimately we could not achieve rather uniform pooling of resources on a state-wide basis.