

Recommendations for the Continued and Increasing Use of Civilian Staff in
Law Enforcement Organizations

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Recommendations for the Continued and Increasing Use of Civilian Staff in
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Abstract

Purpose

The primary purpose of this study is to advocate for the use of new and evolving administration and management strategies related to work place motivations when addressing civilian employees in law enforcement organizations. Policing styles and technologies are evolving faster than ever before and police agencies are continuing to develop and utilize evidence based enforcement practices. Examination of the existing literature on workplace motivation and the law enforcement environment show emerging trends which may provide strategies for law enforcement administrators to address employee motivation and retention concerning civilians in the organizational context of law enforcement.

Methods

Information examined in this study was primarily gathered from a review of secondary sources. The majority of sources were from accredited scholarly journals, textbooks, law enforcement agency websites and government reports. Information gathered includes the law enforcement environment comprising stress, burnout, psychological injury, scope of duties, history of civilians in law enforcement, organizational behavior literature concerning specialization, motivation, satisfaction and efficiency, human resources literature concerning best practices, public service, municipal budgets and funding and any empirical studies concerning civilians in law enforcement. Various theories concerning workplace motivations and satisfaction were explored to compare to current law enforcement practices. These resources were then gathered and analyzed to highlight effective and efficient practices that focus on retention and motivation for civilian employees.

Key Findings

The law enforcement environment has been complex and multifaceted. Due to the nature of the work many aspects of human resource management have been ignored for police agencies; however, the unsupportive organizational culture associated with law enforcement has been impactful for civilian employees. Contrary to public thought, organizational contexts, not single stressful or overwhelming incidents have been the leading pathway to psychological injury for law enforcement employees. Policing organizations must begin to accept and implement modern human resource management practices to combat these problems and recruit, hire and retain civilian employees. Utilizing strategies from Public Service Motivation literature, which focuses on person-job and person-organization fit would change the ways agencies recruit, hire and motivate employees. Additionally, because resources have been scarce in public organizations, recruiting employees who are intrinsically motivated may be beneficial as they respond better to non-monetary incentives. Developing intentional job design to structure and align jobs with organizational goals would also be meaningful for civilian employees who have often been at the bottom of organizational hierarchies and suffer from limited communication and networking. Furthermore, the establishment of career paths and performance management programs may be beneficial as such systems have increased engagement, motivation, communication and organizational commitment. Lastly, based on reflections from the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, law enforcement administrators should focus on the health and well-being of all their employees.

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Section I: Introduction

The use of civilian employees in law enforcement has been increasing since the 1950's (Forst, 2000; McCarty & Skogan, 2012). These employees do not possess arrest powers nor have been granted the authority to use force, yet they perform critical roles such as call taking, dispatch and record keeping for law enforcement agencies. Civilian employees are subjected to the same schedules and environments as police officers, but receive lower wages ((30-70% of the salary of sworn staff while doing similar tasks (Davis, Hawkins, Lombardo, Koper & Woods, 2013)), fewer benefits, shorter trainings, and require less equipment than sworn staff while working more days per year (McCarty & Skogan, 2012).

The civilianization of auxiliary law enforcement functions has allowed additional police officers on the street to have more focused responsibilities which has increased organizational effectiveness and efficiency (Davis, et al., 2013; McCarty & Skogan, 2012). This is accomplished through specialization (Forst, 2000). Specialization is a well-known phenomenon in organizational literature which asserts a worker can be more efficient when completing small, relatively simple and specific tasks rather than completing an entire project (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Forst (2000) stated sworn officers are often trained as generalists and rotate through responsibilities which can limit an employees' long term effectiveness in positions that are highly technical or require extensive training. For example, many departments have utilized civilians in call taking and dispatch functions because such positions often require six or more months of rigorous training, state and/or federal certifications, and the use of dozens of specialized computer programs. Rather than train or retrain employees to complete such specialized tasks with a new rotation every five years or so, departments began hiring civilians into permanent positions.

Problem Statement

There has been very little focus on how civilian employees or specialized workgroups interact with law enforcement organizations in the academic literature. This is despite the fact that some law enforcement agencies employ more civilian than sworn employees and the number of civilian employees has been forecasted to grow at a faster rate than the number of sworn employees (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 2011; BJS, 2015). As of 2013, nearly one in three, an estimated 30% of all law enforcement staff was civilian (Davis, et al, 2013; McCarty & Skogan, 2012). Administrators must now acknowledge not only a growing diversity in their employees, but also a growing diversity of work groups created by demands put on their organizations to provide increased services, both in scope and frequency, at reduced costs. This may be a challenge since the majority of police administrators have traditionally been officers that worked their way through the ranks of an agency and may have little experience with civilian work groups or their responsibilities (Gul & O'Connell, 2013). Public budgets have been forecasted to continue to shrink while demand for emergency services is expected to remain high (Paoline, Rossler & Terrill, 2014). Additionally, Wexler (2010, as cited in Paoline, et al., 2014) stated the majority of police agencies are expecting budget cuts and 51% of responding agencies had already experienced resource reductions. By acknowledging new types of workgroups and expanding administrative and management practices it is hoped law enforcement agencies will be able to retain effective, motivated civilian employees in an effort to offset the struggle with resources. Turnover and retention can be costly to organizations and those agencies that fail to adapt to new challenges will likely struggle with resources and demands, ultimately failing to accomplish organizational goals.

Purpose

While many law enforcement organizations have reaped the monetary benefits of using specialized services provided by civilians there have been unintended negative consequences. Because specialization takes complex and intricate tasks and breaks them down into simple, repeatable steps it has been known to cause problems such as boredom and lack of motivation for employees (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). These adverse effects coupled with the law enforcement environment, which has been known to be stressful and negative, has led to burnout (McCarty & Skogan, 2012) and turnover (Davis, et al., 2013) which can undermine the primary purpose of civilian employees, increased efficiency at reduced costs. New administrative and management practices can be implemented to combat the negative effects surrounding civilianization and specialization and of law enforcement.

Methods of Approach

Information examined in this study was primarily gathered from a review of secondary sources. The majority of sources were from accredited scholarly journals, textbooks, law enforcement agency websites and government reports. Information gathered includes the law enforcement environment comprising stress, burnout, psychological injury, scope of duties, history of civilians in law enforcement, organizational behavior literature concerning specialization, motivation, satisfaction and efficiency, human resources literature concerning best practices, public service, municipal budgets and funding and any empirical studies concerning civilians in law enforcement. Various theories concerning workplace motivations and satisfaction were explored to compare to current law enforcement practices. These resources were then gathered and analyzed to highlight effective and efficient practices that focus on retention and motivation for civilian employees.

Section II: Literature Review

The following review is divided into four sections. First, the history of civilian employees within law enforcement agencies is discussed. Second, the law enforcement culture and environment is considered. This area focuses on common experiences, perceptions and stress within the profession. Next, comparisons between sworn and civilian staff is done with an emphasis on employee turnover and retention. Lastly, the Byrne Civilian hiring program is explored.

History of civilians in law enforcement

There have been civilians within law enforcement agencies since the beginning of modern, formalized police departments; however, civilians originally represented a trivial segment of the overall workforce and occupied primarily janitorial and minor clerical roles (Maguire, King, & Wells, 2009). Civilian positions continued in this fashion and accounted for six percent of the law enforcement workforce in the beginning of the 1950's (Maguire & King, 2000). Law enforcement agencies were presented with many challenges that they were ill-equipped to manage following World War II and the unprecedented growth of American cities, both in size and diversity (Schwartz, Vaughn, Waller & Wholey, 1975, as cited in McCarty & Skogan, 2012). The previous shift towards professionalism and the Professional Era of policing hindered law enforcement's abilities to properly manage the changes (Forst, 2000). The Professional Era of policing, beginning in the 1930's, was a shift towards law enforcement becoming career oriented, specialized, and standalone. Many agencies attempted to make the shift towards professionalism to combat politically influenced and corrupt behavior that had negatively impacted their communities (Forst, 2000). To reduce corruption law enforcement's tactics and methods were developed and managed internally with very little input from the

community or politicians, which was considered successful due to falling crime rates beginning in the 1930's through the 1960's (Forst, 2000). The concept of "professionalism" made civilianization difficult initially because civilians were seen as outsiders by law enforcement staff.

The 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice recognized police departments that had begun to utilize civilian employees and recommended the use of civilians to bolster community confidence in the police. From 1955 to 1995 the use of civilian employees increased by 259 percent (Maguire et al., 2009), which has been credited, at least partially, to the recommendations made by the Commission (Davis et al., 2013). Interestingly, the Commission has also been given credit for creating the unified emergency number 9-1-1, which has been the primary placement for civilian employees (Forst, 2000; McCarty & Skogan, 2012). From 1995 to 2008 civilian growth slowed, however still increased by three percent (Davis et al., 2013). The Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 allocated resources for law enforcement agencies to hire additional staff, but also required civilians be utilized with grant funds. Additionally, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) created funds which were dispersed to law enforcement agencies in order to hire 6,500 civilians (Koper, Moore & Roth, 2003). Both grants from the federal government were part of an initiative to aid law enforcement agencies in placing more officers on the street; once civilians freed officers of auxiliary tasks they could then focus on enforcement and investigative duties (Roth et al., 2000).

Since 2008, the number of civilian employees has remained steady and they now account for about 30% of all law enforcement employees (BJS, 2015; McCarty & Skogan, 2012). The slow in growth has been attributed to the economic decline of 2008; many agencies first

furloughed or laid off civilian employees in an attempt to keep officers on the street (Davis et al., 2013). However, this mentality was in direct opposition to the primary purpose of civilianization. An agency could have dismissed a civilian employee, but could not abandon their responsibilities. Therefore, many agencies reverted to officers completing civilian tasks, at increased costs. The Byrne Civilian Hiring Program, discussed below, analyzed these changes and attempted to provide competitive funding options to keep civilians employed.

As stated above, the shift towards civilianization was initially met with resistance from many officers, law enforcement administrators and police unions (Mastrofski, 1990, as cited in Davis et al., 2013). The Professional Era of policing coupled with the development of strong public police unions made it difficult for duties to be taken away from officers. Any redistribution of responsibilities or introduction of civilian employees was seen as encroaching on officers' professional jurisdiction (Davis et al., 2013). There was also a concern that the use of civilians would diminish officer status or their profession. Officers have benefited from strong social bonds and solidarity and civilians were seen as outside of their network (Kostelac, 2008, as cited in Davis et al, 2013). Davis et al. (2013) reported that this mentality has largely worn away and both officers and civilians, while separate, perceive themselves in the same occupational realm and as being part of the same team.

The growth of civilian duties may also explain the shift in thought from both work groups. Civilians initially started as maintenance and clerical staff whereas they now serve as call takers, dispatchers, administrators, human resource specialists, property and records technicians, crime scene investigators, animal control and parking officers, crime analysts, computer specialists, and in community policing positions (Davis et al, 2013; Forst, 2000; McCarty & Skogan, 2012; Surette, 2001; Vivona, 2014). Civilians have become intertwined into

nearly every facet of law enforcement and their numbers have grown substantially which has lessened the divide between work groups. Civilianization has been credited to reduced budgets, increased demands in both frequency and scope of law enforcement duties, community policing initiatives and the lack of flexibility from the para-military organizational styles of many police agencies. While it is difficult to determine the exact reasons for civilianization in any one agency, it has been forecasted that civilians will continue to grow within law enforcement agencies, both in numbers and in their scope of duties (Davis, et al., 2013; McCarty & Skogan, 2012).

Law Enforcement Culture and Environment

Due to the nature of law enforcement, the work environment tends to be particularly negative. Law enforcement employees manage incidents and crime scenes where they witness the very worst of society and are routinely subjected to violence, brutality and apathy towards the wellbeing of others. Coupled with the adverse aspects of their duties, law enforcement employees must also endure the often incompatible demands placed on them from different individuals and interest groups in their community. Colombat, Fougereau, Gillet and Huart (2012) summarized the challenges many in law enforcement face on a daily basis when dealing with the public including continually fluctuating criminal activity and actors, changes in their institution and legislation as well as the demands of citizens. These citizens often want to see criminals swiftly and severely punished, but then dispute law enforcement actions when they become offenders. The ongoing challenges of regular law enforcement incidents and the demands of the community compounded by the unseen difficulties created by the paramilitaristic management styles and bureaucratic nature of many agencies has created a distressing atmosphere for employees (Johnson, 2012).

Not only do law enforcement employees witness horrific events regularly and have to manage the challenges of diverse communities, but very often their responsibilities place them in danger. Law enforcement has been considered a dangerous and very stressful profession (Levenson, 2007); officers face an occupational fatality rate three times higher than the average U.S. occupation as well as elevated morbidity and mortality rates related to long-term health problems over the general population (Kubu, Mumford & Taylor, 2015). Kubu, et al. (2015) listed assaults, traffic injuries, biological and chemical exposure and posttraumatic stress disorder as primary safety concerns from officers. The primary and traditional concerns of law enforcement officers inherently separated civilian employees from the perceived dangers of law enforcement. Traditionally, many civilians did not face physical danger, but are now increasingly utilized in capacities that places them directly with the public and in potentially threatening situations. It is unlikely that civilians will be armed or act as first responders in situations that threaten their safety, but the current climate of distrust and violence against law enforcement puts any employee who comes into contact with the public in potential danger. Even those employees who are physically separated from the public may be subject to potential psychological dangers, simply due to the situations common to law enforcement.

Lilly and Pierce (2012) examined the role of peri-traumatic stress and its potential to lead to posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in 9-1-1 dispatchers. There has been a growing interest into the rates of PTSD in police officers, however very little research has been dedicated to civilian staff. Peri-traumatic stress, as described by Lilly and Pierce, is distress during and immediately following a critical incident which is thought to contribute to an increased risk of PTSD. One study reported PTSD in up to 19 percent of officers in a 12-month period, compared to a general population rate of 7.8 percent; law enforcement duties subject officers to distressing

incidents that elevate the prevalence of PTSD when compared to the general public (Marmar et al., 2006, as cited in Lilly & Pierce, 2012). Lilly and Pierce could not draw conclusions on the 12-month or life prevalence of PTSD for 9-1-1 dispatchers, but 32 percent of all call types presented elevated levels of peri-traumatic stress for respondents. Due to the physical separation 9-1-1 dispatchers have from an incident and an earlier definition of PTSD, which required a person to experience fear for their own safety or life, dispatchers were thought to be exempt from PTSD.

Lilly and Pierce stated that with the new, broader definition of PTSD and evolving research into the subject, 9-1-1 dispatchers are not cushioned from incidents by a physical separation. If the link between peri-traumatic stress and PTSD is as hypothesized, 9-1-1 dispatchers may be at risk for an elevated presence of PTSD that would mirror rates for police officers (Lilly & Pierce, 2012). Additionally, due to study limitations Lilly and Pierce stated it was possible that rates of PTSD symptoms may have been higher than reported in dispatchers; those who became overly stressed may have removed themselves from the profession or those who were experiencing PTSD symptoms at the time of the study may have been uninclined to complete the questionnaire. Related research into vicarious trauma has also supported expanded definitions of PTSD. Mental health professionals (MHPs) have experienced elements of PTSD after being subjected to patient narratives (Bronstein, Finklestein, Greene, Solomon & Stein, 2015). These narratives are often discussed in a controlled environment, sometime after the incident, however the severity of the account can still impact MHPs. Additionally, those with heavier caseloads and those who spend more time with patients are more likely to develop vicarious trauma (Bronstein et al., 2015). While physically separated from callers, 9-1-1 dispatchers are immersed into an environment where they are often left helpless and are forced to

listen to callers struggle or die in real time. Certainly, even if these events are not considered severe enough to contribute to PTSD directly, dispatchers are likely to experience vicarious trauma through their callers.

Beyond the potential physical and mental dangers associated with actual policing responsibilities, law enforcement employees face organizational and personal stressors unique to the profession (Kubu, et al., 2015). The organizational challenges produced by law enforcement organizations have had profound effects on employees. Dollard, Tuckey and Winwood (2012) stated the most common conduit to psychological injury for law enforcement employees was through organizational contexts and not stressful incidents. Rather than one horrible event which overwhelmed emotions or coping mechanisms, the majority of officers in the study experienced psychological injury through an erosive stress trajectory. This trajectory was characterized by a gradual decline which included the exposure to horrific and challenging events within unsupportive organization contexts. These findings align with Collins and Gibbs (2003) who stated organizational stressors were more significant than daily operational stressors when assessing officers' occupational stress. Both studies have serious implications for employees in law enforcement.

Contrary to public opinion or what common sense may dictate, serious traumatic events have not been the leading cause of psychological injury in law enforcement. Instead, the unsupportive organizational culture common to law enforcement organizations played a more significant role in leading to psychological injury for employees. This suggests that regardless of actual duties, any employee subjected to the law enforcement environment and organization, may fall victim to psychological injury. There have been several organizational stressors unseen to the public that are common to law enforcement. These stressors contribute to psychological

injury and include insufficient staffing, limited promotional opportunity, shift work, poor leadership and workplace politics, organizational structures and lack of control (Hakan Can & Hendy, 2014; Thomas, 2010). Additionally, according to Dollard, et al. (2012), the "...police culture arguably operates to isolate officers valuable support mechanisms, thereby heightening the risk of psychological injury" (p. 226). They explained law enforcement personnel are expected to be relatively emotionless and composed when completing their duties. Any employee in law enforcement, civilians included, who desire to "fit in" in their organization are likely expected to accept and adhere to this custom; any emotional outbursts or loss of control may be seen as weakness or unprofessional.

There has been a shortage of literature dedicated to civilian socialization in law enforcement agencies; however, civilian employees now share the majority of law enforcement responsibilities with officers and therefore likely have similar occupational experiences. Seminal work by Skolnick (1966) discussed officer perceptions and influences that shape their "working personality." A "working personality" is formed by the responsibilities of an occupation; as one becomes immersed into their job and those around them, they begin to share commonalities in perceptions and interpretations of situations (Skolnick, 1966). Skolnick emphasized the risk of danger and use of authority as shaping factors for officer's perceptions, however perhaps most applicable for the discussion of civilian employees were his statements concerning the unique combination of elements that those in law enforcement experience. It is likely that many occupations and employees experience common elements of law enforcement including danger, isolation, limited promotional opportunity, staffing shortages, lack of organizational support, difficult schedules, and repeated exposure to violent or graphic incidents, but it is unlikely that occupations share all of the aspects of law enforcement. Skolnick stated officers' interactions

with their organization, which are traditionally paramilitary and bureaucratic, in combination with their working environment was what shaped their “working personality.”

The “working personality” of an officer has served to isolate those in the field as well as reinforce a strong sense of solidarity, which can further increase social isolation (Skolnik, 1966). Community policing efforts have likely mitigated some of the feelings of resentment and isolation that many officers experienced during Skolnick’s work in the 1960’s, but law enforcement staff still benefits from a strong sense of solidarity and internal social support. Perhaps shared with other dangerous occupations, Skolnick argued an officer’s sense of solidarity exists to ensure teamwork and safety in dangerous or life threatening situations. Less dangerous situations or relatively unimportant events act as tests in which officers gauge their co-worker’s and organization’s dedication to them. This phenomenon fueled the “blue curtain” or “blue wall of silence” that historically has caused officers to be loyal to each other over their communities or the rule of law; the “blue curtain” has created distrust and skepticism from communities. Arguably, elements of the “blue wall” still exist and cause distrust. Recent events such as protests and violence against law enforcement have revealed strong anti-trust issues which community policing efforts have failed to mitigate in some communities. Since civilians often act as the “life line” to officers through dispatch positions (Peak, 2015), they likely experience strong work solidarity and similar tensions with the community which Skolnick discussed for officers.

Another influential part of the socialization process into the law enforcement environment has been the cynicism shared by employees (Peak, 2015). As new law enforcement employees become socialized they often become cynical and expect only the worst of people, which can lead to a rejection of the ideals of justice (Gaines & Miller, 2015). Peak (2015) stated

cynicism spiked for new police officers in the first few weeks of employment following academy training. He largely credited the rise in cynicism to the introduction of responsibilities and the general public as well as seasoned law enforcement staff. Cynicism continued to increase in officers until mid-career, usually around 10-13 years of service, then leveled off. While cynicism can reduce service attitudes, it has also provided a level of protection for law enforcement employees. Peak stated cynicism fostered a callousness which produced indifference for many law enforcement employees. This indifference, while likely negative for community relations and customer service, protected employees through traumatic and significant events. Dick and Metcalfe (2001) stated cynicism employed by senior officers had created detrimental effects on new employees and in some cases was credited for an inverse relationship in tenure and organizational commitment. In their study, Dick and Metcalfe found a positive, albeit weak relationship between tenure and commitment contrary to previous literature.

Traditionally, civilian employees were thought to be shielded from the conditions discussed above, however as their responsibilities have grown they now work directly with officers and likely share experiences. Regardless of civilian employee responsibilities it is important to examine them within larger organizational contexts. Exposure to the combination of traditional law enforcement culture and responsibilities has had damaging effects on employees, both sworn and civilian. The law enforcement culture and environment is complex. Variety in agency sizes, locations, problems, history and organizational structures all combine and contribute to employees' experiences. Overarching themes when discussing the law enforcement environment are stressful incidents, high demands, minimal organizational support and isolation from the community.

Civilian vs. Sworn Staff Turnover

To date, there has been very little research into the rates of police turnover. The literature that does exist has focused on sworn staff and individual level characteristics or predictors in a relatively small amount of agencies and not on general attrition rates (Lambert, Smith, & Wareham, 2015). For civilian employees in law enforcement, turnover and organizational literature has been more limited (McCarty & Skogan, 2012). Lambert, Smith and Wareham (2015) stated this was alarming because law enforcement agencies spend considerable resources on recruiting and hiring costs when compared to other types of organizations. Law enforcement agencies recruit, hire, train and retain employees like any other agency, but are subjected to additional requirements unique to the profession. The direct costs of turnover are frequently measured financially and relate to the recruitment, hiring and training processes.

Many agencies begin their officer hiring process with a written test and physical examination followed by a set of interviews (Gaines & Miller, 2015). Those candidates selected for employment then go through a background investigation which often includes integrity testing, psychological examination, drug testing and a polygraph examination. The rigorous requirements of these tests eliminate many candidates and create a limited selection pool for agencies (Lambert, et al., 2015). Civilian employees often go through a similar, slightly condensed hiring process. For legal reasons civilians have not often been subjected to polygraph or physical examinations for employment. New employees, civilians and sworn, are often required to complete several months of on-the-job training and/or law enforcement academies, specialized certifications and a probationary period before attaining true employment status. The length of training can vary widely and is dependent on state and agency requirements, but new employees often work three to six months without contributing to the organization on their own.

The hiring requirements listed above reflect the direct, measurable costs of turnover; indirect costs of turnover can be more expensive and often incalculable (Lambert, et al., 2015).

The indirect costs of turnover have been related to loss of talent, experience, social contacts and networks as well as the increased use of inexperienced, overworked, unhappy staff (Lambert, et al., 2015). These costs are not directly fiscally measurable, but can cost agencies a great deal in efficiency, effectiveness or litigation. An ill-trained or unequipped employee at any level of a law enforcement organization can cost an agency time and resources in litigation. A records technician must know how to document the release of information and who they can release information to, what information must be redacted to protect victims or what information can be released during an ongoing investigation. 9-1-1 dispatchers are arguably as open to litigation as officers and their every action is often recorded. A mistake in the dispatch center can cost a caller their life and open an agency to litigation and community outrage. Additionally, because 9-1-1 dispatchers and call takers are often the first point of contact for the community they benefit from being familiar with geography, problem callers, ongoing community issues, active investigations and ongoing department projects as much as any officer.

Law enforcement organizations that emphasize and utilize community-oriented policing may suffer significantly from turnover; social contacts or relationships lost from turnover may take months or years to rebuild and cost an agency valuable intelligence in the interim. Reduced staff and a drop in efficiency can create further frustrations; as employees leave and others are forced to take on additional work, both in hours and responsibilities, they can become exhausted which can lead to burnout. Burnout, as defined by Griffin and Moorhead (2015) "...is a general feeling of exhaustion that develops when an individual simultaneously experiences too much pressure and has too few sources of satisfaction" (p. 193). Other definitions have included

turnover as a logical consequence of burnout; McCarty and Skogan (2012) defined burnout as "... a prolonged response to chronic emotional and interpersonal stressors on the job, [which] can affect a worker's health, motivation, and job performance, while undermining the organization by speeding staff turnover" (p. 66).

McCarty and Skogan (2012) examined burnout in both civilian and sworn law enforcement staff. It has been hypothesized that those in human services fields such as law enforcement are more significantly impacted by burnout (McCarty & Skogan, 2012); individuals who experience constricting organizational contexts coupled with high motivations and aspirations are at greater risk for burnout (Griffin & Moorhead, 2015). Arguably, as discussed below, those who seek service in the public organizations tend to have stronger service-based attitudes with expectations of 'giving back' and contributing to the community. Because of the organizational contexts and environment of law enforcement those who enter law enforcement with high service expectations may be at higher risk of burnout. This becomes inherently challenging for law enforcement organizations.

Agencies likely benefit from attracting and selecting employees who are intrinsically motivated by service attitudes, but those qualities also place them at a greater risk of burnout which has been thought to speed turnover. McCarty and Skogan (2012) found similar rates of burnout in civilian and sworn law enforcement staff; average respondents reported being emotionally drained or "used up" about once a week. Nearly all the contributors leading to burnout were identical between civilian and sworn staff, however the significance of individual contributors varied between the two work groups. Civilian employees reported fewer perceptions of danger and less conflicts in their work-life balance than officers, but also lower levels of perceived social support from their organization. Civilians reported higher levels of perceived

equity in work assignments and shift schedules than officers, but both groups were notably impacted by generally low levels of perceived equality. These findings reinforce that civilian and sworn staff share many experiences which contribute to occupational stress, but also emphasizes that they are unique work groups which would benefit from distinctive administrative practices.

Dick and Metcalfe (2001) examined organizational commitment in civilian staff and police officers in England and Wales. While the geographical setting of the study was outside of the United States, important takeaways can still be learned. Law enforcement staff in Britain is also about 30 percent civilian and the circumstances around civilianization were similar to the United States (Dick & Metcalfe, 2001). The study tested four hypotheses. First, law enforcement officers would have higher rates of organizational commitment than civilians which was not supported. Officer and civilian commitment levels were comparable, albeit relatively low. Dick and Metcalfe stated the negative effects of law enforcement organizations, primarily the organizational structure, likely contributed to the low rates of organizational commitment in both work groups. The second hypothesis, organizational commitment should increase with rank for both work groups was partially supported. Rank and seniority was positively related to organizational commitment for officers, but not for civilians. This was attributed to low pay and few rewards for civilian employees; civilians in the study earned about 30 percent less than officers doing comparable work. The exception for civilian staff were those at the top of the organizational hierarchy. Civilian and sworn management staff showed significantly higher organizational commitment levels than those they supervised. This was likely due to the organizational culture and inappropriate promotion selections which strengthened a model of control for management that negatively impacted moral for subordinates. The third hypothesis, organizational commitment is positively related to tenure for civilians, but inversely related to

tenure for officers was partially supported. For both civilians and officers, organizational commitment increased with tenure, but commitment levels were initially low and stayed low throughout the study. The relationship between tenure and organizational commitment was meaningful, but very weak. The final hypothesis, civilian staff and officers would be impacted differently by managerial factors, was not supported. Civilians and officers were not impacted differently by managerial factors; organizational support, or lack thereof, was significant for both civilians and officers in relation to their organizational commitment.

The studies discussed above examined factors that have been associated with turnover, burnout and organizational commitment; however, literature concerning actual turnover rates for civilians in law enforcement has been rare. Arguably, civilians experience the same levels of organizational commitment and burnout as officers and therefore may also share similar rates of turnover. Lambert et al. (2015) stated national turnover rates for law enforcement organizations was 10.8 percent in 2003 and 2008; 70 percent of total turnover were those individuals voluntarily leaving the organization for outside employment. The study utilized data from the 2003 Law Enforcement Management Administration Statistics and 2008 Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies. Primarily, the study was intended to create benchmarks for law enforcement agencies to compare themselves to; the study was unable to draw conclusions about the severity or problems of turnover. Historically, police organizations and local governments were forced to make educated guesses as to how their agency managed employee retention rates. Due to ongoing resource struggles for local governments, Lambert, et al. stated it is becoming increasingly important for police organizations to be able to measure how their agencies compare to local, regional and nation-wide turnover rates. Those agencies that have historically suffered high turnover rates may be accustomed to the problem and believe it to be

normal. Without direct and intentional efforts to reduce high turnover rates, organizations will likely suffer from high costs related to recruitment and training as well as inefficient services and low morale.

Not all turnover has been negative for organizations. Orrick (2005) stated turnover can aid organizations in removing low performing employees or provide conditions for organizational change. Certainly, some level of turnover can be planned for and should be expected, but administrators should be aware of the concrete and abstract costs associated with, as well as the conditions that contribute to turnover. Turnover can be a complex, multifaceted and expensive phenomenon for organizations. Historically, police agencies have not had data to assess their effectiveness concerning retention rates. Due to the recent economic struggles, reduced budgets and increased demands from communities, police agencies can no longer assume they are successful and must utilize data-based strategies for human resource practices as they do with enforcement related practices. As mentioned above, this has been inherently difficult because until recently there has not been data available for such purposes. As community expectations and demands increase it may be likely police agencies will not only be transparent in the enforcement strategies, but also in their human resource practices, budgets and resource allocation.

Byrne Civilian Hiring Program

The Edward Byrne Memorial Competitive Grant Program, often referred to as the Byrne program, was part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 meant to aid the United States in recovering from the 2008 economic recession. The Byrne program, "...attempted to bolster state and local criminal justice agencies in ways that would reduce crime while supporting economic growth and the creation and retention of jobs" (Davis et al., 2013, p.

1). One of the ways the Byrne program tried to reach its goals was through supporting the continuing trend of civilianization in police agencies. The Byrne program was evaluated Davis, et al. (2013) and was sponsored by a National Institute of Justice (NIJ). The researchers wanted to discover how many civilians were hired or retained through grants and what duties they were assigned. Additionally, the study examined how civilians fit into the law enforcement environment which included employee relations, performance, satisfaction and turnover as well as any possible effects civilian employees may have had on crime rates (Davis et al, 2013).

The Davis et al. (2013) study utilized quantitative and qualitative methods. They compared crime trends using the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) in areas that received grant money and hired civilians to those areas that did not. Propensity score matching was utilized where Byrne fund recipients were the outcome of a logistic regression procedure. The score included, region, type and size of law agencies; "closest neighbor" comparisons were then made for Byrne recipients. A survey was also created and distributed to law enforcement agencies, telephone and person interview were conducted and several site visits were completed.

Overall, the study contacted 32 police agencies and found the greatest numbers of civilians were hired as crime analysts, but positions also included policy and program analysts, 9-1-1 call takers and dispatchers, records, data and administrative technicians, media and public relations specialists and computer forensic analysts. The majority of Byrne funds, 73 percent, were allocated to create new positions; the remaining monies were utilized to retain existing positions. Of the agencies that hired civilians into crime analysis positions, 63 percent reported they freed officers to return to patrol or investigative functions; half of agencies reported freeing officers to complete other vital department functions not related to investigation and others

reported utilizing civilians to assist officers, which reduced overtime hours and case backlogs. One responding agency utilized funds to train police academy applicants, who still qualified as civilians, to respond to non-emergency calls which allowed officers to be available and respond to emergency calls faster.

The responding agencies reported several positive outcomes of freeing officers of menial tasks: 45 percent of agencies credited an increase in clearance rates to Byrne hires, 55 percent benefited from a perceived increase in departmental communication related to intelligence and analysis and the majority of agencies reported increases in efficiency. Actual crime rate analysis was more difficult for the Byrne program; the researchers found the crime rates for Byrne recipients were 1.4 times higher than their selected comparisons. After further examination the authors stated grant funds are often distributed to higher crime areas in an effort to assist communities in the greatest need which made directly comparable areas difficult to identify. Crime data was gathered from 2007 through 2012 and showed Byrne recipients and control agencies experienced an almost identical decrease in crime during the study.

Individual case studies for law enforcement agencies completed through the study all saw an increase in call volume that would normally be associated with an economic decline, but general crime rates continued to fall. From the results, Davis et al., stated civilian employees appeared to have minimal impact on crime rates, but Byrne agencies did report higher clearance rates, increased communication and efficiency. The study was unable to examine specific crime types or clearance rates, but it is possible that due to the increases in efficiency associated with civilianization agencies experienced benefits which had no effect on crime rates. For a true examination into the possible effects of civilianization on crime rates the study concluded that evaluation markers needed to be established prior to the development of civilian programs.

Byrne grantees reported few problems with civilian employees. Primary difficulties concerning civilian employees were turnover and retention, reported by 29 percent and 28 percent of responding agencies respectively. Information gathered concerning turnover and retention only included agencies who utilized Byrne grants to create, not retain civilian positions. Of those agencies (25 of 32), 40 percent reported no problems with turnover whereas the remaining had varying difficulties related to the number of positions, burnout, private sector competition and other department circumstances (Davis et al, 2013, p. 41). The primary conduit for turnover in the Byrne program (41 percent) were employees who changed positions within their agency; 38 percent resigned for external positions. Following turnover and retention, 27 percent of agencies reported resistance to civilianization from sworn staff, police unions and some administrators; however, the majority of agencies reported no serious concerns in this area. Satisfaction was not reported as an issue for civilian employees; only 12 percent of agencies reported low job satisfaction or productivity as an issue.

The Byrne study confirmed many of the benefits and concerns discussed in the existing literature for civilian employees. Civilian employees aided law enforcement organizations by increasing clearance rates, communication and efficiency while reducing overtime and case backlogs as well as allowing officers to focus on enforcement related or other high priority duties. However, nearly 60% of agencies reported some type of difficulty related to turnover or retention for civilian employees and almost 30% of agencies reported some type of resistance from existing staff to the creation of new civilian programs.

Section III: Theoretical Framework

Law enforcement organizations have benefited from the application of criminology theory and data based practices for the purposes of crime prevention and reduction. Police agencies should also utilize research and data based human resources practices for the purposes of hiring, training, and retaining civilian employees. This section begins by discussing the psychological contract, followed by a discussion of process-based motivational theories including equity and expectancy. This is followed by a brief history of Public Service Motivation, which will be discussed and applied to civilian employees in policing agencies.

The Psychological Contract

Psychological contracts regulate the relationship between organizations and employees; however, such contracts are not explicit, written or negotiated (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Instead psychological contracts are employees' general understanding and expectations of what they provide to an organization and what they get in return. Employee contributions are things such as effort, skills, abilities, time and loyalty. In return for contributions employees expect inducements from the organization in the form of compensation, benefits, security, opportunities, promotions and status (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). When employee expectations are met, their perceptions of the psychological contract have been satisfied and they perform at a level they believe is adequate for their inducements. However, if at any point the organization or employee perceives the situation as unbalanced or unfair they may try to remedy the situation. For example, an employee who perceives they are underpaid may exert less effort or leave the organization. An organizational representative who believes an employee is not providing appropriate contributions may provide additional training, set clear expectations, put the employee on an improvement plan, reduce compensation or terminate them.

Every organization is tasked with managing the psychological contract, however the process can be extremely difficult. Every employee may have different expectations of what they provide to an organization and what they are supposed to get in return. This problem has been amplified by the recent intergenerational workforce created by older workers continuing employment longer than previous generations. There are now four unique generations in the American workforce which has created exceptional challenges for organizations (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014; Schullery, 2013). Younger employees, especially millennials, have been perplexing for organizations because they desire different inducements and provide alternative contributions than their predecessors (Griffin & Moorhead; 2014; Schullery, 2013). Managing the psychological contract for new generations of employees requires constant change and flexibility, which has not often been attributed to the rigid hierarchies and bureaucracies of law enforcement organizations.

Another significant difficulty that many law enforcement agencies have been met with has been the lack of control they have over compensation and resources. Because the majority of policing agencies are municipal they are subject to changes in tax revenues, resource allocation and competition with other departments and must often negotiate with city or county councils, mayors, city administrators or managers and some agencies are tasked with negotiating with several such institutions (Gul & O'Connell, 2013).

To ensure a balance in the psychological contract law enforcement agencies should maintain clear expectations for their employees. This includes updating and maintaining job descriptions and providing regular training. Additionally, regular communication about organizational processes and communication are important. Any changes in structure, responsibilities or expectations must be clearly defined, communicated and disseminated to

employees. These processes are critical so that employees can maintain an accurate representation of their contributions and expectations for the purpose of evaluating their contributions to their organization.

Equity Theory

Equity theory of motivation utilizes the psychological contract to gauge fairness in comparison to others in the organization. The theory asserts that employees wish to be treated fairly and they assess what is fair by observing what they perceive other employees contribute compared to what they contribute and the rewards or inducements provided by the organization (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Employees can compare themselves to those who provide similar contributions such as those in the same division or to employees in different departments or sections of an organization. Because employees in other areas of an organization likely have different responsibilities and compensation, equity theory emphasizes the process one uses to assess fairness (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Griffin and Moorhead (2014) stated process-based theories such as equity theory focus on how motivation occurs and why individuals select certain behaviors rather than try to identify unique motivational stimuli.

The process of equity theory ends with the ratio of inputs (contributions) and outputs (inducements) from the organization. Therefore, if an employee knows a coworker receives twice as much as them in compensation, but perceives they provide twice as many contributions, the equation is balanced and the individual believes it to be fair. However, if an employee's analysis reveals disproportionate results, attempts to regain equality will be taken. Griffin and Moorhead (2014) stated there are six traditional steps an employee may take to reduce inequality. First, change inputs; an employee may either increase or decrease their contributions to match outputs. Second, change outputs; an employee may request a raise, training or

additional opportunities or even steal time or resources. Third and fourth, change perceptions of themselves or others. An employee may begin to perceive they contribute less or someone contributes more to balance the psychological equation of equity theory. Fifth, change comparisons; if the equality equation is unbalanced rather than accept the result one may believe the equation to be incorrect and select a new object for comparison. Lastly, as with the psychological contract, one may choose to resign and leave the equation all together.

Application of Equity Theory to the Police Organization

Equity theory creates inherent difficulty for civilians in law enforcement. Civilian employees' responsibilities were all at one time an officer's job. Duties for civilian employees have increased and they have taken over jobs held by officers for less compensation, which has been what makes civilianization attractive and effective for agencies. As civilians have moved from clerical and janitorial roles to working alongside officers through nearly every facet of law enforcement, it may be difficult for civilian employees to accept they earn less, have fewer benefits, receive less training and equipment and often work more days per year (McCarty & Skogan, 2012). The financial resources to remedy these circumstances are often out of the control of law enforcement administrators. Pay schedules and benefits are decided by municipal governments and not law enforcement administrators. Additionally, law enforcement officers are often required by law to complete a certain amount of training every year to maintain their certifications and increases in legislation in some jurisdictions governs what kind of equipment officers must use. Lastly, many law enforcement officers retain union contracts and membership that aids in determining schedules, benefits and responsibilities whereas civilian employees are rarely afforded this opportunity.

Rather than try to remedy extrinsic factors producing inequality for civilian employees, law enforcement administrators should focus on intrinsic factors and tangible contributions to the organization. Organizational goals, employee contributions and department strategies should be explicitly defined, frequently discussed and regularly evaluated. Employees that know precisely how they contribute to an organization and organizational objectives have a grounded psychological framework for the equity equation. However, because it would not be beneficial for civilians to believe they contribute less to their organization than officers, as they receive less in compensation and benefits, the equity equation remains unbalanced. Law enforcement administrators cannot change the history of their organization or the redistribution of tasks, but should frame the changes as beneficial from a service and efficiency standpoint. If civilians simply think of their positions as cheaper than an officer or as freeing officers of tasks that would otherwise be beneath them, negative perceptions are likely to form. If civilian employees believe they are augmenting department efficiency and service to the community, which they often are, they are likely to find more meaning in their work which may produce balanced solutions to the equity equation.

Expectancy Theory

According to expectancy theory motivation depends on how much an individual wants something and how probable it is they think they will get it (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Since the theory's inception in 1964 it has grown in scope and complexity; because of its intricacy it has been hard to measure, research and apply directly to the workplace (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Griffin and Moorhead (2014) stated the process of expectancy theory starts with effort and effort-to-performance expectancy. Effort-to-performance expectancy is the perception that effort will lead to successful performance. If effort is unlikely to lead to successful performance,

then one is unlikely to exert effort. Successful performance interacts with one's environment and abilities. If the environment provides support and one has the abilities to succeed, effort will be applied. Then, one assesses performance-to-outcome expectancy. The performance-to-outcome expectancy assesses the probability that successful performance will lead to expected outcomes. The valence (attractiveness or unattractiveness) of outcomes is also measured to ensure desirability. If, at the end of the process an employee does not want or need the outcome, effort will likely not be exerted; however, negative valence may produce effort to avoid adverse outcomes.

While the process of expectancy theory can be difficult to measure and apply to the workplace it provides some general guidelines for organizations: determine desired outcomes for employees, decide levels and types of performance to meet goals, ensure levels of performance are possible, link outcomes and performance, reduce conflicts in expectancies, ensure rewards are adequate and the system is fair (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014, p. 107).

Application of Expectancy Theory to Police Organizations

The application of expectancy theory, as with equity theory, presents inherent challenges for policing organizations. Arguably, the system creates a fundamentally flawed expectancy process. Administrators have little control over extrinsic rewards and civilian employees suffer from limited or no promotional opportunities, lack of resources and equipment, and reduced trainings. In many cases, the traditional organizational structures of law enforcement agencies within the larger context of local governments creates an environment where additional or bonus extrinsic rewards are impossible. Therefore, law enforcement administrators must focus on intrinsic motivations and rewards. While these rewards can vary from person to person and greatly throughout generations and cultures, administrators are left with few other options to

provide a system of rewards. Administrators who are aware of this problem and take an employee focused approach to civilian employee groups will likely produce increased motivation.

Public Service Motivation

Public Service Motivation (PSM) was first formally defined as "...an individual level predisposition to respond to motives ground primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations" (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 368). Comprehensively defining PSM has been difficult; many authors have developed their own definition and research outside of the United States rarely uses the term in their literature (Vandenabeele, 2007). Examination of PSM was sparked by a lack of public confidence in government and public institutions following a steady decline of public trust beginning in the 1960's (Perry & Wise, 1990). This movement was partially due to the development of the public choice movement, which had strong ties to rational choice theories and asserted individuals act in their own best self-interest (Vandenabeele, 2007). Such theories have been well accepted in both motivational and criminology literature; however, rational choice theories have failed to explain altruistic characteristics often observed in human behavior, especially by those in public service (Perry & Wise, 1990; Vandenabeele, 2007). The discussion concerning the desire to serve is applicable to today's law enforcement and civilian employees. Many in public service, especially civilians in law enforcement, who likely feel loyalty and dedication towards their organization, act as the bridge between the community and law enforcement. This is a unique challenge that civilian law enforcement employees may struggle with. However, their service has been thought to increase community trust and police accountability as well as community policing efforts (Forst, 2000; McCarty & Skogan, 2012).

The original behavioral implications of PSM were, 1) the greater an individual's PSM the higher the probability that person will pursue employment in public service 2) PSM is positively related to performance in public organizations and 3) if organizations can attract employees with greater PSM they will be less likely to rely on utilitarian incentives (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 370). Perry (2000) expanded the concept of PSM by adding three additional premises to the combination of motives previously asserted. First, individuals are driven by self-concept. Self-concepts guide an individuals' actions through one's perception of themselves. Perry, citing Marsh and Olsen (1989), stated a model of behavior "logic of appropriateness" guides an individual's actions through a process that identifies the kind of situation they are in, who they are or perceive they are and how appropriate different actions are for them based on the situation and their identity. The action selected, as the name implies, should often be the most appropriate based on their assumptions of the situation and themselves. Self-concept theories have not often been utilized in motivational literature, but the basic concepts are applicable to PSM (Perry, 2000). Those in public service may often have to act in the communal best interest based on their beliefs about who they are and why they are in service rather than based on their own self-interest. However, because those in public service may be more inclined to fight for social equity or act benevolently they may not believe they are being courageous, but instead simply acting as they believe they should.

Perry's (2000) second premise was beliefs and partialities should be inclusive to motivational theories. This premise made PSM more comprehensive, but also much more complex. PSM theories should now account for culture, socialization and belief structures to develop concepts about how principles and values come to exist. This led into Perry's last premise, "preferences are learned in social processes" (p. 478). The last two premises incorporate

social learning theory, developed by Bandura, which ties preference formation to social processes (Perry, 2000). These premises moved PSM to a process-based motivational theory. There are four variables in PSM that interact as part of a reciprocal, causal relationship and process: sociohistorical (education, socialization and experience), motivational (social institutions, job characteristics, incentives and environment) individual characteristics (skills, self-concept and self-regulatory processes) and behavior (Perry, 2000, p. 481).

Recently, PSM and public administration literature has focused on person-job fit and the institutional mechanisms that shape PSM (Khan & Quratulain, 2015). From an institutional theory perspective, PSM foundations have been based on person-job fit; employees perform better in organizations where their beliefs align with organizational values. Person-job fit can be accomplished by attracting employees with the proper characteristics or by molding employees through socialization and institutional devices. Essentially organizations, public or private, should attempt to attract and select employees who already believe in their mission and purpose. However, attracting and selecting employees is just the beginning of the motivational process. Public service, particularly law enforcement, can be uniquely challenging. Johnson (2012) found job satisfaction among police officers declined rapidly with tenure, even though the study's average officer had less than three years of service. Officer motivations also can change rapidly in the first years of service. Oberfield (2014) stated some officers who entered the work force with primary service-based motivations changed to protecting their own careers and making money in the first two years of service. Overall, Oberfield wrote there was vast diversity in motivations for new officers and the greatest predictor of motivations later in careers was knowing what motivates employees on day one. However, simply attracting and selecting the

'right' employee is not enough for police organizations to maintain effectiveness; the first two to three years of service significantly impact police employees' motivation and perspective.

Lastly, increases in work pressures can lead to a reduction in PSM (Khan & Quratulain, 2015). Khan and Quratulain (2015) also stated positive work experiences contribute to increases in positive perceptions and reinforce agreements between organizational values and employee processes. Beyond the financial difficulties associated with turnover, organizations who suffer from staffing problems may be unintentionally undermining service attitudes. Even those employees who enjoy high levels of PSM and person-job fit are not immune from intense work pressures associated with many law enforcement organizations. Due to the reciprocal relationship between PSM and person-job fit, reductions in either lead to decreases in both. Prolonged reductions in PSM or person-job fit lead to decreases in general motivation which may lead to resignation, reduced effort or disregard for the organization. Those employees who choose to remedy the situation by leaving the organization further this problem by creating increased work pressures for remaining employees. This process may continue until an organization is unable to meet demands or until motivation and satisfaction falls to levels where administration is unable to successfully modify or control behavior.

Application of PSM Theory to Police Organizations

For civilians in law enforcement PSM emphasizes a focus on intrinsic motivators and the recruiting, hiring and socialization processes. Law enforcement agencies that can attract and select employees who have high intrinsic motivation to serve their communities are likely more successful because those employees respond better to non-extrinsic rewards such as praise, feedback and recognition. However, because of the law enforcement environment discussed above, the benefits of intrinsic motivations may disappear quickly for new employees. Being

immersed into a highly negative and cynical environment shapes the attitudes of law enforcement employees toward their own protection and effectively works to reduce intrinsic motivators. Additionally, as civilians learn the history and expectations of their organizations they will undoubtedly learn they are completing tasks because they require fewer resources to employ than officers. Beyond the cynicism and negative environment facing civilian employees, they also exist in an organizational structure that may be rife with frustration due to inequality, lack of opportunities, difficult schedules and understaffing. Add the responsibilities of law enforcement duties, which are often disheartening and/or dangerous, and it becomes increasingly challenging for administrators to maintain motivated civilian employees through intrinsic means alone.

Section IV: Recommendations

This section provides recommendations based on the reviewed literature and theory. First, the hiring process is discussed focusing on recruiting, testing and training. Next, job design, including employee participation, goal setting, and rewards are explored. Then power structures, hierarchies, performance management and organizational support are considered. Finally, recommendations concerning employee health and wellbeing are discussed.

Attracting the “right” Employees

Public budgets are forecasted to decline (Paoline, Rossler & Terrill, 2014) and turnover can be one of the costliest items for organizations (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014), therefore efficient, effective and accelerated hiring programs will likely become increasingly important for law enforcement agencies. The current law enforcement hiring process is so extensive, it is often referred to as the hurdle process (Peak, 2015), but many agencies still suffer from inadequate selection processes that produce staffing shortages. Civilian employees often endure similar hiring processes as their officer counterparts due to expanded responsibilities, access to sensitive information and their roles in emergency responses. Even expedited hiring processes often require several months and include the application process, multiple interviews, written tests such as aptitude or civil service exams, integrity testing, psychological examination and intensive background checks. The majority of these items serve to eliminate poor candidates from the selection pool and protect against negligent hiring lawsuits or future liability, but the hiring process should also serve to select candidates that believe in the organizational mission, purpose and goals. For liability purposes, much of the current hiring process cannot be eliminated, however criteria can be modified to become dually beneficial. Dual purpose hiring criteria continue to serve as protection for the agency, but may also aid in preserving resources as

budgets continue to decline by utilizing person-job and employee-organization fit theories associated with public service motivation.

Law enforcement administrators should work closely with human resources and/or hiring specialists in order to determine recruitment and selection criteria. Law enforcement agencies across the United States likely share similar overarching goals, but variances in communities require agencies select essential criteria individually. Hiring practices should be efficient and relatively swift; long periods of absences or staffing shortages are likely to produce reductions in service attitudes and/or organizational loyalty for existing employees. Additionally, the hiring process should be regularly evaluated to monitor effectiveness through turnover and retention rates.

Organizations that traditionally suffer from high turnover need causational evidence as to why problems persist. Law enforcement agencies can no longer attribute high turnover or staffing struggles to anecdotal evidence. Increases in transparency, accountability and productivity in law enforcement as well as the development of evidence-based human resource practices throughout employment sectors has created an environment that demands efficiency and effectiveness from policing agencies in both employment practices and enforcement strategies (Bright, 2009; Gul & O'Connell, 2013; Jones, 2008). Regular evaluation of employee satisfaction and motivational factors can be completed through informal discussions, formal surveys, external consultants and exit interviews. Those agencies that find qualifying factors are beyond their control need data-based evidence to present problems to controlling groups such as city councils or county boards to initiate change.

Law enforcement organizations should begin to adopt statistics and evidence-based human resource practices which have been developed and honed by private-sector organizations.

While these practices are not customary to law enforcement agencies, they certainly have the skills to complete such tasks. The introduction of CompStat style policing and management strategies, which rely heavily on statistics, evidence and research-based enforcement techniques are similar to private-sector human resource practices that continually measure and evaluate the effectiveness of programs by monitoring retention, turnover and performance. The importance of attracting, selecting and retaining the right person for the organization and job at-hand cannot be overstated; repetition in the hiring and training process is not only expensive, but weighs heavily on those employees left to cover the vacant responsibilities.

Enhancing Motivation Through Work

In public organizations external rewards such as bonuses or raises are often limited or impossible; however, rewards are vital to an organizations' success and acknowledging individual performance is important (Gul & O'Connell, 2013). Therefore, law enforcement administrators should focus on intrinsic and organizational rewards such as training prospects, special assignments, promotional considerations, feedback, recognition, autonomy and participation (Gul & O'Connell, 2013; Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Organizational and intrinsic rewards and motivations can be built into positions through job design.

Job design is how organizations describe, configure and reward responsibilities, accomplishments and goals (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). The use and negative effects of specialization will likely to continue to rise in law enforcement organizations unless they are directly addressed. New civilian positions usually account for relatively specific duties that would otherwise be absorbed in an officers' regular responsibilities. Administrators need to thoroughly consider the implications and design of new and existing positions. These positions not only serve to accomplish certain duties more efficiently, but also compress both civilian and

officer responsibilities. Simply expanding responsibilities, known as job enlargement, will likely be ineffective to combat the challenges of specialization (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Instead, administrators should focus on tenets of job enrichment.

Job enrichment involves horizontal job loading as in job enlargement, but also vertical loading, which increases autonomy and meaningfulness of work (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). While some enrichment strategies have had success, research has been difficult and many organizations have abandoned the concept (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). However, Griffin and Moorhead (2014) stated canons of job enrichment theories have led to job characteristics theory which incorporates autonomy as one of five core job dimensions in job design. Due to the current litigious culture in the United States and the fear of lawsuits, many law enforcement administrators may be apprehensive to allow increases in autonomy. However, autonomy, especially in law enforcement organizations, should not give decision-making authority solely to the employee. Instead, simply including employees in the decision-making process likely creates employees who become invested in the success of the decision.

As employees increase participation in the decision-making process they likely perceive more meaning in their responsibilities and perhaps even increased loyalty to the organization. According to the job characteristics theory, as employees experience the responsibilities and outcomes of decision-making they increase internal motivations, quality of work, satisfaction and reduce absenteeism and turnover (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). A separate core job dimension, but critical aspect of autonomy, is feedback. “Feedback [is] the degree to which the job activities give the individual direct and clear information about the effectiveness of his or her performance” (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014, p. 130). This requires managers and administrators to

maintain high and effective levels of communication throughout the organization if duties do not inherently provide feedback on performance.

Beyond increasing horizontal and vertical job responsibilities, employees must feel their work is meaningful. The job characteristics theory states skill variety, task identity and task significance are the three core job dimensions to ensure employees experience and perceive the meaningfulness of their work (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). Skill variety is the degree to which jobs involve different talents. Job enlargement strategies alone may not be effective, but when utilized in the larger context of job design may be meaningful. New or rotating responsibilities likely require different skillsets and additional training which would satisfy skill variety needs.

Task identity is the extent to which a job represents an entire piece of work; that is, how identifiable a tangible beginning and end of a job is (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014). This requires administrators to clearly define and communicate organizational goals, expectations and responsibilities as well as explain how duties interact with entire goals and processes. Creating department wide communication channels and briefings following the outcomes of cases would likely increase task identity for civilian employees who could then clearly see how their actions contributed to the organization or community. This concept ties into the last core job dimension, task significance. Task significance is defined as "... the degree to which the job affects the lives or work of other people, both in the immediate organization and in the external environment" (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014, p. 130). The responsibilities of law enforcement inherently link task identity and significance. This reinforces the need for regular communication from administrators concerning current projects, problems, goals and outcomes of incidents and efforts.

Performance Management

The strategies discussed above may be difficult for traditional law enforcement organizations because they are typically bureaucratic and employ a strict chain of command through rigid authoritative hierarchies. Communication in police agencies is largely one-way; administration disseminates information down through the ranks, upward communication is much more difficult (Allen & Sawhney, 2015). Civilian employees are often found at the bottom of organizational hierarchies (McCarty & Skogan, 2012) and may suffer the most from ineffective communication techniques and organizational design. It is unlikely that law enforcement agencies will abandoned their para-military design, but communication, feedback and organizational support can be increased through performance management and goal setting programs, often referred to as performance appraisals.

Traditionally, performance appraisals have been littered with problems which have made them under or inaccurately utilized, distrusted and seen as a necessary evil (Gul & O'Connell, 2013). However, Gul and O'Connell (2013) stated an organization's success depends on its ability to properly utilize its employees by recognizing skills and deficiencies and setting appropriate goals. Organizations that can properly assess its employees aid them by ensuring they make valuable contributions while advancing their own careers. The conventional performance appraisal has been annual, rigid and ineffective, but performance management is an ongoing, systematic process to improve performance and organizational outcomes through evidence-based practices (Gul & O'Connell, 2013). Modern performance management systems utilize regular feedback by gathering timely and accurate data through measurable metrics.

The development of a performance management system may be daunting, but should be considered. A properly designed and implemented performance management system aids

employees and the organization in several ways. First, each position must have clearly defined roles, tasks and career paths for the basis of evaluating performance and guiding employees. Individual development plans may be established based on personal skills and strengths. These suggestions aid employees by providing an understanding of organizational roles, tasks and responsibilities which allow them to successfully assess their psychological contract, the equity equation and expectancy process. Second, performance management programs increase communication. Regular evaluation of an employee allows communication in both directions; managers assess and discuss performance and employees have a platform to discuss ideas, desires, problems, organizational contributions and experiences. Lastly, proper performance management systems measure organizational success. Organizational and employee goals should be relatively aligned through the hiring and training processes, but also through the performance management system itself. As employees are guided through their responsibilities and learn how to succeed within the organization, their goals should align with the organization; successful employees generally reflect a successful organization.

Modern performance management systems are complex, multifaceted and require considerable resources. However, as police agencies develop real-time data gathering and analyzing abilities for the purposes of law enforcement and crime deterrence they must also continually assess employee performance as it relates to organizational success. A true performance management system not only monitors employee performance, but guides, coaches and encourages employees to meet their career goals while bolstering efficiency and the success of the organization.

Organizational Support

The primary cause of civilian employee burnout has been attributed to a lack of organizational support; civilian employees perceive significantly less support than officers from managers, administration and coworkers (McCarty & Skogan, 2012). Both civilian employees and officers also reported perceived inequity in assignments and discipline procedures, however, officers were more impacted by perceived unfairness. Though burnout criteria varied between the two work groups, rates of burnout were nearly identical. Administrators must take steps to correct these imbalances and modify a traditionally negative organizational culture.

To address civilian burnout in law enforcement organizations, managers must begin to include civilian employees in trainings, communication and decision-making. Civilian employees should have access to stress management programs, such as employee assistance programs, counseling, and critical incident stress debriefings (McCarty & Skogan, 2012). This may be increasingly important for civilian employees who deal directly with the public and emergencies such as 9-1-1 dispatchers, jailers and crime scene investigators. Additionally, the development of performance management systems will likely counteract perceived low support; employees will have frequent access to supervisors and should be given opportunities to advance or take on projects they are well-suited for. Lastly, organizations need to establish an equitable system of rewards and punishments based on quantifiable metrics. Perceived inequity was high for both civilian employees and officers and has been attributed to low organizational commitment (Dick & Metcalfe, 2001). Clear and transparent personnel policies related to selection, discipline and rewards will counteract feelings of inequity or unfairness.

Modifying organizational culture can be difficult, especially in hierarchical, para-military organizations such as law enforcement. However, a positive organizational culture that

emphasizes equity and support may be able to combat the negative effects associated with traditional law enforcement agencies. Positive work experiences can lead to increases in perceived support which limits burnout, reduces turnover and increases motivation.

Health and Wellbeing of Employees

Finally, recommendations from research and the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing call for a change in organizational culture that emphasizes the health and wellbeing of all employees. Rarely would law enforcement administrators wish their employees to work with malfunctioning or worn out safety equipment, technology or vehicles, but have traditionally offered little attention to employee wellness, fatigue or mental health status beyond the hiring process. According to the Task Force, mistakes and improper decision-making in law enforcement employees can often be traced back to lack of organizational support, sleep deprivation, fatigue, poor nutrition and/or physical health.

To truly focus on the health and wellbeing of employees, the culture of law enforcement must be transformed. "Support for wellness and safety should permeate all practices and be expressed through changes in procedures, requirements, attitudes and behaviors" (President's Task Force, 2015, p. 62). Employees who feel supported and respected are more likely to volunteer for assignments and comply with rules and regulations (Griffin & Moorhead, 2014; President's Task Force, 2015). It is essential for law enforcement agencies to break the cycle of isolation created by the current culture. All employees should be able to seek help, receive encouragement and address ongoing problems without worrying about negative consequences or alienation.

Training must expand, both in frequency and scope, to include general health such as nutrition/fitness, stress/coping, sleep and support. Law enforcement employees receive training

concerning their duties and responsibilities, but rarely their health or wellbeing. Additionally, such trainings should include how to recognize potential problems in coworkers to that the organizational culture reinforces support from the top down.

Recent demands in operational transparency, fiscal responsibility and personal accountability no longer allow antiquated or “business as usual” strategies in enforcement or human resource practices for policing agencies (Gul & O’Connell, 2013). Communities expect law enforcement employees to be efficient, dedicated and professional; a single mistake from a fatigued, overworked, or indifferent employee can shape community perceptions for generations. A service-based organization which fails to attract, hire, train and retain motivated, dedicated and effective employees cannot be successful. Law enforcement agencies must embrace modern human resource management developments including increased communication, feedback, autonomy, support, performance management, equity and flexible hierarchies to retain employees, remain effective and accomplish organizational goals.

Section V: Summary and Conclusion

Civilian employees now account for nearly one-third of all law enforcement staff and are forecasted to grow, both in numbers and scope of duties. Their responsibilities have gone from minor clerical or janitorial roles to being intertwined into nearly every facet of law enforcement. Civilian positions tend to be more restricted than an officers and typically account for a relatively small variety of duties. Through specialization, civilian tasks have been accomplished more efficiently, but have also served to compress the scope of responsibilities for law enforcement employees. The unintended consequences of civilianization and specialization have produced personnel difficulties related to employee motivation, burnout and turnover.

Traditional law enforcement responsibilities, culture and environment have created challenges for employees. The largely unsupportive organizational contexts coupled with stressful and traumatic incidents have isolated employees and produced increased morbidity and mortality rates, elevated levels of PTSD and essentially served to undermine organizational effectiveness. Rigid, para-militaristic organizational hierarchies and lines of communication have proved ineffective and unsupportive for the majority of law enforcement employees. Organizational contexts and not stressful or disturbing incidents have produced the most common path to psychological injury for law enforcement employees. Civilian employees' responsibilities have grown and they now share many experiences with officers, but arguably any employee immersed into the cynical, unsupportive and demanding environment associated with law enforcement is open to psychological injury.

Civilianization unintentionally created several circumstances that inherently limit or reduce workplace motivations. In an already unsupportive organizational context civilian employees suffer from an unbalanced psychological contract and a work environment rife with

inequality. Almost all present civilian duties were originally completed by an officer. Civilians who now complete these tasks do so for less compensation and fewer benefits while working more days per year, with less equipment and less training. Additionally, civilians have limited promotional opportunity compared to officers and occupy the lowest level of their organizational hierarchies. To combat these circumstances administrators must employ job design and increase motivation through the work itself; bonus extrinsic rewards are often impossible in public organizations. Administrators must modify the organizational culture to reflect increased communication, feedback, autonomy and meaningfulness.

Fortunately, many law enforcement administrators already possess the systems and skills for modern, effective human resource practices. The introduction of CompStat and intelligence-led policing styles require gathering virtually real-time data for analyzation and evaluation which reflect private-sector models of human resource management. Regular evaluation of the recruitment, hiring and training processes can be accomplished through similar programs that set benchmarks and measure effectiveness through clear and quantifiable metrics. Additionally, the development of performance management systems can aid agencies in developing career paths, increasing motivation and engagement as well as aligning employee and organizational goals.

The future challenges for law enforcement agencies are immense. Community expectations, distrust and civil unrest will likely continue to create increased call volumes while resources are expected to diminish. It will become imperative for law enforcement agencies to address employee motivation and turnover before problems become unmanageable or levels of service are affected. Long vacancies and understaffing work to reduce motivation, satisfaction and organizational commitment in remaining employees. While civilians still represent the minority of law enforcement staff they augment services by requiring fewer resources and

increasing efficiency. Law enforcement administrators must begin to recognize distinct and unique work groups within their agencies to combat the challenges that have arisen from civilianization and specialization.

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