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SELECTION METHODS FOR POLICE RECRUITS

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The problem of whether the police are adequately trained and whether methods of selection of personnel are the best available have served as the basis of controversy for many years; sometimes serving as a scapegoat for political issues and other public circumstances which the enmeshed participants were desirous of concealing. By diverting public interest into the alleged shortcomings of the local police department, they were able to take the pressure off themselves. In the light of present-day conditions when the moral integrity of public officials is wavering in the esteem of the citizenry, while charges of nonfeasance and misfeasance are leveled almost daily against public officials and servants, it is essential for police morale as well as for a reawakening of public confidence that the police departments be resurveyed and given a fair opportunity to display their worthiness of public esteem and respect.

The purpose of this study is to determine just what are the procedures and policies employed by law enforcement agencies in their selection of police officers in order to establish a standardized compilation of these procedures and policies together with a suggested uniform method of selection.

The method employed by the writer to acquire the data for this study was to dispatch a three-page questionnaire to thirty-three cities located in all sections of the United States. The analysis of the data was augmented by personal correspondence with leading educators in the field of Sociology and Police Science, research conducted in municipal, institutional, and public libraries, as well as consultations with numerous police officials and instructors.

The criteria promulgated to increase police efficiency by sociologists, police administrators, and persons interested in the field are well established. However, as is true in almost every avenue of endeavor, the academic and technical criteria are defined and recognized long before their actual physical adoption. Actual acceptance, particularly when it effects organizational or community mores, is marked by extreme reluctance on the part of the executives of the effected concerns to incorporate these modifications in their plan of operation. Consequently, this hesitation results in a retarding of the potential benefits to be derived therefrom.

It is more than thirty years since Vollmer,1 Healy,2 and others first inspired the

2 JOHN HEALY, ILLINOIS CRIME SURVEY, Chicago, 1931, p. 289.
revision and modernization of the then existing plans of operation in police organizations. These inspired works have been continued and augmented, but their transition into actual operation has been slow.

CIVIL SERVICE

It is uniformly agreed among those qualified in the field of law enforcement that police departments must be established under Civil Service Law if they are to function competently. Past experience has revealed that those departments not under Civil Service never consistently maintain the same level of efficiency as those departments operating under Civil Service. The situations that can be related concerning the disastrous repercussions felt by police officers who dared to enforce the law against certain influential persons are multifarious. This deplorable situation is only rectifiable by the employment of civil service tenure because job security is a condition precedent to efficient police operation. It is obvious that unless police officers have absolute certainty that they are safe from retaliation, political or otherwise, their job efficiency will never be fully developed.

Although there are some disadvantages in the Civil Service system, it has the virtue of eliminating many objectionable political features that made for corruption and inefficiency in the past. Civil Service Control is gradually resulting in a professionalized police service, and men start at the bottom of the ranks and work up to the top positions in the administrative and executive branches proceeding through the several grades of Civil Service examinations. This method of selection has the advantage of guaranteeing that the executive heads have been professionally trained for their position.

Another advantage of the Civil Service System is the general improvement in department morale which results from the protection of the executive head by Civil Service. Department heads were changed regularly with the result that the force was completely demoralized and ceased to function as an effective organization. Since the advent of Civil Service examinations, which are designed to qualify trained men for the position and protect them as long as they are honest and competent, the politicians have not been successful in removing the executive head.3

While it is true that a half-hearted effort at law enforcement is better than none, it is not sufficient to merely regulate and supervise public conduct.

The basis of crime control rests primarily with the police. Theirs is the duty of crime detection and apprehension. Unless this preliminary work is effectively done, the ultimate punishment of the criminal is never fully realized. The reason for this condition develops from the fact that the police force is the adjunct of whatever political faction happened to be in power. Its activities have been limited to the police of the administration instead of being governed by the letter of the law. Handicapped by the vacillating policies of the administration it is always a matter of police uncertainty as to which law shall be enforced and which violation overlooked.4

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4 HEALY, ILLINOIS CRIME SURVEY, p. 289.
Policies of larger cities of this country concur with the opinions expressed above and believe that Civil Service protection is a necessary requisite for maximum police efficiency. Data shows that out of twenty-five cities responding to this inquiry, twenty-one have their police departments functioning under the Civil Service Laws of their state.

Placing a police force under the protection of Civil Service will not solve all of its problems. The Civil Service system protects the inefficient as well as the efficient police officer. If a police officer can refrain from overt acts of disobedience or non-feasance, he can remain a member of his local department for many years simply by doing the minimum amount of work demanded by his superiors. Consequently, if the community is to derive the type of law enforcement necessary for a safe community, its police department must staff itself with competent and ambitious men. Speaking of this particular problem, Mr. Donald Stone states:

Competent personnel is the most pressing need of every police department. With the growing complexity of crime and police problems, it is increasingly important that policemen be of superior mental and physical ability and that more rigorous efforts be made to attract such persons to the force. Modern police work requires men of intelligence with an aptitude for police work, men who can work together in a disciplined organization, men of physical stamina and of high character.5

By and large, the responding cities' methods of selectivity and requirements for admission to the police force were basically similar and can be divided into a five point classification:

1. Mental Requirements
2. Physical Requirements6
3. Residency Requirements
4. Character Requirements
5. Age Requirements

MENTAL REQUIREMENTS7

The amount of mental competence necessary for law enforcement work is still a moot question. The educational requisite runs the gamut of a formal college education for a member of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to no formal educational demands in one of the principal cities of the United States. Educators in the field of Police Science strongly maintain that some degree of college training is necessary for members of a well organized police department. On the other hand, many veteran and highly successful police officers insist (and there are many cases to substantiate their position) that the best police officers come from families with little formal education and, during adolescence, were exposed to the ways of the community gangs

5 Donald Stone, RECRUITMENT OF POLICE, Washington, D. C., 1938, p. 5.
6 Due to the great similarity of the Physical Requirements among all cities this aspect of the article has been omitted.
7 Total responses will vary from one requirement to another due to the degree of information supplied by each city on each point answered, i.e., Age has twenty-three cities answering and Character has fourteen.
and the so-called "respectable" hoodlums. As a result of this "education" such officers are in a much better position to anticipate gang moves, understand hoodlum mores, and establish confidences among the hoodlum element than are their more educated brothers.

A balanced analysis of the situation indicates that a middle position toward this problem not only is a safe compromise but also an adequate one. Except for certain specialized positions in the police departments, a college degree is not necessary. In fact, it is the writer's opinion that a person with a college education is in grave danger of becoming frustrated, particularly if he finds himself delegated to the performance of routine police work, as is frequently done. The college trained officer, believing that he is suited for a job mentally demanding and finding himself relegated to routine patrol, may become despondent and will prove of little benefit to the department. To a certain degree, this situation can be attributed to the Civil Service system. In the vast majority of instances, Civil Service does not provide for specialists or technicians on the police departments; consequently those men must be hired and paid the same as the foot patrolmen.

On the other hand, to accept men possessing only a fifth or sixth grade education may be inviting disaster. A police officer must be able to write an intelligent report, express himself coherently in court or before a belligerent crowd, and possess sufficient mental ability to make spontaneous rational decisions. Mr. William Raney, Inspector and Director of Personnel and Training, Memphis Police Department, speaking of the intelligence of applicants states: "Applicants must possess ability to make written reports, good emotional stability, aptitude for investigational work and keen powers of observation, and be a high school graduate." The Baltimore City Service Commission in describing the intelligence requirement for applicants for their police department said: "The applicant must be able to follow given instructions, written orders, and ability to get along with people." However, because the educational factor is only one of several points to consider a city can not raise its standards too quickly or too high. A safe and just requirement would be two years of high school augmented by a thorough recruit training program. The Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis reports that St. Louis raised its educational standard from "being capable of reading and writing the English language understandably to a twelfth grade education." This revision was so severe that the Civil Service Commission was unable to supply the department with enough applicants to meet their needs and necessitated lowering the standard to a tenth grade education.

Because the question of education was not specifically posed, several cities did not state their requirement on this issue. Of the fifteen cities which did indicate their requirement, ten demanded that applicants be high school graduates, four cities demanded at least two years of high school, one city specified that its applicants be

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8 Excerpt from letter received by author, October 24, 1951.
9 City Service Commission of Baltimore Examination Bulletin #221-51, September 13, 1951.
10 Governmental Research Institute, ST. LOUIS POLICE DEPARTMENT—A RESURVEY, St. Louis, Missouri, February, 1948, p. 5.
graduates of grammar school, and only one city did not make a specific educational demand.

**Residency Requirement**

Often-times the residency issue develops as the aftermath of a police scandal or is the by-product of some type of police survey. It appears that whenever this circumstance presents itself, the investigators invariably reason that if non-residents were permitted to join the department the conditions would not be so depraved, all other things being equal. Just one step further is the idea that a residency waiver would reduce the political sovereignty so often associated with the hiring of police officers. This point is beyond consideration in cities where the Civil Service Commission's integrity is unquestioned.

A definite point in favor of a residency restriction is that it makes character investigation a much simpler and concise procedure. This is a very essential feature on the local level where the police budget and man-power are highly limited. A non-resident's character investigation could prove both difficult and costly to a police force whose financial resources and manpower are, in all likelihood, already taxed to their capacity.

The majority of the cities contacted in this survey specified that applicants must be permanent residents of the city whose police department they are endeavoring to join. This requirement varied slightly from city to city. In Detroit, applicants are required to reside in the state for one year prior to the date of the written examination, whereas San Francisco demands a five year city residency accrued immediately preceding the date of the examination. Portland, Oregon, demands that applicants for its police force be residents of "Multnomah, Washington, or Clackamas counties, except those who have or will have completed a four year college course in Police Administration by July 1, 1951 and are residents of Oregon or Washington."¹

Chicago, Philadelphia, and Kansas City require a one year city residency while Pittsburgh and St. Louis demand a two year city residency. Los Angeles is the only city of those responding to the survey permitting non-state residents to compete in its examination.

**Age Requirement**

The consensus of opinion among persons qualified in the field of police selection is that individuals selected for law enforcement work on the city level should be in their early twenties.

Because of the rigorous duties of police service and the need for providing a career for qualified young men, it is important to recruit men at an early age. The trend is to move age limits down. Since the average police department expects 25 years of service from a policeman, an age limit beyond 30 means that the department cannot expect a sufficient length of effective patrol service from these members. Also, applicants over the age of 27 and 28 have failed to settle down or make good in other lines of work. Maladjustment or disciplinary problems are more common in the age group of the late

¹ Portland Civil Service Announcement #132, Portland, Oregon, January 22, 1951.
twenties and over than in the lower age group. Furthermore, setting the lower age limit at 21 will secure candidates before they have begun their life career and obtained such success that they cannot be attracted to a police career.\textsuperscript{12}

Various other reasons for recruitment of the young men have been proposed, chief among these are: Younger men are less settled in their habits and therefore are easier to indoctrinate into the discipline and rigors of police work; older men are not as receptive to learning as are the younger men; men in their thirties and forties who are not already permanently established employment-wise may be maladjusted and constitute a poor employment risk; older men are regarded as bad risks not only from a physical standpoint but also from an actuarial point of view as far as pensions are concerned.

... on behalf of the high minimum and maximum age limits, it is argued that police service demands years of discrete and settled habits which may be secured in part by barring applicants who are in their early twenties, admitting those of maturer years and of middle age.

Over against this line of reasoning may be set the arguments favorable to low age limits. It is contended that although maturity and settled habits are desirable, they can be acquired within the police service as well as outside of it, that settled habits may preferably be formed under police discipline; that admission to the force of mature recruits greatly complicated the problem of retirement on pension, and finally, that the service may better be recruited from young and aspiring personnel than failures in industry and commerce.\textsuperscript{13}

Seventeen cities indicated their age limitation as prescribed by Civil Service or City Council regulation. The lowest minimum is in Berkeley, California, in which city a male resident need only be twenty years of age in order to take the examination. (This may be due to the influence of August Vollmer who, while Chief of Police in that California city, hired young college students as police officers. Perhaps one of his most outstanding proteges is Mr. O. W. Wilson who later became Chief of Police in Wichita, Kansas). The maximum was found in Kansas City, where individuals must be between twenty-one and forty-five years of age on the date of appointment. The average minimum age of the seventeen cities is 21.17 years of age, and the average maximum is 31.88 years. With the exception of Philadelphia, Memphis, Kansas City, and San Francisco, the present trend is definitely toward recruitment of younger men for this essential public service.

Although all cities have established a certain age limitation of some sort, there is still a major "loophole" which enables older men to join the police departments of many cities. Civil Service laws of most cities demand that applicants be within certain specified age limitations, but this requisite is applicable only at the time of the examination or the date that the individual files his application. Therefore, if an applicant is close to the maximum age when he takes the examination and is placed close to the bottom of the eligible list when it is posted (it could be three or four years before he is called for appointment), in such a circumstance it is quite possible

\textsuperscript{12} Stone, Recruitment of Police, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{13} The Citizens' Police Committee, Chicago Police Problems, Chicago, 1931, p. 23.
for him to be in his late thirties or early forties at the time he joins the police de-
partment.

Some cities have prevented this situation from occurring by adding a second pro-
viso to the age requirement. This proviso demands that individuals while still on
the eligible list and having reached a certain maximum age are no longer under
consideration for the position. Two principal cities having such a provision are
Portland, Oregon, and San Francisco, California.

All candidates must have reached their 21st birthday by March 1, 1951. Names will
be removed from the eligible list when non-veterans reach their 30th birthday, and when
veterans reach their 35th birthday.¹⁴

Applicants must be not less than 21 nor more than 35 years of age on the closing date
of receipt of applications. Names of eligibles who reach their 36th birthday before ap-
pointment from the register of eligibles established as a result of this examination will
be automatically removed therefrom.¹⁵

Veterans' Preference

Following the cessation of hostilities in 1945 and 1946 there prevailed throughout
the nation an abundance of goodwill and gratitude toward members of the American
military forces. As an outgrowth of this benevolence, honorably discharged veterans
were given either first consideration in Civil Service competition, were awarded a
five-to-ten point advantage over competing non-veterans, or the age requirement
was modified.

Section 9. Police and Fire Service. In original entrance examination for Firemen
and Patrolmen in the Police Department, applicants in addition to the requirement
of Rule II, at the time of examination must be between the ages of 21 and 28 years
(that is must not have reached their twenty-eighth birthdays), provided, however, that
persons entitled to military preference in accordance with the provisions of Section
10½ of the Civil Service Act shall not be subject to limitations specifying age unless
they are applicants for a position as Fireman or Policeman having no previous employ-
ment status as a Fireman or Policeman in the regularly constituted Fire or Police
Department of the city of Chicago, in which case they must be under 35 years of
age. . . .¹⁶

This condition prevailed in almost all police examinations as well as other types
of civil service examinations throughout the land. By and large, this situation did
not constitute any great detriment to the competing non-veteran because the per-
centage of competing non-veterans was low; consequently only a small minority was
affected. A larger number of non-veterans was rejected from military service for
personal handicap than for family responsibility (this refers to men between twenty-
one and twenty-eight years, not to all deferred males). Therefore, they would prob-
ably be rejected by the police physician even during normal times.

The benefits to the individuals concerned and to the community as a whole far

¹⁴ Portland Civil Service Announcement #132, Portland, Oregon, January 22, 1951.
¹⁵ San Francisco Civil Service Commission, Official Announcement, Entrance Examination: Police-
men, October 5, 1951.
¹⁶ Civil Service Commission Fifty-Sixth Annual Report, Chicago, 1950, p. 32.
outnumbered any disadvantages which might result from this type of extra consideration shown the veteran. As was previously mentioned, in the final analysis this handicap did not serve as any great aid in entrance examinations because at least 95% of the applicants were veterans, and even without the preference grade, approximately 90% of the veterans would have placed higher on the list than the non-veterans because of the latter group's physical or mental deficiencies.

The legal enactment of veterans' preference served as an indication of community gratitude to the returning servicemen, and it is quite doubtful if any legislator would have dared to take an attitude similar to that of the Citizens' Police Committee when they analyzed the Chicago Police Department in 1931. Speaking of military preference they said:

By the terms of Civil Service Law, war veterans are entitled to be placed at the head of the Civil Service list in the order of their examination grades. While the value of military experience in police work has thus far evoked no unanimity among police administrators, informed opinion seems to be general that any value which war-time military experience may have done does not justify the extraordinary preference contemplated by the Civil Service Law.\(^\text{17}\)

At the present time a peace-time draft is still very much in evidence and will probably remain in effect for several more years, or may even become a permanent part of our American way of life. As long as it continues, the discharged veteran will seek the same benefits given his military predecessors. If the draft should be abolished at a future date, the right to veteran's preference will become a weaker right. Benefits derived from active service acquired from voluntary enlistment in peacetime should never be as bountiful as active service during a time of national emergency.

**Character Requirement**

It is a fundamental fact that any type of employment involving a place of public trust, public confidence, fiduciary relationship, and respect by its very essence demands that its members possess fine characters, good reputations, and are respected members of their community. Needless to say, law enforcement lies within this category.

An established reputation for good moral character is, without a doubt, the most important element in the preliminary qualification of the policeman. In addition to the temptations and corrupting influence surrounding the performance of police duty, which are of a nature to test the moral fiber of any man, the policeman is required to enforce laws and ordinances establishing a certain standard of personal and social conduct. If he is to be a reliable public agent, he must be in general accord with the policies which such laws represent. Perhaps the best indication of this is the applicant’s own past record in the community and his attitude toward society.\(^\text{18}\)

The present day free-thinking liberalism which has endeavored to overcome all forms of control and restriction, including moral and ethical standards, has mani-


fested its presence in many levels of the governmental service as well as in the eco-
nomic sphere. Numerous scandals concerning misfeasances and nonfeasances in addi-
tion to other types of pharisaical conduct have been the essence of many news re-
ports. Sad though it is to relate, the law enforcement field has not been without its
share of ignominious notaries in this regard and has suffered through its bribery
shakedowns, unlawful searches and seizures, and assaults to compel confessions.

As the result of situations such as this, police departments throughout the land
have been executing the greatest care and prudence in the selection of their person-
nel. This necessity is aptly described by Professor Vollmer:

Weakness of a police organization, improperly recruited, contributes greatly to the
indifference and apathy of the public and frequently encourages potential offenders
to become habitual criminals. Higher standards of physical and entrance requirements
of police must be established. Whatever may be achieved in remediing police defects
must be done through enlisting the services of intelligent men of excellent character,
who are sufficiently educated to perform the duties of a policeman. As a first step in
any plan to ameliorate conditions, it is necessary to keep out, rather than weed out,
edesirable persons. Preventive measures are vastly cheaper and more effective than
the installation of complicated machinery to correct personnel defects. Besides, an un-
satisfactory policeman weakens the moral fiber of his associates and destroys public
confidence in the police. The police organization suffers in reputation and society pays
the bill when police are dishonest, brutal, or otherwise unsuited.19

Speaking on the subject of police discipline, Mr. William Rutledge at a meeting
of the International Association of Police Chiefs stressed the necessity of a thorough
character investigation in the following statement:

Intelligence, honesty, courage, good nature, and emotional stability are all essentials
of a good policeman but are not determined from letters of recommendation, a doctor's
examination, or the ability to read the rule book.

The one recourse which is available to all departments is the character investigation.
This should not only become a standard recruiting procedure, but the procedure must
be refined and intensified. Character letters are almost valueless. A personal investiga-
tion should be made, not only through the character references given, but also at the
schools attended by the candidate, his previous places of employment, his associates,
neighbors, and local businessmen.20

Perusal of questionnaire responses indicated the character investigation of pros-
spective police personnel now in vogue in the United States is one which generally
employs the following:

1. Community Inquiry by Police Personnel
2. Oral Interview of Applicants by Police Board
3. Checking Local and Federal Arrest and Fingerprint Records

Community Inquiry. The Community Inquiry is basically concerned with informa-
tion supplied by the applicant, either at the time of his initial application or immedi-

ately prior to his being appointed. The questionnaire followed a rather uniform tenor, warning the applicant that any discrepancy found between actual fact and the information supplied by him in his questionnaire will be sufficient grounds for rejection. The questionnaire requested information about the applicant's length and type of education and where acquired; employment record for a prescribed number of years (Chicago demands a ten year history and San Francisco a five year history); place of residency for a prescribed number of years; names of several persons, not relatives, who can supply credit and personal reference for the applicant; the applicant's military record which is verified by a photostatic copy of the individual's discharge papers; and proof of citizenship if born in a foreign country.

This data is given to an experienced inspector or police officer who makes a thorough investigation based upon this information. The investigating officer submits a complete case history to the Chief of Police or the Director of the Police Academy who has the final word as to whether the applicant is acceptable or not. In Chicago, the character investigation is performed by police sergeants assigned to police districts which encompass the residency of the police applicant. In St. Louis, "the investigation is made by the policeman on the beat in which the candidate resides." Detroit describes the purpose of its investigation as:

A comprehensive investigation is conducted covering school and work record, home environment, personal traits, etc. Every effort is made to determine that the applicant's character is above reproach. . . . Results of the investigation form a practical basis for the oral interviewing rating.22

Oral Interview. The Oral Interview is used by many cities as a means of determining the character of the police applicants. In most instances the interview is conducted by a group of police officials which one city refers to as its "Board of Review." This board is composed of the Chief of Police, Director of Police Training, and two police captains. The applicants appear individually before the board, are asked several questions, and dismissed. The board evaluates the applicants on the basis of personality, neatness, and other such qualities. The purpose of the interview is aptly described by Mr. Stone:

The purpose of the oral interview is to appraise such traits as personal appearance, bearing, poise, attitude, mannerism, and other characteristics which have a bearing on how he will fit into the police department but which cannot be determined through written tests.23

The Kansas City Police Department conducts this method of screening. Their board is called the "Oral Board" and is composed of the Chief of Police, Commissioner, Superintendent, and two captains. The applicant is graded on his physical appearance, initiative, temperament, confidence, courtesy, and voice by each member of the board on a department rating form. Each attribute possesses four degrees

21 Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis Police Department—A Resurvey, p. 6.
22 Detroit Police Department, General Information for Applicants.
23 Stone, Recruitment of Police, p. 18.
of weight, and the applicant is required to obtain a grade of 70 in order to be accepted for the position.\textsuperscript{24}

It is the opinion of the writer that this method of selectivity is not very effective. In the majority of cases, just the thought of a personal interview by four or five police officials would cause the applicants to feel nervous and ill at ease, a strong uncontrollable variable which will hinder the validity of the interview. With the numerous duties and demands of the high police rank it would be too demanding to permit them much time and opportunity to interview prospective employees, and it is rather doubtful if a true prospective can be acquired in a short time span.

If this type of program must be retained, the board of review should be staffed by officers of lower rank and subject the applicants to a more thorough investigation. On the other hand, the board could be disposed of entirely and leave the assignment to the members of the Police Academy. These officers will have the opportunity to view the recruits for a longer period of time and see them in a more natural light. If during this period of training the officers, do not meet the requirements of the department they can be dropped.

*Arrest Records.* The third method commonly employed to screen police applicants is to check their names and fingerprints in order to determine whether or not they have a criminal record. This must be done on both a local and federal level in order to guarantee success. The Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, D.C., has the fingerprints of several million citizens on file. In most cities when a person is convicted of a felony or serious misdemeanor a copy of the fingerprints and the court disposition are sent to Washington by the local authorities. Recently in Chicago, a police applicant's fingerprints were cleared by the Chicago Police Department's Bureau of Identification; however, when the applicant's prints were checked in Washington, (in Chicago, all applicants' prints are sent to Washington for clearance), it was discovered that the applicant had been indicted for rape in Rome, Georgia. If this policy had not been followed, the applicant probably would have been accepted by the Chicago Police Department.

The honesty and integrity of police officers must be of the highest, and there can be no such thing as too much caution and care by police departments in their method of selecting new members for their departments.

\textsuperscript{24}Letter from Captain J. H. Gameson, Director of Personnel, Kansas City Police Department, Kansas City, Missouri.