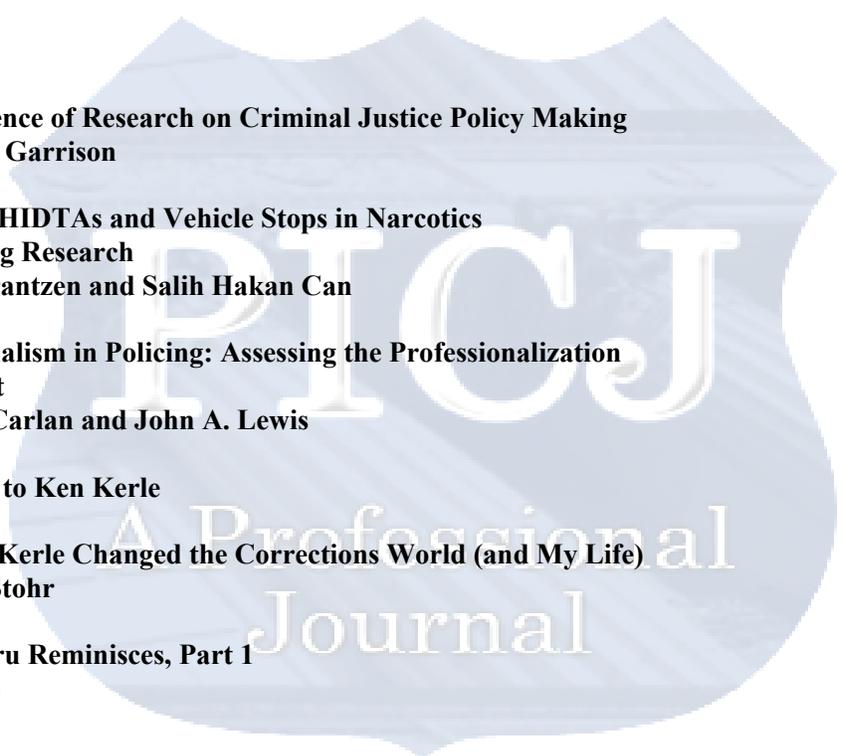


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The Influence of Research on Criminal Justice Policy Making Arthur H. Garrison	9
Assessing HIDTAs and Vehicle Stops in Narcotics Trafficking Research Durant Frantzen and Salih Hakan Can	23
Professionalism in Policing: Assessing the Professionalization Movement Philip E. Carlan and John A. Lewis	39
A Tribute to Ken Kerle	59
How Ken Kerle Changed the Corrections World (and My Life) Mary K. Stohr	59
A Jail Guru Reminisces, Part 1 Ken Kerle	63

Contents

Editor's Notes	v
The Influence of Research on Criminal Justice Policy Making Arthur H. Garrison	9
Assessing HIDTAs and Vehicle Stops in Narcotics Trafficking Research Durant Frantzen and Salih Hakan Can	23
Professionalism in Policing: Assessing the Professionalization Movement Philip E. Carlan and John A. Lewis	39
A Tribute to Ken Kerle	59
How Ken Kerle Changed the Corrections World (and My Life) Mary K. Stohr	59
A Jail Guru Reminisces, Part 1 Ken Kerle	63
Index	71

Professional Issues in Criminal Justice

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Editor's Notes

In the first article of *PICJ*'s premier issue of 2009, Arthur H. Garrison, Director and Principal Consultant for Garrison Consultants, LLC, discusses criminal justice policy planning and agency decision making. Mr. Garrison contends that the criminal justice researcher who understands the decision-making process within state criminal justice policy-making agencies can influence decisions by providing research to meet policy makers' needs. His article provides a schematic view on the criminal justice decision-making process and discusses how researchers can make their work relevant within it.

The second article, by Dr. Durant Frantzen, Texas A&M University-Kingsville, and Dr. Salih Hakan Can, Penn State University-Schuylkill, examines the efficacy of drug interdiction methods. The authors examine important policy questions regarding programs designed to achieve stated organizational goals. High-Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA) entities are one example of a program that has come under fire in the last several years due to a lack of productivity in drug enforcement output goals hampered by a diffusion of resources across the nation to target local drug epidemics. HIDTA is a multijurisdictional task force endeavor that is charged with drug interdiction in 28 high-level drug distribution jurisdictions across the country. Drug arrests derived through searches and seizures during traffic stops also make up a significant number of total drug interdiction incidents; however, few empirical studies have compared organizational outputs for these two interdiction methods. The authors gathered data for this study in a U.S.-Mexico border jurisdiction, one of the HIDTA areas initially funded by the Byrne Grant Program to stop drug trafficking. Their study offers a comparison of vehicle drug-related arrests and HIDTA arrests and provides policy implications and suggestions for future research in narcotics trafficking research.

The next article, by Drs. Philip E. Carlan from University of Southern Mississippi and John A. Lewis from Indiana University of Pennsylvania, examines police professionalism by using Hall's professionalism scale. Questionnaires were mailed to all municipal police departments with 50 or more sworn personnel in one southern state, producing 1,114 responses (57% response rate) from 16 participating departments. Analysis revealed that attitudes did not differ significantly among agencies. Findings also revealed above-average professionalism attitudes on all dimensions (organizational referent, public service, self-regulation, calling, and autonomy) except for public service. Based on these findings, the authors conclude that policing—regardless of whether identified as a profession—is aligned closely with the primary components of professionalism.

The final two articles are not peer-reviewed articles. Dr. Mary K. Stohr, wrote the first non-reviewed article, a tribute to Ken Kerle titled "How Ken Kerle Changed the

Editor's Notes

Corrections World (and My Life)." In March 2009, Ken Kerle, the founding editor of *American Jails* magazine retired. Stohr describes Ken Kerle's influence on the corrections world and her career. The second non-reviewed article is the first of a two-part article by Ken Kerle in which he discusses highlights of his career. Ken has visited more jails than any other known person. He worked hard not only to improve our jails but also to advance the cause of the many professionals employed in our correctional system. Many professionals in criminal justice will miss him.

Cliff Roberson, LLM, PhD
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The Influence of Research on Criminal Justice Policy Making

Arthur H. Garrison

Criminal justice policy making is a vertical and horizontal political dynamic. The criminal justice researcher who understands the decision-making process within state criminal justice policy-making agencies can influence decisions by providing research to meet policy makers' needs. This paper provides a schematic view on the criminal justice decision-making process and discusses how researchers can make their work relevant within it.

Key Words: criminal justice research • criminal justice policy making • agency decision making

Criminal justice policy research seeks to provide assessment and analysis of crime and provide strategies for its reduction. The pages of criminal justice and criminology journals, reviews, and books are replete with research and policy analysis. One issue that has received less attention, however, is how criminal justice policy planning agencies use criminal justice research in program development and policy making. To receive federal funding, each state maintains a criminal justice policy planning agency. State and local law enforcement agencies, the judiciary, corrections, and non-profit organizations receive funds through these criminal justice planning agencies to support criminal justice initiatives. Criminal justice researchers can make their work more relevant to criminal justice policy makers by understanding the politics, power, and policy dynamics that govern how these agencies operate.

Criminal Justice Planning: Values Matter

Criminal justice policy and planning are moral-based entities. By this I mean that they operate in an arena that deals with moral questions of right and wrong, what constitutes justice or injustice, as well as the application of individual responsibility, culpability, and blame. The presence of these moral attributes separates the field of criminal justice and

Arthur H. Garrison is the director and principal consultant for Garrison Consultants, LLC. He has more than 12 years experience in criminal justice policy making at the state and municipal levels. He has written more than 30 program evaluations, policy reports, and white papers and has published more than 20 articles in various peer reviewed criminal justice journals and law reviews.

Garrison

criminal justice policy-making agencies from other policy agencies such as those in the natural or medical sciences. Unlike the social sciences and, for our discussion, criminal justice, the natural sciences don't involve the effects of human social weakness.

Emergency management agencies, for example, assess the damage of floods and how storms develop and affect areas. There is no debate in emergency management about the moral weaknesses of the atmosphere that results in the formation of a storm or the social strengths or weaknesses of the land as it is affected by the storm. In the natural sciences, cause and effect have no moral definition or consequences. In criminal justice policy making, all questions and proposed answers are defined morally and have ideological consequences.

Criminal justice policy also uses language that has inherent social and moral connotations such as *criminals*, *delinquency*, *community dysfunction*, *social isolation*, *individual and environmental criminogenic factors*. Criminologic theories focus on personal and societal causes of poverty and crime. Criminal justice policy is geared toward controlling social dysfunction. The cause of dysfunction, our various theories propose, are internal and external factors such as lack of political power, poverty mentality, lack of economic viability, lack of educational achievement, single female head of household families, absent fathers, and so on. Regardless of how these factors are viewed and explained, they all have moral connotations attached to them. More significantly, criminal justice policy is a subject the general public can easily relate to and develop opinions about (at least in regard to causation) without immersion and education in our discipline. Terms of art in criminal justice are much more easily integrated, without explanation, into the general political discourse than are terms such as "polygenetic theories of living organisms."

Criminal justice policy development on the first level of policy making has political, ideological, and moral assumptions. For example, is the presence of crime in a community a "criminal justice" matter or a "public health" matter? Is the solution to crime a *punishment* and containment model or a medical model in which *treatment* is the key factor? Is crime a matter of individual *chosen* behavior or the result of *environmental factors* that are beyond the control or responsibility of the individual, the equivalent of being in a home contaminated with influenza? There is a fundamental difference; after all, society places no moral culpability on a person who is born, goes home, and catches the flu. The environmental/public health approach to criminality proposes that crime is the result of a social illness requiring a medical model solution and that the *moral culpability* that comes with the classical approach to crime is *misplaced and detrimental* to those who *need treatment from criminal influences*. The merits of either proposition aside, much less the implications of each, both approaches to crime involve various moral and political assumptions. Explanations of crime involve subjective moral and political viewpoints

regardless of the science of criminal justice and criminology. These viewpoints form political reality and criminal justice agency policy decisions. To further illustrate this point we now turn to criminal justice planning agency policy making specifically.

Criminal Justice Policy and Decision Making

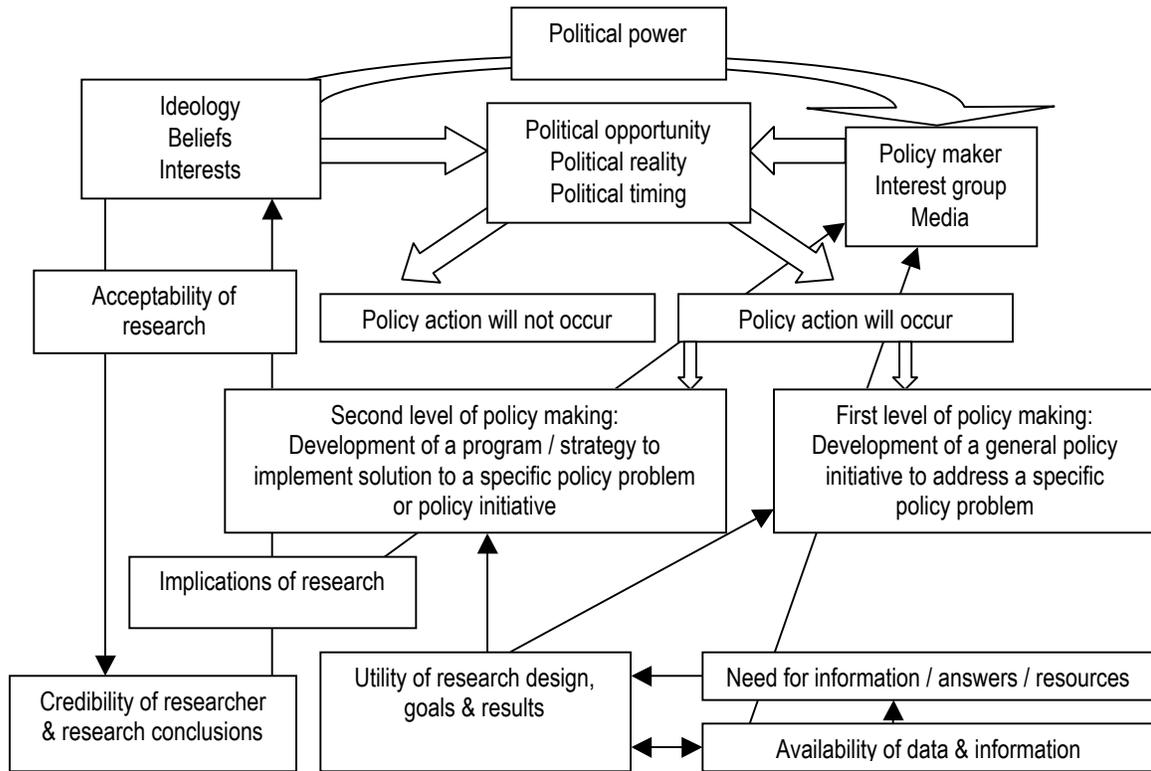
Criminal justice policy making is the result of a dynamic horizontal and vertical power decision-making system. Policy makers make decisions in a dynamic process in which various factors influence how, when, and what decision is made and what policy is instituted (Kaufman, 1969; C. Weiss, 1979; Rock, 1995; Roos & Shapiro, 1999; Vibe, Hovland, & Young, 2002). Policy is made on an incremental basis and it is developed on at least two levels, the first being the establishment of broad policy parameters and the second being the translation of policy parameters into policy programs (Lindblom, 1959; Lomas, 2000). Policy making is the result of the confluence of moral and political forces that allows an action to occur. As one eyewitness of criminal justice policy making observes:

The discourse of politicians about criminal justice is sometimes less rational and utilitarian than moralizing, and the two forms of argument do not necessarily converge. [Politicians] act from moral conviction, political need, and personal opportunism. Their response to much scholarly research, and especially to contradictory research . . . will be to ignore it, or to wish that it *had* never been conducted, and if it had been conducted, never published (Rock, 1995, p. 7, emphasis in original).

Criminal justice decision making is governed by the exercise of political power. Policy, above all, is “phrased politically” and policy proposals “must be designed to win approval from powerful individuals and organizations that can impede or accelerate their progress, from other politicians and from practitioners in the criminal justice system in particular” (Rock, 1995, p. 6).

As Figure 1 shows, policy does not come about until there is a convergence of ideology, beliefs, and interest applied through the medium of political power upon or by policy makers, public interest groups, and/or the media to create a political climate in which a policy initiative can be considered, formulated, and implemented. Policy is as much a product of political expediency and timing created by the interplay of ideology, belief systems, and interests as it is about societal need. As C. Weiss explained 30 years ago “unless a social condition has been consensually defined as a pressing social problem, and unless the condition has become fully politicized and debated, and the parameters of potential action agreed upon, there is little likelihood that policy-making bodies will be receptive to the results of social science research” (C. Weiss, 1979, p. 427).

Figure 1. Policy Making



As Figure 1 shows, research can influence the political ideological interests that, in turn, form policy within criminal justice planning agencies. To achieve influence in the decision-making cycle, the researcher must maintain both academic credibility and a reputation of producing unbiased research by policy makers (J. Weiss, 1976; Roos & Shapiro, 1999). The academic credibility and the lack of a political bias of the researcher are key factors to acceptability. If those who make decisions see a researcher as too liberal or too conservative, they will not consider his/her research results acceptable if they do not share the same political philosophy. It is better for a researcher to have no political reputation at all, thus leaving his/her academic and professional reputation the only factor known by those who make decisions.

Research must also have utility and operational usefulness. J. Weiss, also more than 30 years ago, defines useful research for policy making as meeting the demands of the political environment so policy makers will pay attention to it (1976). Writing about the

same time and reflecting on the nature of sociological research and its utility to governmental decision making, McCoy makes the following observation:

What at times is missing in sociological studies is the type of descriptive, substantive, up-to-date information that is needed for policy makers to make an objective decision. This type of information communicates much more effectively for most policy makers than the more technical analysis of academic sociological studies. [Although] sophisticated methodological research is needed and with appropriate analysis and interpretation can be of great value to policy makers, [there needs to be] more recognition [by] the profession . . . that we have more to contribute than grandiose methodology and research based on expensive grants (1975, p. 371).

These observations are just as true today. Policy makers need research that provides clear conclusions to aid them in the process of policy making. When policy makers are at the information-gathering stage of policy making, they are at their most receptive point to research. But if that research does not provide clear answers, or raises more questions than answers, or provides too many qualifiers, the research will not have significant influence on the decision making. C. Weiss reflects on this concern of social science research not providing “convergent conclusions” as follows:

As more studies are done, they often elaborate rather than simplify. They generate complex, varied, and even contradictory views of the social phenomena under study, rather than cumulating into sharper and more coherent explanation. The effect may be to widen and enrich our understanding . . . but the implications for policy are less simple and clear cut. When the diverse research conclusions enter the policy area, the direction they provide for policy is confused. Advocates of almost any policy prescription are likely to find some research generalizations in circulation to support their points of view (1979, p. 430).

As Figure 1 shows, the publication of research by media outlets is one method of finding and aiding advocates that will champion the results of the research. Roos and Shapiro (1999) observed this phenomenon in their work with a hospital staffing and funding policy development program:

Because the government appears to pay attention to us, the media pay attention to our reports; because the media give us extensive coverage, stakeholders are forced to respond to our analysis and findings. And the

response of the media and the stakeholders no doubt influences the government's perceptions and actions (p. 301).

Researchers should be prepared to take advantage of media because criminal justice policy development occurs within a political dynamic. Because research results address some aspect of criminal justice policy making, the results will always serve the political interests of the policy debate. The more media avenues the researcher cultivates to publicize his/her results, the more attention the results will receive and more influence the research will have in the process by the mere fact that the results are being debated within the decision-making process.

Criminal Justice Policy Planning Agencies

Marshall (1984) recommends that researchers "should study the settings where key people make decisions" and recognize that in government "organized groups vie for control" and the researcher should understand the different types of groups vying for control (p. 235). Marshall divides the various actors within policy making into four groups: elites, those who control information; bureaucrats, those who protect the goals of the agency; ostriches, those who are in the system and obfuscate or avoid the rules of the agency; and pussycats, those who delight in providing information to researchers (p. 236). Added to this mix of players within government policy making are lobbyists, the media, and public opinion. Criminal justice policy-planning agencies, like all government agencies, have historically operated on a hierarchical, sometimes an autocratic, and bureaucratic structure (Wilson, 1887; Simon, 1946; Nelson, 1982). More important for the researcher to understand, criminal justice policy and planning making is an exercise of use or non-use of political power in which final decision making usually involves an individual or a group of individuals within criminal justice policy-planning agencies. Researchers should understand that the implementation or the failure to implement a policy or program can result as easily from "because I said so" as from dispassionate analysis and reason based research that affects or creates a policy consensus.

To add to Marshall's descriptions, elites are the elected and appointed politicians who have the authority to prevent or implement policy under their own authority and discretion. These people can make things happen under the "because I said so" dynamic. Bureaucrats, especially those on the senior level, have the power to implement, delay, and/or improve policy directives from elites. From the view of junior bureaucrats, senior bureaucrats can appear or actually have almost the same powers as elites. Ostriches and pussycats can be junior or mid-level staff. Ostriches bury their heads in their own program areas or responsibilities and don't concern themselves with issues, programs, or policies

that don't concern them directly. Ostriches can be junior staff that have decades of experience and are full of historical knowledge about the agency but have failed to move above middle management and are either satisfied where they are and are generally easy to work with or are embittered staffers and are better avoided. Pussycats are usually junior staff and, due to personality or inexperience, are much more open to influence and are easier to get along with. Although Marshall (1984) focuses on how the researcher should approach each type of agency actor to gain access into political and bureaucratic agencies to secure data for research, her observation that actors within government agencies function within an environment of "manipulation and power plays" (p. 249) is an excellent segue into our discussion of how criminal justice policy planning agencies operate and how researchers can make their work relevant to this particular type of government planning institution.

State criminal justice policy planning agency directors are generally political appointees of the state governor. They either report directly to the governor or a policy and planning board. The typical criminal justice planning board membership includes the institutional agencies and interests within the criminal justice system. The purpose of the board is to set statewide programming policies and determine the distribution of federal criminal justice program funds throughout the system to both government and private agencies. These interagency interests reflect bureaucratic and interagency rivalries—which alone can create or prevent the initiation of policies and programs—as well as political views on the purpose and function of the criminal justice system. As a result of this political and bureaucratic dynamic, the planning board exercises political power on the policy maker and determines whether a policy is implemented.

Aside from the bureaucratic political interests in policy making, there is another aspect to the "politics" of decision making—*political timing*. The British Navy included citrus in the diet of its sailors to combat scurvy 263 years after medical science proved the utility of its use against the disease, and although the link between smoking and lung cancer was made in 1950, it was not until the 1990s that a comprehensive public policy initiative to end smoking, at least among persons younger than 18 years of age, was implemented (Lomas, 2000). Truth is truth, but timing governs when that truth is recognized and put into operation. Researchers can influence that timing if the implications of their research creates or supports an ongoing political focus on an issue and people who care about that problem, by virtue of the research, have a galvanizing focal point. Social science and criminal justice research can have an effect—both in the long-term or short-term. Long-term effect can be years away, but it is effect nonetheless. It's a matter of timing.

Returning to the first level of decision making, Figure 1 depicts how a researcher can influence one or more of the key people on the board by providing them with research results that resonate favorably with the moral and political ideologies of those members. Those members make the entire board aware of the research and begin debate on the board. The politics and power dynamics of the board will then determine whether a policy determination will occur and what policies, if made, they will dictate to the director for implementation. This is not to say that the whole issue of criminal justice program and policy decision making is governed by politics or personal agendas, but researchers must be cognizant of the fact that “social science research must fulfill the demands made by the political environment in which policy makers work” (Weiss, 1976, 235), which is petty, superficial, and bureaucratic on the one hand and significant, principled, and consequential on the other.

The planning agency conducts the second level of planning, the implementation of policy objectives into policy programs. Once the board instructs the director on the policy initiative to pursue, the details of implementation usually become a “staff” issue, which is at the discretion of the director. Thus the decision-making power for implementation shifts is to a single decision maker—the agency director. Researchers must know what level of decision making a policy or a particular initiative or program is under to determine how their research can be influential. If an agency needs information, assessment, or data on a policy initiative in its planning stages, research that provides clear and operational information will have a greater influence on the process.

Research, Evaluation, and Researchers

Research within criminal justice planning and decision making has utility on numerous levels of decision making. Research over time is part of a process that includes providing background information for policy deliberations, creating context for understanding problems, and creating solutions that occur over time. At the outset of the policy-making process, policy makers seek completed research that provides background for the policy they want to develop. When presenting research results and explaining the utility of the results to policy makers, the researcher “should communicate to the policy maker what was done, what was found, and what that all means in language that the policy maker can follow. The researcher should focus on variables [that] policy makers can do something about” (J. Weiss, 1976, p. 235). This is where qualitative research is influential (McCoy, 1975) because it provides knowledge regarding problem definition, understanding of prior research, programmatic approaches, and studies of what factors have been implemented or not implemented that are relevant to the new policy development (C. Weiss, 1979; Rist, 1994).

Researchers seeking to influence government agency policy making understand that policy making is not a linear process involving problem assessment, application of research to the problem, and the development of policy based on dispassionate research and analysis (Lindblom, 1959; J. Weiss, 1976; C. Weiss, 1988, 1991; Trostle, Bronfman, & Langer, 1999; Roos & Shapiro, 1999). With the goal of making research more relevant and useful, researchers must understand that (1) there can be no single “correct” decision in government decision making, (2) evaluations and research results will never be so comprehensive or convincing enough to provide the “final” answer in a policy debate, (3) those who don’t have the responsibility or authority for making final policy decisions do not seek out policy research, (4) policy makers, when in doubt about what information they need, seek information that is socially or politically acceptable in their organization, (5) policy makers are comfortable with the status quo and don’t change easily, and (6) the political use of research to support a predetermined policy position is a worthy use of research because it provides an avenue for all parties to access the research (C. Weiss, 1979, 1982, 1988, 1991).

Researchers also must recognize that policy makers and academics have different roles in policy making and the two roles should not be confused. For example, academics focus on maintaining their professional credibility when assessing data and addressing policy issues, while policy makers focus on the art of the possible, power dynamics, program success, and the utility of the data and information within research reports, evaluations, studies, and white papers. Roos and Shapiro (1999), while working to provide various government agencies and stakeholders with research on national health policy, observe that in the political policy-making arena; (1) “critics will sometimes identify one factor left out of an analysis and then dismiss the result” because they oppose the results on political grounds (p 292); (2) academics focus on complexity and nuance in data, but focus on complexities and qualifications is not well received in the public policy arena; and (3) with the same information, academics make observations and policy makers make policy statements. Roos and Shapiro warn that policy research can have “political” consequences affecting the interests of those who make policy and determine whether the research or the researcher has credibility.

The major credential that academics bring to the policy process is an independent, scientific approach. However, because the stakes are high and some issues are likely to be hotly disputed by special interest stakeholders, the analyses must be able to withstand critical scrutiny to maintain credibility (Roos & Shapiro, 1999, p. 291).

Researchers should stay clear of “political” debates on what their research means for future policy making. This is not to say that researches should allow their results to be misrepresented to achieve a political goal. When dealing with research and conclusions based on government data, one should remember that all government data are imperfect data (Roos & Shapiro, 1999), data can be interpreted legitimately in different ways, and the choice of possible interpretations of data can result from “political” objectives and have the same legitimacy as pure academic scrutiny.

Lomas (2000) observes that (1) policy making is a process not a discrete product; (2) the researcher must involve decision makers in the process of evaluations; (3) the researcher should seek to provide policy makers with a “summary and synthesis of knowledge across the entire spectrum of stages in the [research] process” (p. 141); (4) political context matters with regard to the acceptability and use of research; (5) research serves three frameworks for the context of decision making: the *institutional structure* of the decision-making entity (how, as a matter of power and politics, decisions are made and implemented), the *values that influence* decision making, and the *need for information*; and (6) one shouldn’t confuse a decision made due to political necessity (sensible) with acting contrary to research results (irrational). Policy makers “are as influenced by [political and moral] values as they are by the evidence. What appears to the researchers to be an irrational response . . . is sensible from the perspective of a decision maker trying to minimize [political] conflict . . .” (Lomas, 2000, pp. 143–144). Trostle, Bronfman, and Langer (1999) explain that (1) policy is affected by multiple forces other than research, and empirical research is only one small force among many in the decision-making process, and (2) while the process of research is linear, the political decision-making process is not. Stolz (2002) reminds the researcher that interest groups are a powerful enhancer or inhibitor of policy and they can be champions as well as opponents of research results. Research with “readymade partisans who will fight for [it has] a better chance of making a difference in the outcome” of policy debates (C. Weiss, 1979, p. 429). Researchers must also learn how to communicate to citizen groups and associations who in turn can influence decision makers and the decisions they make that affect the public (McCoy, 1975; Roos & Shapiro, 1999). These truths don’t negate the value of academic research, but these truths should make clear that *sciens gratia scientia* has very limited utility to those who make policy.

Researchers and Their Clients: Some Practical Observations

Research results rarely have a direct effect on the direction of policy at one moment in time. Policy researchers have to build relationships over time with policy makers so policy makers use their research. There are some practical reasons for creating and fostering

long-term relationships with criminal justice planning agencies. First, research must provide, as much as is possible, conclusions and results that decision makers can put into operation. A program evaluation or assessment of a policy must provide clear direction and “advice” on what the policy maker should consider in policy making. The summary and recommendations section are just as important as the research and analysis sections of the study. Research has little value to policy makers if the results provide data but fail to provide conclusions that can lead to a new policy or adjustment of a current policy. It may be politically expedient either to accept or reject the researcher’s conclusions, but the research will be viewed as useless without them.

Second, research should focus on questions that matter to the reader, and the presentation of research should make it clear to the reader what the results mean. The report should explain clearly the meaning of statistical results. Charts, graphs, and tables should be clear and understandable without detailed explanations. If understanding a chart requires a high level of statistical sophistication, the researcher should simplify the chart. There are fundamental differences between publications for policy makers, publications for criminal justice journals that practitioners read, and publications for journals that only researchers read. Tewksbury, DeMichele, and Miller similarly caution that “criminal justice and criminology [publications and research] are becoming less able to communicate with system administrators and practitioners” due to the trend of using sophisticated statistical methodologies and reporting results in the accompanying quantitative language (2005, p. 277). They correctly observe the following:

The use of advanced statistical techniques, producing fruitful findings in their own right, has the potential to limit the audience for criminal justice and criminological research findings. There are few criminal justice administrators—much less practitioners—who are versed in sophisticated statistical knowledge, thus minimizing the impact of criminal justice and criminological research findings on the everyday functioning of the justice system (Tewksbury, DeMichele, and Miller, 2005, p. 277).

The researcher should tailor reports and studies to the audience the researcher is trying to reach. (The researcher can draft research publications at different levels of sophistication for different intended audiences.)

Third, the researcher should prepare policy and research papers so policy makers find them easy to read and easy to use in policy discussions. Papers should have an aesthetic appeal and not “look” difficult to read, and their design should guide the eye so a

Garrison

person can read them quickly and easily. The less time it takes to read a report or study, the more likely it is that the policy maker will read the entire document.

Conclusion

Research has a place in policy making, but that place is a supportive role in the decision-making process. In criminal justice policy planning agencies, moral ideologies dictate decision making. Criminal justice decision making is implemented through a hierarchical and bureaucratic system in which political realities and opportunities govern final decision making and implementation of policy. Criminal justice policy making is incremental, it's a process. Researchers who understand this dynamic process will have more influence within that system. As C. Weiss (1979) concludes, "social scientists [need] to pay attention to the imperatives of policy making systems and to consider soberly what they can do, not necessarily to increase the use of research, but to improve the contribution that research makes to the wisdom of social policy" (p. 431). McCoy adds: "If we can avail ourselves of existing opportunities to use our skills and knowledge, a funny thing might happen to our research on the way to the publisher—it might be used" (1975, p. 371).

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Assessing HIDTAs and Vehicle Stops in Narcotics Trafficking Research

Durant Frantzen and Salih Hakan Can

The efficacy of drug interdiction methods raises important policy questions regarding programs designed to achieve stated organizational goals. High-Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA) entities are one example of a program that has come under fire in the last several years due to a lack of productivity in drug enforcement output goals (e.g., possession or sale arrests) hampered by a diffusion of resources across the nation to target local drug epidemics. HIDTA is a multijurisdictional task force endeavor that is charged with drug interdiction in 28 high-level drug distribution jurisdictions across the country. Drug arrests derived through searches and seizures during traffic stops also make up a significant number of total drug interdiction incidents; however, few empirical studies have compared organizational outputs for these two interdiction methods. Data for this study were gathered in a U.S.-Mexico border jurisdiction, one of the HIDTA areas initially funded by the Byrne Grant Program to stop drug trafficking. The study offers a comparison of vehicle drug-related arrests and HIDTA arrests and provides policy implications and suggestions for future research in narcotics trafficking research.

Key Words: HIDTA • vehicle search • drug arrests • multijurisdictional task force

The essential function of a drug task force is to unite resources from various federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies to dismantle high level drug distribution networks. Some research, however, has shown that these entities have been ineffective at reducing serious drug offending (Smith, Novak, & Frank, 2001; Schlegel & McGarrell, 1991). Multijurisdictional task force regions are more likely to have greater resources, thus the increase in drug seizures and arrests may not be attributed to the existence of task forces in particular (Brewer, Jefferis, Butcher, & Wiles, 2007). Further, specific jurisdictions such as High-Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas (HIDTAs) have been allocated significant funding to combat drug distribution and trafficking (Office of National Drug Control Policy [ONDCP], 2003). Additionally, a significant number of drug seizures take place during routine police patrol efforts, which raises questions about the efficiency of drug task force investigations in specific jurisdictions. For example, data obtained from the 2000 Operations Pipeline and Convoy indicate that federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies seized a high volume

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of 66,248 kilograms of illicit substances from private and commercial vehicles traveling on Texas thoroughfares (Department of Justice [DOJ], 2003).

Two significant movements have enhanced the effectiveness of police patrol efforts during the last two decades. First, the professionalization of policing movement, characterized by the transition from reactive to proactive models of policing, has become the preferred strategy to reduce community fear of crime (Bayley, 1994; Goldstein, 1990; Greene, 1987; Smith, Novak, & Frank, 2001). A second significant change deals with the legal system's response to the war on drugs and policy changes that have occurred in the courts that broaden police power to search for illicit contraband during routine police vehicle stops.

This article discusses the effectiveness of multijurisdictional task forces in HIDTA jurisdictions—in this case the U.S.-Mexican border. It begins with a review of the structure and purpose of drug enforcement operations with specific emphasis on the assessment of multijurisdictional HIDTA drug task forces. To demonstrate the utility of undercover drug enforcement operations in this area, this study compares outcome productivity measures with a comparison sample of drug arrests and seizures derived through vehicle stops. A review of factors affecting search and seizure laws and research regarding police discretion during traffic stops reveals a comparison of these drug interdiction methods. The southwest border area is particularly salient as a study site for assessing drug enforcement due to the current social and political climate of this region.

Literature Review

During the 1980s law enforcement agencies responded to the war on drugs by implementing organized efforts to dismantle drug trafficking organizations (DTOs) thought to be responsible for much of the increase in violent crime. The official response was the development of interagency collaboration among local, state, and federal agencies to target high-level drug distributors and transportation networks (Smith, Novak, Frank, & Travis, et al., 2000). Although many political leaders lauded multijurisdictional task force initiatives, police officials soon realized that law enforcement priorities differed between agencies over specific crime and drug crises. Law enforcement developed specialized operations such as task forces to address these new demands (Brewer et al., 2007).

Measuring Task Force Effectiveness

Research on organizational effectiveness has employed a variety of methodological approaches, including goal attainment models, process models, and structural models (Klofas, Stojkovic, & Kalinich, 1990; Smith et al., 2000). These different approaches suggest that there is a multidimensional approach to understanding drug task force

operations. For example, the process-centered approach emphasizes the relationships among the agencies that make up the task force. Further, it stresses the importance of certain factors such as communication, cooperation, and resource management for productivity purposes (McGarrell & Schlegel, 1993). By enhancing the quality of task force inputs, it is hoped that attitudes and perceptions among task force members will also improve. Self-assessment measures of work productivity and beliefs about the organization's effectiveness are often employed to gauge aspects of success (Hall, 1991).

Strengthening morale and communication among agency participants fosters higher levels of productivity and enhances outputs, namely, drug seizures and arrests. Previous research on task forces has suggested that process-oriented factors such as communication and collaboration among participating task force members are an advantage to task force membership (Ruboy & Coldren, 1992; McGarrell & Schlegel, 1993). However, police administrators and political officials remain focused on end-product measures of success, such as drug cases, to justify expenditures, particularly in situations where resources are limited.

Due to limitations of the process-centered approach, task force evaluation research has focused on goal attainment measures of effectiveness. Defining agency outputs and quantifying measures provides clear evidence of the agency's effectiveness (Damanpour & Evan, 1984). Studies on the efficacy of criminal justice operations routinely focus on goal attainment models of success (Smith et al., 2000). In the case of task forces, the goal attainment model is feasible due to the uniqueness of crime problems and the organization of the agency itself. For example, fugitive task forces and car-jacking task forces can be assessed by measuring the reduction of overall crime in a particular jurisdiction, the number of arrests, and types of arrests.

Although the concept underlying the goal attainment model appears straightforward, it is often difficult to define agency priorities and measures of success. For example, agencies frequently have contradictory goals, which make it difficult to satisfy every agency (Wycoff & Manning, 1983; Hall, 1991). Additionally, goal attainment is subject to external scrutiny from political entities and citizens (Whitaker & Phillips, 1983). The goal attainment model is prefaced on a rational school of thought where decision making is geared toward measurable objectives and outcomes. However, "conflicting goals, a lack of integration, and overlapping jurisdictions that promote inequities of justice and create inefficiencies" (Wright, 1994, p. 210), limit organizational success according to the rational model.

Overview of the HIDTA Program

According to national statistics, multijurisdictional drug task forces appear to be effective at increasing arrests and drug-related asset seizures. One of the main federal initiatives to combat drug distribution was the establishment of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, which authorized funding for the creation of task forces such as HIDTAs. Often led by representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) or Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), HIDTA initiatives involve the efforts of local and state law enforcement to facilitate drug interdiction efforts. As of 2004, 28 in the United States have been designated HIDTAs (ONDCP, 2004). The Office of National Drug Control Policy has established HIDTAs to assist state and local law enforcement agencies with drug trafficking interdiction and enforcement. HIDTA participants are typically from the FBI or DEA but also include representatives from other federal agencies such as the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF), Internal Revenue Service (IRS), U.S. Marshals service, U.S. Postal Inspector, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and the U.S. Attorney's Office. HIDTA representatives help facilitate communication and cooperation among local and state agencies and provide necessary tools to local agencies for investigative purposes. In this regard, HIDTA members do not investigate drug trafficking activity directly but provide the infrastructure that is needed to improve drug interdiction efforts involving a multijurisdictional component. According to the 2006 South Texas HIDTA Report, multiagency efforts led to 2446 drug-related arrests and asset seizures topped \$321 million (ONDCP, 2006). Despite these positive results, HIDTA entities have been criticized as a waste of federal tax revenue due to political motives to channel HIDTA funding away from target drug trafficking jurisdictions such as border areas.

Most HIDTA drug task forces are structured hierarchically to follow standard law enforcement chain of command and lines of authority (Buhler, 1999). Because these entities have multijurisdictional enforcement responsibilities, they employ a variety of investigative and preventive techniques to accomplish their goals. HIDTA Drug Task Forces are generally led by an executive board consisting of administrators such as a chair, vice-chair, and director (ONDCP, 2004). Administrators hold law enforcement positions in federal, state, and local agencies (Russell-Einhorn, Ward, & Seeherman, 2000). The administrators of the drug task force are responsible for appointing personnel to the unit, mapping out goals and objectives, and providing supervision. In most cases the executive board appoints a supervisor who manages day-to-day operations of the task force and disseminates information to the participating agents. Law enforcement officers belonging to the task force serve as a liaison for their respective agencies, facilitating investigative objectives such as serving arrest warrants, conducting surveillance, and developing informant contacts (Buhler, 1999).

Police Discretion and Searches in Traffic Stops

Police discretion is a powerful tool for law enforcement to search for drug contraband, determining case outcomes and seizure rates (Engel, 2008; Garrett, 2001). Various ideologies are used to explain police decision making as it relates to vehicle stops and search rates. The three main viewpoints include the legalistic, social, and economic perspectives (for a review, see Engel, 2008). Although a full review of these perspectives is beyond the scope of the current study, it should be noted that explanations regarding search and seizure outcomes are based on a range of theories about police behavior.

Academicians attempting to explain police search and seizure outcomes from the legalistic perspective focus on concepts of fundamental fairness and the distribution of police power and advocate the need for equity in police procedure. Much of this research on police discretion and searches in traffic stops has focused on the issue of racial bias among the police (Ayers, 2002; Knowles, Persico, & Todd, 2001). Whether police officers engage in racial profiling of suspects is a dominant policy issue facing police administrators, social activists, and researchers across the country (Engel, 2008). In response to social concerns about gang-related violence and drug trafficking, the police have developed measures to increase "hit rates" (i.e., percentage of searches that yield illicit substances) associated with drug-related searches (Engel & Johnson, 2006). However, courts have repeatedly rejected the view that search rates show definitively that the police are engaged in discriminatory practices (see *U.S. v. Stanley*, 2003, *U.S. v. Barlow*, 2002, *Chavez v. Illinois State Police*, 2001, and *Anderson v. Cornejo*, 2004.)

Scholars espousing the social perspective toward police search and seizure rates maintain that specific risk factors are the primary determinants of police decision making. One's risk of being stopped and searched by the police during a traffic stop is contingent on contextual variables such as location of incident, hour of day, purpose of stop, vehicle description, and the individual's verbal and nonverbal behavior during the incident (Engel, 2008). Research has demonstrated that communication and nonverbal cues of suspicious behavior routinely influence police decision making as it relates to pedestrian searches (Vrij & Winkel, 1991; Engel & Johnson, 2006). Additionally, studies on social and cultural behavior patterns show that signs related to attire, modes of travel, and recreational behavior affect police decisions to conduct traffic stops and searches (Brown & Washton, 2002; Connors & Nugent, 1990). Finally, research on demographics shows that residential characteristics and vehicle type affects police perceptions of drug courier profiles (Remsberg, 1997). Furthermore, conclusions about police decision making related to drug searches and arrests during traffic stops must account for pedestrian behavior in addition to demographic factors.

The rational, or “economic” perspective, posits that police power is distributed equally across all demographic and racial groups according to their proclivity toward criminal behavior (Persico & Castleman, 2005). This perspective is analogous to the goal attainment model, where police emphasize the importance of outputs relative to inputs. In the case of vehicle searches, the view suggests that the police are completely justified when targeting certain offenders during vehicle stops. In this way, police focus their investigative resources on racial and ethnic group members known to engage in criminal behavior at higher rates but routinely use minor infractions as a pretext for vehicle stops (*Whren v. U.S.*, 1996). For example, if Hispanics are believed to engage in drug trafficking at higher rates compared with Whites, then the search and seizure hit rates for Hispanics would legitimately be higher than those for Whites. Similarly, if police are believed to arrest young males more frequently during vehicle drug-related seizures of contraband, then they are said to be effectively using their organizational resources.

An analysis that compares productivity measures of vehicle drug-related arrests and undercover narcotics investigations expands the current literature on police organizational efficiency. From a goal-attainment perspective, we would hypothesize that more serious drug offenders are apprehended through undercover (HIDTA) task force operations compared with vehicle stops. We would also expect more arrests to take place in connection with undercover operations, although a greater frequency of drug arrests would presumably take place through vehicle stops. From an economic perspective, it is unclear whether demographic factors, apart from race or ethnicity (e.g., age and gender) influence police arrest decisions relative to undercover operations.

Methods

Data Sources

The current study consisted of a total sample of 348 offenders arrested for felony drug offenses for the years 2004 through 2006. Data were obtained from a High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area located along the Texas-Mexico border encompassing two border counties. According to the Department of Justice, 71% of the Texas population is defined as Caucasian, 11.5% African American; and 14% are defined as another race or more than one race (DOJ, 2003). Thirty-two percent are defined as Hispanic. Combining the data for both counties surveyed in the current study, most of the population was of Hispanic origin (94.4%). Accordingly, the demographics of the study sample were commensurate with those of the region— 97% of the offenders were Hispanic; 3% were identified as non-Hispanic.

Table 1 contains descriptive data for the sample. The information on each case was collected through case files and court records made available to the public through the

District Clerk's office. Data on all records were obtained through the office of one District Clerk due to the fact that the larger of the two counties has court jurisdiction over both jurisdictions. All case files were ordered sequentially by year and by case number, which allowed for identification and review of all referred cases by law enforcement to the District Attorney's office. By using a random systematic sampling method, every third case was reviewed either through the case file, computer or a combination of both.¹ In some instances case files were not arranged sequentially, which caused the sampling interval to vary somewhat. In cases where original files could not be located or data were missing, the next case file was selected by sequence. In total, 15 cases were omitted due to problems associated with missing data and 9 cases were excluded because the suspects were non-Hispanic. This allowed the research team to focus on an ethnically homogenous sample so groups could be compared across the remaining independent variables.

Table 1. *Demographic and Case Characteristics by Investigative Source*

Offender Characteristics	Vehicle Stops			HIDTA		
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>n</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>
Total Cases	186	63.7		106	36.3	
Age (Range: 17–77)			28.65			32.3
Gender						
Male	13	7		15	14	
Female	173	93		91	86	
Felony Level						
First	6	3		16	15	
Second	49	26		55	52	
Third	70	38		23	22	
State Jail	61	33		12	11	
Drug Type						
Cocaine	155	83		59	56	
Marijuana	31	17		47	44	
Number of Arrests/Incidents	275		1.48	253		2.39
Number of Charges Filed	210		1.13	138		1.3

Independent Variables

The “seriousness of the offense,” measured as drug type and weight, was used as a control variable in the analysis. Texas has a four-level felony scheme comprising a first, second, third, and state jail felony. The seriousness of the offense is dictated by the weight and type of

controlled substance possessed. For example, the possession of a controlled substance in the range of 200 to 400 grams of cocaine is considered a first degree felony; 4 to 200 grams is a second degree felony; 1 to 4 grams is a third degree felony; and less than 1 gram is a state jail felony. Similarly, possession of 50 to 2000 pounds of marijuana is a second degree felony, 5 to 50 pounds is a third degree felony; and 40 ounces to 5 pounds is a state jail felony. Heroin and other forms of controlled substances are classified according to a similar structure. Whether the case involved distribution or possession of narcotics, this aspect of the offense was also controlled for in the charging scheme. The offense variable was reverse-coded and rank ordered to reflect the relationship between the seriousness of the offense and the felony grade. In cases where an offender was charged with more than one offense, only the most serious offense was counted.

The variable "drug type" was dichotomously coded (0 = marijuana, 1= cocaine) and included separately to measure its effect in the overall analysis. The variable "age" was measured as a continuous variable in years. Gender was coded dichotomously (1 = male, 0 = female). The variable "number of arrestees" was measured as a continuous variable reflecting the number of additional subjects (up to 4) that were arrested in the incident. Likewise, the variable "number of charges" (up to 4) was calculated for each case and coded as a continuous variable.

Dependent Variable

The sample was separated according to the method in which the drug investigation was initiated, e.g. HIDTA drug task force or vehicle stop. After excluding cases involving missing data, the research team excluded 32 task force cases that did not involve HIDTA.² Binary logistic regression was used to test the multivariate effects of the independent variables on the odds that a drug arrest would be initiated through a vehicle stop or HIDTA task force.

Results

Table 2 displays results from the logistic regression analysis. The model was a fairly good fit to the data, accounting for 46% of the variance in the dependent variable. The model also significantly improved the hit ratio from 63.7% to 79%. Of the four productivity measures examined, the analysis showed that multijurisdictional task forces yielded significantly more arrests and more serious cases than did vehicle searches and seizures. Specifically, each increase in arrest increased the odds ratio that a case would be classified as HIDTA by a factor of 2.57. Additionally, as the seriousness of the offense increased by felony grade, the odds ratio for HIDTA classification changed by a factor of 2.34. The number of charges did not significantly vary according to task force or patrol

investigation. However, the study findings revealed that task forces were more likely to seize marijuana, and vehicle arrests were more likely to involve cocaine seizures.

Table 2. *Binomial Results for Offender and Offense Variables*

Type of Investigation (1 = HIDTA, 0 = vehicle)	<i>b</i>	Odds Ratio
Age	.08	1.08*
Gender	-1.5	.22*
Offense Seriousness	.85	2.34*
Drug Type	-1.06	.35*
Number of Arrests	.95	2.57*
Number of Charges	.03	1.03

Note. *N* = 292; Nagelkerke, *R*₂ = .46; -2Log Likelihood: 266.26; Overall Hit Ratio: 78.8 (null model = 63.7), Hosmer and Lemeshow Chi-square = 8.87, *p* = .35. For each independent variable, the odds ratio reflects the change in the odds that a case will be classified as a HIDTA case.

For the demographic variables reviewed, the study indicated that both age and gender affected investigative classification, although in different directions. Specifically, as the suspect's age increased, the odds that a case would be classified as HIDTA as opposed to a vehicle search slightly increased (odds ratio = 1.08). Therefore, relative to undercover operations, it appears that police are slightly more likely to arrest younger suspects during vehicle stops (odds ratio = .22). In summary, the findings showed that younger males were more likely to be arrested for less serious offenses involving smaller quantities of cocaine, and fewer subjects were less likely to be arrested per incident during vehicle stops compared with HIDTA investigations. Likewise, HIDTA investigations had more impressive productivity measures, as would be expected, yielding more arrests and serious charges of larger amounts of marijuana rather than cocaine. Additionally, the study showed that older females were more likely to be arrested in HIDTA investigations than in vehicle stops.

Discussion

In multijurisdictional task force research, two divergent models—goal attainment and process-centered—have emerged. Each of these models emphasizes different measures of productivity based on their underlying assumptions about organizational effectiveness. Likewise, profiling research has traditionally focused on the issue of race and ethnicity as factors determinative of search and seizure decision making (Anwar & Fang, 2006; Knowles et al. 2001). The purpose of this study was to compare productivity measures commonly

associated with a goal attainment model controlling for demographic factors such as age and gender in two localized methods of drug interdiction (e.g., vehicle arrests and HIDTA arrests). Table 3 summarizes the findings from the logistic regression analysis.

Table 3. *Summary of Results*

Factor	Vehicle Stop	HIDTA
Age	-	+
Male	+	-
Female	-	+
Offense Seriousness	-	+
Cocaine	+	-
Marijuana	-	+
Number of Arrests	-	+
Number of Charges		

Note: The positive and negative symbols indicate that the variable increased or decreased the odds that a case would be classified as either a vehicle stop or a HIDTA case. The variable "number of charges" had no effect on the odds of case classification.

The implicit objective of drug task forces is that increased cooperation between law enforcement agencies will positively affect the quality of drug enforcement outputs (Levine & Martin, 1992). To this end, the study findings provide support for the goal attainment model in that HIDTAs yielded more arrests and more serious drug cases than did vehicle searches and seizures of drug contraband. Specifically, HIDTA operations were more likely to yield large seizures of marijuana as opposed to cocaine. Similarly, the study showed that younger males were less likely to be arrested in task force operations compared with vehicle-related arrests.

The HIDTA program has been criticized as an inefficient crime control program that has led to a waste of federal tax dollars (Office of Management and Budget, 2007). Much of this concern has been directed toward the expansion of HIDTA to 28 U.S. jurisdictions, which has shifted the focus away from target jurisdictions such as the U.S.-Mexican border. The current evaluation took place in such a jurisdiction and offers specific insight into measuring task force goals. In this study, roughly 36% of the cases reviewed were initiated through HIDTA with an average of 2.39 vs. 1.48 arrests made per incident.

Additionally, HIDTA investigations led to more serious arrests relative to vehicle arrests. These findings suggest that HIDTA operations are effective measures of dismantling drug trafficking organizations. A similar measure of a goal-attainment model is a return-on-investment (ROI) analysis, which is based on a calculation of the street value of drugs and seized assets associated with HIDTA cases. Jurisdictions such as the New Mexico Region HIDTA have reported comparable outcomes, resulting in an ROI of \$21.00 per dollar allocated (ONDCP, 2006). The present study provides further support that the goals of multijurisdictional efforts are achieved when interdiction efforts are targeted in border areas.

Steffensmeier and Demuth (2001) suggest that judgments about criminal responsibility or offender "dangerousness" should incorporate an even appraisal of three focal concerns: culpability, protection of the community, and practical constraints and consequences. Courts have traditionally regarded crack and cocaine offenders to be a more serious social concern to the safety of communities, which explains why these offenders are overrepresented among all drug offenders in state and federal prison populations (Sevigny & Caulkins, 2004). However, the results of this study show that high level task force operations do not systematically target cocaine distributors, in contrast to marijuana distributors. Accordingly, the results suggest that HIDTAs are less concerned about the danger associated with cocaine trafficking (Steffensmeier & Demuth, 2001; Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998) relative to marijuana and adhere to a stricter, nonbiased interpretation based on the legal elements of the offense. These results provide support for the economic model with emphasis on generating revenue through asset forfeiture measures that provide for the continued existence of these agencies.

Research on vehicle search and seizure rates has traditionally focused on issues related to discrimination and a lack of fundamental fairness in police decision making (Garrett, 2001). In a similar way, this study sought to explore the effects of demographic factors such as age and gender on arrest outcomes in vehicle stops. By using an exclusive sample of Hispanic drug offenders, the results indicated that the age and gender of the subject significantly affected the odds that a case would be initiated through a vehicle stop and not a task force. While younger suspects were more likely to be associated with drug seizures and arrests through patrol stops, older suspects were more prone to arrest during HIDTA operations. With regards to gender, females were more likely to be arrested during HIDTA investigations compared with vehicle related investigations. Therefore, younger males were more likely to be arrested in connection with vehicle patrol stops. If we assume that a valid "hit" during a search for drug contraband leads to the arrest of the suspect, then we can infer that younger males were more likely to be searched during patrol stops rather than task force investigations.

One measure of police discretion to search and thereby arrest suspects is the “outcome test” (Anwar & Fang, 2006; Ayres, 2002; Knowles et al., 2001). The outcome test is a means to assess whether search and seizure rates vary according to economic, legal, or social motives. However, the outcome test assumes that only searches involving police discretion are considered (Fridell, 2004). Furthermore, there are some conceptual problems concerning the use of the outcome test as a means of assessing police discretion. The police may be required to arrest some suspects for drug possession when a search takes place incident to arrest, or subsequent to vehicle impoundment. Additional legal factors such as consent and plain view exceptions to the normal search requirement complicate assessments about the motives for arrest outcomes. We must assume that there is more discretion to arrest suspects during vehicle stops rather than HIDTA investigations due to investigative complexity and resources devoted to undercover operations. However, we had no comparison sample of “no-arrest” vehicle stop cases, and therefore, these results should be judged only as they relate to task force cases. That being the case, the present study shows that being a young male in possession of cocaine (rather than marijuana) increases the likelihood that the police will arrest that suspect during a narcotics-related vehicle stop.

Conclusion

This study compared investigative outputs for vehicle and HIDTA narcotics arrests. The results provide insight into Smith et al.’s (2000) suggestions regarding the need to explore effects of multijurisdictional task force agencies on specific types of cases. Future research should explore sentencing patterns associated with task force investigations to determine whether conviction rates are similar to non-task force cases. Research should also examine task force outputs in other border jurisdictions and target areas that originally provided the stimulus for HIDTA funding. Similarly, studies on drug-related vehicle stops should attempt to differentiate between arrest outcomes controlling for legal factors that trigger drug seizures irrespective of police discretion. This study is a step in that direction, and one hopes it will stimulate researchers and policymakers to re-examine the efficacy of these programs so resources can be managed appropriately.

Notes

1. Each offender’s driver’s license was queried in the county’s criminal history record base. In most cases this information was matched on drivers’ license number, but in some instances case information was cross-referenced with date of birth and arrest date to the official case report.

2. These cases were investigated by the local police narcotics unit, sheriff's department, or district attorney's office. Most cases involved HIDTA task force members due to civil asset forfeiture advantages, which is a lucrative source of income for local law enforcement agencies. Additionally, extant research shows that task force membership does not affect the quality of drug enforcement output goals (e.g., possession or sale arrests) (Smith et al., 2000).

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Frantzen and Hakan Can

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Frantzen and Hakan Can

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Professionalism in Policing: Assessing the Professionalization Movement

Philip E. Carlan and John A. Lewis

This study examines police professionalism by using Hall's professionalism scale. Questionnaires ($N = 1,953$) were mailed to all municipal police departments with 50 or more sworn personnel in one southern state, producing 1,114 responses (57% response rate) from 16 participating departments. Analysis revealed that professionalism attitudes did not differ significantly among agencies. Findings also revealed above-average professionalism attitudes on all dimensions (organizational referent, public service, self-regulation, calling, and autonomy). Based on these findings, the authors conclude that policing is closely aligned with the primary components of professionalism. Findings also reveal, however, that officers are content with low levels of actual autonomy; thus, policing must maintain progressive efforts if it hopes to one day achieve status as a profession.

Key Words: Police professionalism • police professionalization • police professions

From the colonial period's constables and night watchmen to the modern era of community policing, U.S. law enforcement has pursued professional status. Society, though, has myriad standards about how it defines professions (Dantzker, 1986; Griffin, 1998), and this definitional confusion is widely regarded as "one of the obstacles that has caused the status of profession to be elusive from the occupation of policing for so long" (Bumgamer, 2002, p. 321). Essentially, it has been argued that law enforcement strategies to obtain professional status have been based on "misinterpretation, misapplication, misrepresentation, and miscalculation" (Potts, 1982, p. 51). Long ago, Germann (1967) commented that police officers support the professionalizing agenda as a means to acquire occupational rewards (i.e., autonomy, pay, benefits) while continuing to perform "in the same old way" (p. 605). Some years later, Potts (1982) also suggested that the police professionalization movement was a reaction to poor occupational status and represented little more than a "superficial, procedural, mainly public relations ploy" (p. 53). Others, too, have proposed that the movement was really more akin to a marketing slogan (Fournier, 1999) that enabled officers to claim professional distinction without corresponding contributions (Price, 1979; Souryal, 2003).

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In a professional environment, the norm is to place substantial demands on police officers (Larson, 1977). It appears, though, that few of the rewards anticipated among police officers for pursuing professionalism are actually achieved (Rudoni, Baker, & Meyer, 1978). Thus, it should not be surprising that professional outcomes have been mixed among the law enforcement community. Bumgarner (2002, p. 321) states that "professionalism as described . . . by author-practitioners frequently fails to resemble professionalism as described in scholarly works." Griffin (1998), for example, defines professionalism as possessing integrity, intellect, initiative, industry, and impact. As such, some argue that professional status for law enforcement is unattainable because police administrators continue to pursue a self-created version of professionalism that does not fulfill societal demands (Souryal, 2003; Sullivan, 2004). Despite this pessimism, many police departments and law enforcement agencies continue the quest to gain professional recognition (Reiss, 1971). Because societal recognition as a profession affords many organizational benefits (i.e., pay, status), attempts to obtain professional standing are understandable (Bumgarner, 2002; Sciulli, 2005). Unclear standards about what law enforcement agencies must achieve to acquire professional distinction, however, are not the only reason for the limited gains of the police profession movement.

Profession and Professionalism Differentiated

Many occupations claim the status of "professions," but these claims are questionable when compared with sociological templates for such status (Bumgarner, 2002; Morgan, 1994). According to Brante (1988), occupational employees assume the mental role of a "professional" based on their ideological commitments. Sociological definitions, however, possess a greater degree of complexity than acquired self-image of workers. At a minimum, professions are expected to possess a knowledge base cultivated from tertiary education, vocational training, and experience (Evetts, 2006). The educational focus communicates that occupations cannot transform into professions without substantial commitment to training and certification (Collins, 1979; Reiss, 1971).

Greenwood (1957) advocates five essential dimensions for professional classification: systematic body of theory, professional authority, community sanction, code of ethics, and professional culture. Important to this paradigm is that professions and occupations both possess all the characteristics but differ in degree along a theoretical continuum. A *systematic body of theory* predicated on intellectual prowess ensures that professionals are competent to perform "unusually complicated operations" (p. 46). Greenwood admonishes, however, that too strong a reliance on the skill proficiencies of professionals misses "the kernel of their uniqueness" (p. 46). *Professional authority* allows professionals to use their expertise to make decisions for the well-being of societal clients. This

authority must be granted by clients, though, and for this reason it is imperative that acquisition of systematic theory (through education) be accumulated to arm the professional with knowledge that “highlights the layman’s comparative ignorance” (p. 47). *Community sanction* delegates control of training centers and admission requirements to professions to filter incompetence and immorality from among the brotherhood. Formal (written) and informal (subtle pressures) *codes of ethics* must be adopted and enforced to promote allegiance and adherence to the cornerstone of public service. Ethical codes are of greatest importance because they deter misconduct through aligning professionals’ loyalties with the larger occupation instead of unfaltering obedience to an organization (Price, 1979; Sullivan, 2004). Lastly, *professional culture* must evolve to promote “*values, norms, and symbols*” (p. 52) demonstrative of a “calling” that basically consumes the essence of life.

Wilensky (1964) attributes the genesis of a profession to a five-stage process. First, occupations must be dedicated fully to serving client needs. Second, they must establish training requirements and schools (and ultimately form alliances with universities to expand the knowledge base). Third, they must form professional associations to screen for quality applicants and convince the public of their competence. Fourth, they must install mechanisms to protect against work intrusion and sustain a code of ethics. The fifth (and final) stage requires implementation and enforcement of rules to protect against the unqualified and unscrupulous, reduce internal competition, and promote the well-being of clients by means of emphasis on the service model. Many other definitional requirements consistent with those that appear in this section also emerge from the academic literature (Dale, 1994; Hawley, 1998).

Turning attention to the construct of professionalism, Hall (1968) posits that professional attitudes can be instilled into occupational members, just as professions house members exhibiting unprofessional attitudes. According to Hall, professionalism entails five (somewhat similar and somewhat different) criteria. First, the professional depends on organizations as a major *referent* for guiding ideas, standards, and judgments. For example, professionals depend on journals and meetings as mechanisms for the maintenance of professional competence (Snizek, 1972). Hall (1968) then suggests that professionalism exudes a firm *belief in public service*, primarily visible in the conviction that its occupational services are indispensable for societal well-being. *Belief in self-regulation* as a requisite is important because it evinces the mentality that only colleagues possess the intellectual tools and expertise to judge the merits of decisions and actions and usually resents intrusion from all others (Hall, 1968; Snizek, 1972). The fourth requirement is a *sense of calling* to the field that is so intense that it commits to a lifetime of devotion without regard for associated benefits. Lastly, the freedom to make

decisions without interference from others (outsiders and even employing organizations) is a hallmark of professionalism. Concerning this *belief in autonomy*, however, Crank explains that it is “not illogical for a person to agree that decisions in general and his own decisions in particular are reviewed by others, and yet still express confidence in his ability to be his own boss, to use his own judgment, and to make his own decisions . . .” (1990, pp. 409–410).

Policing and Professionalism

Occupational members struggling for greater legitimacy often engage in professional rhetoric to “convince themselves and their constituencies that they deserve recognition” (Miller & Fry, 1976a, p. 403). Assuming education truly is the “heart” of professions (Sullivan, 2004) and professions demand more than technical competency (Mayhew & Ford, 1974), police organizations face a monumental challenge as a majority of police managers are against baccalaureate requirements for hiring new officers (Garner, 1999; Hawley, 1998). While a growing portion of police officers are earning college degrees in the absence of organizational mandates, it remains true that many police managers deemphasize the need for higher education based on the assumption it fosters negative behavior (e.g., resistance to authority, discontentment with work environments) (Kuykendall & Roberg, 1990; Price, 1976). Operating primarily within a paramilitary structure (Auten, 1981), police management (and its philosophies) appear to be wholly incompatible with the tenets of professions. Commitment to autonomy and self-regulation offer the greatest promise for nurturing the ethical conditions required of professions (Donahue, 1992; Wilensky, 1964). As such, police administrators’ often are regarded as the primary reason for the limited gains in the police profession movement because of their rigid commitment (though understandable) to strict policies, procedures, and regulations.

Several studies using Hall’s (1968) Professionalism Scale conclude officers (or police-oriented college students) possess higher-than-average professionalism attitudes. Miller and Fry (1976a) found that officers were aligned with self-regulation, sense of calling, professional organizations, and public service but possessed only moderate alignment with autonomy. Crank (1990) confirmed officer commitment to self-regulation but questioned the validity of other professionalism components. In that study, officers scored above average in all but one scale (professional organizations). Crank also reported that officer “professionalism” scores (as collected through Hall’s Professionalism Scale) were substantially higher than measures of “craftsmanship” (e.g., apprenticeship, holistic work ethic, lack of deference to authority, and oral tradition), concluding that policing exhibits attitudes more consistent with professions (although not greatly) than

occupations or vocations. Bumgarner (2002) surveyed attitudes of college students with law enforcement aspirations regarding the roles of police functions and likewise found that they perceived policing as more of a profession than a craft. Moreover, his findings revealed that professionalism and craftsmanship scores were basically unaffected by education and school type (two- or four-year).

Most academic queries regarding police professional status are inconclusive, but some studies do conclude that policing does not align with common professional standards (Dale, 1994; Dantzker, 1986; Lumb, 1994; Regoli, Crank & Culbertson, 1989), and one recent publication states clearly that "police officer" is not regarded by society as a profession (Souryal, 2003). Meanwhile, Potts (1982, p. 57) argued that the nature of policing "insures that only the limited manifestations of police professionalism are attainable" and accused policing organizations of pursuing professional status only as a means to acquire rewards.

Shernock (1992) examined nearly 200 officers from 11 police agencies and expressed doubt regarding the success of the professionalization quest, citing that college-educated cops placed little emphasis on service ideals or exercise of discretion. Dantzker's (1986) national assessment of 46 law enforcement agencies also concedes that policing does not meet the standards for professions as established within scholarly circles. The exploration of Regoli et al. (1989) of 574 Illinois police chiefs revealed that professional chiefs actually exhibited less support for professionalizing aims, citing a lack of enthusiasm toward accreditation and educational mandates. Equally disturbing, Vogel and Adams (1983) found a significant reduction in professional attitudes as experience accumulates. As a whole, academic studies confirm that police behavior is not consistent with the attributes of professionalism (Rudoni et al., 1978). For example, Regoli and Poole (1980) found that self-regulation (peers judging peers) was the only professional dimension present at high levels, and they concluded that officers possessed a narrow understanding of professionalism.

Notwithstanding such criticism, evidence of professional policing does exist (Dantzker, 1986; Price, 1979). One study of police officers from across eight departments demonstrated that a majority of the officers support professional standards (Crank, 1990). Additionally, officers tend to agree that: (1) a high school education is sufficient for patrol duties; (2) promotion is not a product of superior skill; and (3) educated officers are more compassionate. Davis and Lawler's (1985) examination of Oklahoma and Texas police officers confirmed that officers with professional attitudes were less cynical, more effective, less discretionary, and not as stressed when compared with officers not exhibiting professional attitudes. Furthermore, college-educated officers seemed to place more value on ethical conduct (Sherlock, 1992).

Methods

Officers commonly proscribe policing as a profession (Brante, 1988), but most academic queries question whether police officers truly understand (or desire) the responsibilities associated with becoming a bona fide profession (Bumgamer, 2002; Morgan, 1994). This paper attempts to add to the professionalism literature through three empirical examinations: the relationship of professionalism and personal demographics, professional demographics, and education. Specifically, the authors expect the following: 1) professionalism attitudes are independent of personal demographics (age, gender, race, marital status), 2) professionalism attitudes are associated with professional demographics (job position, years of service, hours worked, partner status), and 3) professionalism attitudes increase with educational attainment. The authors used correlations and difference-of-means tests (t-test, ANOVA) to analyze survey results. All findings are accepted at the .05 level of statistical significance.

Instrumentation

Notwithstanding the complexities associated with defining professionalism, Hall's (1968) Professionalism Scale has long been accepted as reliable. Hall supported the instrument's use as a valid measure of actual behavior, suggesting that "respondents practice what they verbalize" (p. 97). Its capacity to embody "symbolic identification with the 'ideal' professional model" seems well established (Miller & Fry, 1976a, p. 409). By using Hall's modified scale (Snizek, 1972), the authors computed an overall professionalism mean from the average of the instrument's dimensions (referent, public service, self-regulation, sense of calling, and autonomy). Each subcomponent consists of five items ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree, and all negative statements were recoded (asterisk denotes reverse coding) to attain reliable computations. As such, highest professionalism is associated with a mean of 5 (with 1 being lowest professionalism). Additional statements (Questions 26–34) also were included to measure the actual experiences of officers as related to police professionalism (see Appendix). Respondents also provided professional and personal demographics information (Questions 35–44). The following represents the numerical alignment of the survey items (Questions 1–25) constructing Hall's five dimensions (asterisks signify reverse coded items):

Referent Organizations (1, 4, 11, 15*, 17*)	Sense of Calling (7, 9, 14, 18, 24)
Belief in Public Service (2*, 5, 8*, 12*, 22)	Autonomy (3, 10*, 19*, 21, 25*)
Belief in Self-Regulation (6, 13*, 16*, 20*, 23)	

Data Collection

Twenty-one municipal police departments with 50 or more sworn officers were selected as data collection sites. Based on departmental information extracted from the state law enforcement directory, 1,953 collective questionnaires were mailed to police chiefs with a request to allow its distribution to all personnel during shift changes. A designated staff member disseminated and collected survey instruments and returned them to the researcher. This data-collection strategy produced cooperation from 16 police chiefs. Ranging from 10% to 78%, the overall response rate from participating agencies was 57% ($n = 1,114$). Eighty percent of the responses originated from eight departments (all with a minimum of 51 responses), and department representation ranged from 10 to 379 officers. Furthermore, Table 1 demonstrates that overall professionalism scores were consistent across agencies, meaning that all police agencies could be grouped for analysis in this study.

Table 1. *Professionalism Scores by Participating Police Agencies*

Sworn Officers ($N = 1953$)	Respondents $n = 1114$ (57%)	Mean	SD	SE
522	379	3.43	.32	.02
149	100	3.55	.31	.03
157	96	3.51	.27	.03
99	75	3.42	.33	.04
93	67	3.56	.32	.04
82	64	3.44	.26	.03
75	57	3.60	.31	.04
95	51	3.45	.31	.04
57	39	3.45	.32	.05
153	39	3.50	.29	.05
60	38	3.41	.32	.05
134	33	3.53	.29	.05
51	26	3.49	.28	.06
58	25	3.60	.36	.08
68	15	3.31	.29	.08
100	10	3.44	.16	.05

Note. Mean represents a scale of 1 (Lowest Professionalism) to 5 (Highest Professionalism).
Cumulative professionalism score: $M = 3.47$, $SD = 0.31$

Results

Table 2 indicates that officers in this study were primarily White (81%) and male (92%). Respondents indicated basic youthfulness (57% younger than 37 years of age) but reasonable experience (64% possessed six or more years police service). Most respondents were entry-level officers (70%), most of whom had no assigned partner (83%). The majority of officers worked fewer than 46 hours weekly (56%), and just more than one half (51%) possessed no college degree. The majority of officers also reported being married (69%).

Initial data inspection reveals no significant differences in professionalism attitudes among the variables age, gender, race, and marital status. Thus, hypothesis one—professionalism is independent of personal demographics—is supported. The data also reveal no significant professionalism differences along lines of professional attributes. Thus, hypothesis two—work environment (job position, years of service, hours worked, and partner status) is associated with professionalism—is unsupported. It appears from the data that demographics do not contribute to the formation and maintenance of professionalism. Construction of a zero-order correlation matrix (see Table 3) demonstrates the absence of those associations.

Hypothesis three also is unsupported, as the data suggest that police professionalism is uninfluenced by educational attainment. Only small differences existed among the four educational groups ($F = 0.41, p > .05$). Surprisingly, those without a college education ($M = 3.48, SD = 0.31$) actually had slightly higher professionalism scores than college-educated officers ($M = 3.46, SD = 0.32$). Turning attention to overall professionalism scores, the findings support the maxim that the *whole is the sum of the parts*. With little difference emerging along demographic lines, the cumulative professionalism score ($M = 3.47, SD = 0.31$) was a mirror image of the demographic data Table 2 illustrates. The composition of professionalism orientation, however, is not composed of equal subcomponents. In short, even though professionalism differs little among individual officers, the importance that officers place on the individual components of professionalism differs substantially. Table 4 presents the mean scores for each professionalism component.

Belief in Public Service

Officers demonstrated the greatest professionalism levels in the area of public service ($M = 4.02, SD = 0.58$). On average, 79% supported the indispensability of policing as a service mechanism, with only a fraction opposing its importance (8%). Specifically (Questions 29 & 30), officers were adamant that they would risk their life to protect citizens ($M = 4.27, SD = 0.70$) and that service to the community is the greatest priority ($M = 4.06, SD = 0.83$).

Table 2. *Police Demographics and Professionalism Scores (1–5)*

Characteristics	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>t</i>
Gender						
Male	957 (92)	3.48	.31	.04		1.31
Female	82 (8)	3.43	.32	.01		
Race						
White	848 (81)	3.48	.31	.01	2.36	
Black	156 (15)	3.44	.30	.03		
Other	49 (5)	3.41	.38	.05		
Age						
21–28	229 (22)	3.53 ^{c-d}	.32	.02	4.81*	
29–36	368 (35)	3.48	.30	.02		
37–44 ^c	258 (25)	3.44	.30	.02		
45–52 ^d	149 (14)	3.41	.33	.03		
53+	43 (4)	3.54	.31	.05		
Years of Service						
21 +	145 (14)	3.43	.34	.03	1.46	
11–20	307 (29)	3.46	.30	.02		
6–10	214 (21)	3.48	.31	.02		
1–5	325 (31)	3.49	.29	.02		
Less than 1	52(5)	3.53	.35	.05		
Job Position						
Officer	742 (70)	3.48	.30	.01	1.74	
Front-line supervision	154 (15)	3.43	.34	.03		
Administration/Mgt	157 (15)	3.47	.34	.03		
Hours Worked						
51 +	150 (14)	3.51	.32	.03	1.96	
46–50	319 (30)	3.48	.31	.02		
Less than 46	593 (56)	3.46	.31	.01		
Partner status						
No partner	868 (83)	3.47	.31	.01		0.47
Partner	181(17)	3.48	.34	.03		

Table 2 cont.

Characteristics	<i>n</i> (%)	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>t</i>
Education						
GED/High School	528 (51)	3.48	.31	.01	0.41	
Associates	232 (22)	3.47	.32	.02		
Bachelors	236 (23)	3.45	.31	.02		
Masters	48 (5)	3.46	.34	.05		
Marital status						
Never married	169 (16)	3.51	.30	.02	1.46	
Married	733 (69)	3.47	.31	.01		
Other	159 (15)	3.46	.31	.02		

Note. Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number; Mean represents a scale of 1 (Lowest Professionalism) to 5 (Highest Professionalism).

* $p < .01$

Belief in Self-Regulation

Officers expressed second highest professionalism in the area of self-regulation ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.59$). Support for self-regulation was 60%, while 24% expressed little faith in the abilities of colleagues to judge competence. Hall's modified instrument, however, measures only perceptions regarding competence evaluations as opposed to actual desire for self-regulation. When measuring these specific attitudes (Questions 26 & 32), support for self-regulation actually goes down. Fifty-three percent expressed that evaluations primarily should be derived from other officers ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.18$), while nearly one third (29%) argued otherwise. Similarly, 49% reported that evaluations should originate within the chain of command ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.59$).

Professional Organizations as a Major Referent

Officer commitment to the value of professional organizations reflected moderate agreement ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 0.62$). On average, 53% expressed support for these organizational entities, while 22% were unsupportive. One portion of the subset was below average, but that result may be attributable to something other than lack of commitment. A small officer faction (27%) affirmed regular attendance at professional meetings ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.10$). Given the nature of policing, however, opportunities for regular attendance may be limited; therefore, its inclusion in professionalism measurement might conceal real commitment of officers. Reexamination of this measure without that controversial element, though, resulted in only a 6% increase ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 0.61$). The police did assert (Question 34), however, that opportunities and funds to attend meetings were inadequate ($M = 1.88$, $SD = 1.00$).

Table 3. *Intercorrelation Matrix for Police Professionalism*

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1. Referent	1.00													
2. Pub Srv	.28**	1.00												
3. Self-Reg	-.04	.09**	1.00											
4. Calling	.20**	.30**	.03	1.00										
5. Autono	.05	-.06*	.20**	.03	1.00									
6. Job Pos	.14**	.01	-.14**	-.03	-.10**	1.00								
7. Ys Srv	.08*	.02	-.09**	-.11*	-.07*	.53**	1.00							
8. Hrs Wrk	.05	.02	.01	.06**	.00	.04	.08*	1.00						
9. Partner	.01	.05	.03	-.06**	-.04	.04	.16**	-.06	1.00					
10. Educ	.07*	-.05	-.03	-.08**	.01	.26**	.15**	.02	.06*	1.00				
11. Age	.05	.01	-.09	-.14**	.05	.46	.74**	.00	.13**	.14	1.00			
12. Gender	.02	.04	.00	.03	.02	-.03	.06	.07*	.00	-.06	-.03	1.00		
13. Race	.02	.04	.08*	.07	.00	-.01	.09**	.00	.06	.04	-.01	.14	1.00	
14. Mar Stat	-.02	.00	.04	.02	.03	-.08*	-.23**	-.09**	-.07*	.02	.23**	.07*	.01	1.00

Note. Coding is as follows: Job position (Administration/Mgt = 2, Front-line supervision = 1, Officer = 0); Years of Service (21+ = 4, 11–20 = 3, 6–10 = 2, 1–5 = 1, Less than 1 = 0); Hours Worked 51+ = 2, 46–50 = 1, Less than 46 = 0); Partner (No Partner = 1, Partner = 0); Education (Master's = 2, Bachelor's = 1, Associate's = 0); Age (53+ = 4, 45–52 = 3, 37–44 = 2, 29–36 = 1, 21–28 = 0); Gender (Male = 1, Female = 0); Race (White = 2, Black = 1, Other = 0); Marital status (Never married = 2, Married = 1, Other = 0). Pub Srv, Self-Reg, Autono, Job Pos, Ys Serv, Hrs Wrk, Partner, Educ, and Mar Stat stand for Public Service, Self-Regulation, Autonomy, Job Position, Years of Service, Hours Worked, Partner Status, Education, and Marital Status, respectively.

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

Sense of Calling

Officers demonstrated the second lowest professionalism in the area of “sense of calling” ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 0.61$), as only 34% of the officers believed that police officers in general experience significant gravitational pull to police work. It should be noted, though, that one dimension of professionalism inserted a large amount of negative skew. Specifically, just 21% agreed that most officers would stay in policing if their incomes were reduced ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 1.21$). Exclusion of this statement from the “calling” subset produced a computation more favorable to officers’ sense of calling ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.60$), an increase of 12%. As a result of this manipulation, officers’ sense of calling becomes equitable with self-regulation. Furthermore, officers confirmed (Question 27) that they

would likely leave policing for a job with higher pay ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.20$). Recoding of this “anti-calling” statement produced an unprofessional bent ($M = 2.37$). Police do, however, believe (Question 31) that they accomplish important things in the course of daily duties ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 0.73$).

Table 4. *Police Professionalism by Dimension*

Dimensions	Mean	SD	SE
Professional Referent	3.38	.62	.02
Belief in Public Service	4.02	.58	.02
Belief in Self-Regulation	3.53	.59	.02
Sense of Calling to the Field	3.25	.61	.02
Autonomy	3.20	.58	.02

Note. Mean represents a scale of 1 (Lowest Professionalism) to 5 (Highest Professionalism).

Autonomy

Representing the weakest component of police professionalism, 41% reported the ongoing presence of occupational freedom, while 28% acknowledged its noticeable absence. Essentially, officers recognized only a moderate degree of autonomy attached to daily functions ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.58$). It should be noted, though, that Hall's modified instrument measures officer perception of autonomy, not one's desire for autonomous operation. It could be argued, then, that the bureaucratic structure of police organizations compress the value that officers place on work freedom. To address that possibility, several areas were explored. Sixty-seven percent of the officers in this study expressed (Question 28) that considerable latitude should be granted to pursue work goals ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 0.80$). At first glance, this finding suggests that officers do desire autonomous police roles, but an even higher percentage of officers (73%) reported satisfaction (Question 33) with current freedom delegation ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 0.98$). It appears, then, that police officers seem satisfied with actual autonomy levels that are substantially lower than what they claim should be delegated. From these contradictions, one could argue that even though officers espouse the desire for autonomy, the real essence of autonomy seems to escape them. It appears that police officers do not truly understand the meaning or value of autonomy. In fact, educational attainment did not even produce significant differences pertaining to autonomous desire ($F = 0.98$, $p > .05$) or satisfaction ($F = 0.58$, $p > .05$).

Discussion

The findings of this study suggest that police officers are aligned with Hall's definition of professionalism. Officers demonstrated a strong commitment to the service ideal and moderate support for peer regulation. Attitudes regarding the value of professional associations and sense of calling also reveal reasonable adherence to the tenets of professionalism once controlling for undue influences. The presence of autonomy emerged with the least support (although it still received above-average support). The findings of related studies confirm the reliability of the present outcomes. Overall professionalism in the current study (3.47) is consistent with the means (3.44, 3.22, 3.55) of associated explorations by Bumgarner (2002), Crank (1990), and Miller and Fry (1976a), respectively. Concerning subset priorities, however, the rankings are somewhat mixed. For example, officers demonstrated a much greater bent toward the value of public service than the value expressed in two related studies (Crank, 1990; Miller & Fry, 1976a). Conversely, though, studies illustrate the greatest support for self-regulation, which is quite consistent with the high prioritization surfacing in this study. Examinations of the remaining subset scores (professional referent, calling, and autonomy) revealed that officers in this study lie between professionalism measures previous studies reported.

Professional status requires long-term commitment to education and training fostered in collegiate environments (Potts, 1982; Wilensky, 1964). On this issue, police commitment remains marginal, and without this educational focus, it will be difficult to professionalize policing. Addressing this point, Miller and Fry (1976b, pp. 189–190) acknowledged that police personnel “are not always ideal students,” and recognized the difficulties associated with professionalizing a person who is “forced by circumstances into the classroom.” As such, some fear that aspiring professions that want reward without real transformation may form partnerships with institutions of higher education that possess, at best, “pliable standards” and use them as a “spurious authenticating mechanism” (Moore, 1970, p. 120). Other scholars have also discussed this “bed-partnering” alliance (Farrell & Koch, 1995). For example, criminal justice educators often are criticized for focusing on the occupational development of students at the expense of traditional educational goals such as developing an understanding of philosophies, ideologies, and principles that may have no direct (or visible) application within police work. The occasional acceptance of law enforcement training as a valid substitution for academic credit promotes even more criticism (Schafer & Castellano, 2005). Farrell and Koch (1995) contend that most academic studies of law enforcement do not possess scientific neutrality because researchers (and departments) fear losing support of police personnel. They further warn that criminal justice scholars often are regarded as “unthinking defenders of the system” (p. 54).

Conclusion

Miller and Fry (1976b) concluded long ago that police officers endorse professional views but not as a product of educational experience; three decades removed, the police now appear more committed to the value of a college education. Not only have the number of college-educated police increased substantially (Carter & Sapp, 1990), their personal perceptions regarding the occupational value of their college degrees also have been documented in recent years (Carlan, 2007). As such, tertiary education has emerged as a greater focal point of the police professionalization process.

Along a similar vein, Sullivan (2004, p. 16) suggests that one of the greatest obstacles facing the occupational transformation of policing into a profession is that police officers often are not "serious about their purposes." The findings of this study, however, indicate that police officers are quite serious about attaining professional status, in that they ascribe to the traditional notions regarding what constitutes a profession. Thus, law enforcement is proceeding in the right direction to attain professional distinction, but the absence of job autonomy remains problematic because the very nature of police work inhibits officer autonomy. Even though officers in this study believed they should have autonomy and were content with their current levels of autonomy, the actual amount of such reported autonomy was quite low. This finding begs the question, then, whether police officers truly comprehend (or want) the responsibilities associated with becoming a member of a true profession. Until this singular obstacle is resolved, the police industry will remain an "occupation" longing for professional status.

In light of the aforementioned concerns, and recognizing that many officers continue to resist behavioral transformations essential for "real professionals," it is possible (if not probable) that the realities associated with working in a "real profession" may prove counterproductive for police operations as a whole (Evetts, 2006). Reiss (1971) is adamant that the police are obligated to pursue professional status, and he has no shortage of allies. But if policing continues to expend its energies on professionalizing efforts, it needs to ensure that the outcome is more than the mere formation of a police profession regarded as nothing more than "marginal" (Hall, 1968, p. 92).

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Appendix

Police Professionalism Questionnaire (Abbreviated Version)

Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the following statements:

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
A	B	C	D	E

1. I systematically read the police journals.
2. Other professions are more vital to society than policing.
3. I make my own decisions with respect to work assignments.
4. I regularly attend professional meetings at the local level (community, state or regional).
5. The police profession, more than any other, is essential for society.
6. Police officers have a good idea about the competence of other officers.
7. Police officers have a real "calling" for their work.
8. The importance of the police profession is sometimes overstressed.
9. The dedication of police officers is most gratifying.
10. I don't have much opportunity to exercise my own judgment.
11. Police organizations should be supported.
12. Some occupations are more important to society than policing.
13. A problem in the police profession is that no one really knows what other officers are doing.
14. It is encouraging to see the high level of idealism maintained by police officers.
15. Police organizations are of little benefit to the average police officer.
16. Police officers have no way of judging each other's competence.
17. Although I would like to, I don't read police journals too often.
18. Most police officers would stay in the profession even if their incomes were reduced.
19. My own decisions are subject to review.
20. There is not much opportunity to judge how other police officers do their jobs.
21. I am my own boss in almost every work-related situation.
22. If ever an occupation is indispensable, it is policing.
23. Police officers know how well other officers perform their work.
24. There are very few police officers who don't believe in their work.
25. Most of my decisions are reviewed by other people.
26. The judgment of people above me in the chain of command should count most heavily in evaluating my performance.
27. If offered a higher paying job outside of policing, I would be inclined to take it.
28. I should be given considerable latitude to pursue work goals I feel are important.
29. I would risk my life to protect the safety of a citizen.
30. Service to the people of the community is my most important priority.
31. I accomplish important things in the course of my job.

- 32. My fellow officers are in the best position to judge my competence.
- 33. I am satisfied with the degree of freedom that I am given in the course of my job.
- 34. I am provided adequate opportunities and funds to attend professional police meetings.

Please provide the following personal and employment information.

- 35. Marital Status
 - A Never married
 - B Married
 - C Divorced
 - D Separated
 - E Widowed
- 36. Hours worked/week (average)
 - A < 40
 - B 40–45
 - C 46–50
 - D 51–60
 - E 61+
- 37. Police Partner
 - A Male partner
 - B Female partner
 - C No partner
- 38. Job Position
 - A Administration
 - B Mid-management
 - C Front-line supervision
 - D Officer
- 39. Have you ever been assigned to special operations?
 - A Yes
 - B No
- 40. Gender
 - A Male
 - B Female
- 41. Race
 - A White
 - B Black
 - C Hispanic
 - D Asian
 - E Other
- 42. Age
 - A 21–28
 - B 29–36
 - C 37–44
 - D 45–52
 - E 53+
- 43. Highest Education
 - A GED
 - B High School
 - C Associates
 - D Bachelors
 - E Masters+
- 44. Years of Police Service
 - A Less than 1
 - B 1–5
 - C 6–10
 - D 11–20
 - E 21+

A Tribute to Ken Kerle

In March 2009, Ken Kerle, the founding editor of *American Jails* magazine retired. Many professionals in criminal justice will miss him. Ken has visited more jails than any other known person. He worked hard not only to improve our jails but also to advance the cause of the many professionals employed in our correctional system. I am honored to know him, to have been provided with the opportunity to contribute to his magazine, *American Jails*, and to consider myself as one of his many friends.

--Cliff Roberson, Editor-in-Chief, *PICJ*

How Ken Kerle Changed the Corrections World (and My Life)¹

Mary K. Stohr

As I have said many times, Ken Kerle is the modern day John Howard, and John Howard, like Ken Kerle, changed the corrections world. As you know, John Howard was an English ex-sheriff of the 1700s. He spent his life traveling and speaking out in favor of the reformation and standardization of the treatment of those held in English and European gaols (or jails). Howard was a major influence in the movement to improve general conditions for jail inmates, in their separation or classification, and in the cessation of the fee system, whereby an inmate was required to pay a fee for even such basics as food and clothing. Ironically, or perhaps fittingly, Howard literally gave his life for jail reform, as he died of gaol fever, or typhus.

Like Howard, Ken Kerle has been a major force for reform virtually his whole life. He worked in jail management. He has traveled widely, both in the United States and internationally, exhorting jail managers to increase the quality of their facilities and to meet jail standards. In his capacity as Managing Editor of *American Jails* magazine, he encouraged, some might say harangued, those of us doing research on jails to write for the magazine so those in the practitioner world might benefit from this knowledge. Conversely,

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Stohr

he always promoted the need for academicians to see the workings of the jail from the staff perspective. In many ways he cross-fertilized usually distinct worlds by pushing the attendance and presentation of research by academicians at the American Jail Association conferences and the attendance and presentation of perspectives (and often research) by practitioners at the Academy of Criminal Justice Science (ACJS) conferences. His most obvious effort in this area was the “Jails and Academe” feature that he started running years ago in the magazine and which many of us wrote for.

Every major issue on jails and their history has been covered at least once, if not many times, in *American Jails* magazine. From dealing with the elderly inmate, to New Generation jails and their relative advantages or disadvantages, to stress experienced by staff, Ken made sure that if the topic was salient and the research was there, it got published in the magazine.

In fact, as you all know, Ken's promotion of increased quality in jail supervision and management as well as construction (and many other areas) did not stop with the magazine. Far, far from it. He saw a need for more textbooks devoted exclusively to jails and so he wrote one. He attended ACJS, but he also was a semi-regular attendee at ASC and many regional meetings. Ken's “agenda” was not just to change jails in this country and worldwide but to change academe so it would change minds. Because he wanted educated people to work in jails, he would use these academic meetings to convince professors to teach separate jail classes or at least devote a significant section of their corrections classes to jails and increase classroom visits to jails.

It was at one of these meetings, an ACJS meeting in 1987 (my first), that Ken began his insidious influence on my life. Along with Linda Zupan and Ben Menke, I was presenting research they had conducted on jails, which they had allowed me to use for my master's degree thesis. After I had mumbled a few nervous words and all the presentations were complete, this well-dressed man in the audience (complete suit and tie always) immediately raised his hand and stood up. It was my first glimpse of Ken! He started by telling people about himself, about AJA, about the magazine, and about how our research should appear in the magazine (or be reprinted there after we published it in a journal), and how we would truly achieve progress vis-à-vis jails only if we—scholars and practitioners—all pulled together, rather than working at cross purposes. Still on leave from the prison I was working at, I personified the combination of academe (fledgling though I was) and the practitioner world, so Ken's logic made infinite sense to me. After I had attended a few more jails panels at that conference, where Ken was also present giving the same spiel (and I admit it crossed my mind that he was following me), I began to suspect that he was a nut case! And, of course, in the tradition of all single-minded,

passionate reformers (e.g., John Howard) who actually change the world for the better, Ken was and is verging on the nutty!

In the many years since, and at Ken's urging, I have published or reprinted 10 articles in *American Jails* magazine, including a one-time "Jails and Academe" column. I have exclusively focused on jails, or made sure I included jails, in a number of research projects over the years. I have increased the discussion of jails in books I've written and classes I've taught. It is unlikely that jails would have played such a big part in my own research and teaching agenda without the influence and encouragement of Ken. Over the years he has attended a number of the presentations on jails that I've given, he has called me with questions, I've consulted with him numerous times, I've referred countless numbers of academicians, practitioners, and news media to him, and we have visited at conferences and over the phone. He even came to our house for dinner once when he was in Boise for our regional conference. There is nobody on this earth, in my opinion, who knows more about jails, how they operate and how they should operate, than Ken Kerle. It has been my great good fortune to know him and to have the benefit of his wisdom these many years.

Of course, as the email traffic regarding Ken that Dan Phillips initiated illustrates, there are many mini-mes (like me) to Ken's full sized heroic figure in our corrections world. Many who said Ken had an indelible influence on their life, many who say he mentored them as no one else had. Many who acknowledged that he is the go-to guy if you have questions about jails. For these reasons, Ken Kerle is Dr. Jail (did you know he has a doctorate, too?) and the direct and equivalent descendant of John Howard!

Note

1. This tribute was read to Ken Kerle at the Academy of Criminal Justice Science's Corrections Section tribute for him held on March 13, 2009, in Boston, Massachusetts.

A Jail Guru Reminisces

Ken Kerle

Life sometimes changes unexpectedly. In June 1968, I had already resigned from a West Virginia college and looked forward to a job offered by the Robert F. Kennedy presidential primary campaign team. My residence in Washington, D.C., had already opened up political opportunities with jobs in Congress on Capitol Hill and a three-year stint as a volunteer with the Democratic National Committee. Much of this occurred while I was still in graduate school in Government and Public Administration at The American University. However, Kennedy's assassination in Los Angeles jolted me into reality. I needed employment, and ten minutes after I turned off the radio after hearing the news, my phone rang, and I listened to a voice offer me a position in a small community college in Hagerstown, Maryland.

Would I teach a couple of courses and spend the remainder of my time working with planners at a local power company? The challenge was to educate the citizens of Washington County, Maryland, about the need for countywide planning. At that time my acquaintance with countywide planning was limited to a course I had taken on local government, but it was an opportunity to learn something new from planning people who did this kind of work on a regular basis. Unfortunately, the five-member board of elected county commissioners expressed serious doubts about the college's involvement in something like community planning and eliminated the program several months into the project. However, it was a seller's market at that time, and I had no trouble turning this planning fiasco into a full-time faculty position.

The following summer, 1969, I flew to the U.K. and traveled more than 3,000 miles by rail in England, Scotland, and Wales. My purpose was to acquire enough information about government in the U.K. to offer a college-level course on comparative government. My experience in Washington, D.C., and living there made me aware of the possibilities of arranging visits through the foreign embassies/chancelleries also located in D.C. Staff people at the British embassy helped me contact party functionaries of the Conservative and Labour (British spelling) parties. As a result, I visited a number of communities and was hosted by members of both parties and met a number of well-informed people on the subject of both local and national government. It is no exaggeration to say that I was "wined and dined" the length and breadth of the country and I enjoyed every minute of it. Foreign travel was becoming a way of life.

Kerle

In Glasgow, Scotland, after conversations with several government officials, I revealed my intent to buy a ticket and sail across the Irish Sea to Belfast, Northern Ireland. One of the local Scottish politicians advised against it, telling me that my American accent would place me in an untenable position should either the opposition (IRA) or those loyal to the British crown ask me to choose sides. I followed his advice and did not purchase the ticket; that very week I read of a Canadian tourist who was inadvertently shot dead on the streets of Belfast when he got in the way of a stray bullet.

Travel continued to agree with me and the following summer I had a Eurorail pass and a room in Paris. The shock came when a postcard arrived from the social science chair of my school on a pleasant July day and carried the news that “ It’s your turn to teach in the prison.” This unexpected bit of information focused my attention on the fall semester in one of the two Maryland prisons located close to Hagerstown, Maryland, in Washington County a few miles from the school. Visions of weight-lifting inmates pressing two or three hundred pounds flashed in my mind and so unnerved me that I started doing pushups. On the third pushup I ceased . What were the odds of my physical prowess against 25 or 30 weight-lifting individuals who no doubt were in peak physical condition? Reason finally triumphed over this gloomy scenario, and I decided to plunge ahead and teach the course like I would on the campus. This strategy worked fine, and before long, inmate students extended to me invitations to visit their extracurricular activities such as sports activities, alcohol and drug treatment, and various inmate social clubs that had been sanctioned by the prison administration. In fact my interest increased to such an extent that the word got out that I was “pro-inmate.” This upset some prison staff to the extent that I was excluded from a faculty dinner at the end of the semester held for the college instructors who had taught in the prison. I sharpened my diplomatic skills and from a class of correctional officers held in a building in the vicinity of the prison, I received an invite to meet with some of them on Friday evenings at a nearby restaurant to eat, drink, and socialize. Covering all your bases to the extent that you can I found helpful.

One day in class in the prison, an inmate suggested that since I enjoyed traveling so much I should consider visiting foreign penal institutions and compare them with what I knew from my Maryland experience. I thought this a capital idea and proceeded to act on it. From that day on the vast majority of my travel, both at home and abroad, involved visitation to some institution or criminal justice agency in an effort to get better informed about the nature and value of criminal justice in other countries.

A Noble Experiment

At my campus office in Hagerstown, I read a short AP dispatch about a professor from Villanova University, Pennsylvania, James McKenna, now deceased, who had combined

inmates and correctional officers in a college-level Introduction to Sociology course. This was in the Graterford Prison, a maximum security prison near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A phone call to him concluded with an invitation to visit the prison, and so up to the institution I went to learn more about teaching a combined class of both prison staff and prisoners. Dr. McKenna convinced me that it wasn't a big problem if one made sure to receive the approval of the informal leadership of the officers and inmates involved in the course. Once I had their "OK" to proceed with what some considered to be an unorthodox arrangement (all students were equal in the classroom and not seen as officers and inmates), I could then take this proposal to the warden for his approval. The warden thought the idea had great possibilities and the class went off without a hitch. It's worth mentioning that the head nurse at one of the prisons, also a student at the college, asked to take the course. I told her to sign up for it and she became the first student to break the gender barrier. Keep in mind that this was in the early 1970s and equal opportunity for women in male prisons was not yet an accomplished fact in many parts of the country.

In another class of state correctional officers, I arranged for tours of two federal institutions—a federal prison in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and the Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown, West Virginia. At the Youth Center, the experiment of bringing both male and female prisoners into the same institution and getting them together in treatment and education program was tried and found not to be successful. The reason, we were told, was that male prisoners were younger and not mature enough to handle a coed environment in an institution. I mention this because I don't want the reader to believe that gender integration of inmates in an institution was always successful in the prison setting. As some readers know, the vast majority of jails in the United States are coed, and most American prisons have either male or female inmates.

In my situation, placing inmates and officers in the same class proved not as difficult as one might suppose. I had already had classes on the college campus where inmate students, correctional officers, police officers, and ordinary students (both male and female) already had pursued their education. No legitimately enrolled students were excluded. Though sometimes there were disagreements about issues brought up in classes about different topics under discussion, the courses went smoothly. And why not? Civilized behavior in a civilized community is the required norm in a class on campus and in a penal institution. People in education courses at the college level, whether students or faculty, are expected to behave in a mature, responsible manner. I emphasize this. These students are not in a high school classroom where juvenile behavior is sometimes known to gain the upper hand.

A Few Things Learned

When I first arrived by in Washington, D.C., at Union Station many years ago, the message etched in stone made an impression. It is attributed to British man of letters Samuel Johnson and appears in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*: "As the Spanish proverb says, 'He who would bring home the wealth of the Indies, must carry the wealth of the Indies with him.' So it is in traveling; a man must carry knowledge with him, if he would bring home knowledge." True, my first knowledge of prison life was limited to teaching classes in Maryland institutions. Actually this is not entirely true. When I enlisted in the United States Army, one of the duties I performed when assigned to a post in Fort Worden, Washington, (now converted to a state park) was "guard duty." One post was walking around the stockade building with a carbine slung over my shoulder. The prisoners held were mostly AWOLs—absent without leave. Occasionally, I was assigned to take them out on the Fort grounds to perform some form of manual labor. My instructions were to shoot any prisoner attempting to escape. Whether I would have followed through is problematic. After all, these people were not terrorists or serial killers—just irresponsible individuals who couldn't or wouldn't accept military discipline.

American Culture and Lawsuits

The prison teaching part of my career lasted about five years. In those days, I don't recall that I paid a great deal of attention to American culture. I define culture in this instance as shared attitudes, values, and beliefs transmitted from generation to generation in one's own country. In a sense culture is invisible, but people who grow up and live in a country receive an almost unconscious indoctrination through exposure to others in home, school, church, peer groups, and other organizations and activities too numerous to mention. For example, people familiar with penal institutions from other countries who have visited both American institutions and foreign penal institutions will tell you that the lawsuit phenomenon is almost strictly American. Lawsuits in their opinions would not qualify as the chief reason for positive penal change in other countries.

People in the United States, exposed as they are to the "take 'em to court" philosophy accept suing and lawsuits as a way of life. Go to your TV program guide and see the number of popular TV programs that feature judges listening to and deciding issues brought by ordinary citizens. This phenomenon didn't just happen. Americans expect justice to be dispensed through courts and courtrooms, and literally thousands of people with justice issues often take others to court. At one time there was even a court program for pets for after all, some contend, animals have rights, too.

Even I remember taking action in a Washington, D. C., court of small claims against a real-estate corporation that refused to refund my security deposit after I moved out of an

apartment in Washington, D.C. On the day of the scheduled hearing, the corporation representative failed to appear and the judge awarded me a judgment by default. This, of course, vindicated my belief that bringing a lawsuit was an American's way to achieve justice.

As this country developed, the idea of having your day in court became as American as apple pie. Once the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that inmates incarcerated in jail or prison did not lose all of their constitutional rights after incarceration, the door opened to the deluge of inmate lawsuits. Inmates brought thousands of cases for various reasons too lengthy to list, many of them frivolous. This suing phenomenon grew like a giant weed in American culture.

I contend that a country's culture defines certain norms in regard to the way people are treated—in this instance, people who find themselves locked up because of criminal charges brought against them and those who have been found guilty either by judge or jury. Because of court action less than a half a century ago, suddenly inmates learned that they did not lose all their civil or constitutional rights due to incarceration. When I visited prisons in Europe and Asia, people found it strange that such large numbers of American inmates would seek justice through lawsuits brought into our courts. One can explain it to them as a fact, but it is difficult for those who did not grow up in the United States to understand why prisoners would threaten authorities with lawsuits.

Remembered Stories from Prison Travels

When I looked at prisons in Sweden and New Zealand, I was astounded to hear correctional officers tell me that they would take some inmates home over the weekends to meet and stay with the officers' families. One officer in Sweden related that he planned to take the inmate on a fishing trip. It never occurred to me that this kind of socialization was possible. I was never aware that it was done in prisons in United States.

In Denmark, I was surprised to learn that one of the prisons made it possible for a sentenced male to live with his girlfriend in the institution, and several articles in the foreign coverage section of *American Jails* magazine described the admittance of families into Mexican and South American institutions where families were allowed to cohabit with their incarcerated inmate relatives. Yet, the year that another story appeared about corrections in Brazil (*American Jails*, Jan./Feb. 1993), *The New York Times* the previous October (1992) had published an article about the police entering a Sao Paulo prison during a riot and shooting prisoners in their cells. A good friend of mine, Joe Rowan, now deceased, wrote a series of articles about his visits to foreign institutions. One was entitled "Criminal Justice (or a Lack of It) in Venezuela," *American Jails*, Sep./Oct. 1998. On the other hand, criminal justice authorities shot both inmates and officers during a

Kerle

hostage situation in Attica prison in New York state in September 1971. It would appear that many countries are not yet free of the taint of penal violence.

I was told when I visited Taiwan that the government broadcast on television prison executions by firing squads to educate the public about what might be in store for individuals who committed capital crimes. In Hong Kong, I toured a prison where all incarcerated inmates addicted to drugs were compelled to go “cold turkey.” In a prison dormitory I saw hundreds of sick people lying in bed in a most distressed state. When I later published an article about it in *Corrections Today*, a staff person wrote a letter to the magazine denying that this was the case.

American embassy staff in Singapore reported that the use of the rattan (a stick used to inflict corporal punishment in prisons) was successfully used against inmates by lashing their buttocks to teach them the “error of their ways.” This apparently was a disciplinary procedure adopted from the British when they colonized that area of the world. On a visit to Changi Prison, formerly used as a Japanese concentration camp, I asked the prison administrator about it. A lot of his inmates were members of the 14K Triad, easily identifiable because of the huge tattoos that covered large portions of their backs and shoulders. He indicated to me that the attitude of the gang members was that they would rather do eight weeks in a hospital than eight weeks in prisons. So much for the claimed efficacy of corporal punishment.

Countries That Excluded Me From Prison Tours

I'll make it plain. I was persona non grata when it came to prison tours or visits in Russia (then called the U.S.S.R), Mongolia, and China. The closest I got in Russia was to an English-speaking authority in Moscow who told me absolutely nothing. On a three-week trip through a large part of China from east to west and from north to south, the answer was always, “If you want to visit prisons, you have to be part of a group.” Mongolians were not interested in having an American visit their institutions.

On one of three trips to Russia, I was with a small tour group of about 16. We started out in Leningrad, headed down to Moscow, and then by plane to Samarkand near the Pakistan border and on up to Taskent. From there we flew to Irkutsk on Lake Baykal in Siberia, which is reputed to hold more water than all the five Great Lakes combined. On the train from Irkutsk down to Ulan Bator in Mongolia, the Russian military boarded the train with submachine guns and methodically searched each traveler's luggage. Here one realized the difference between the way things were done in a communist dictatorship as opposed to the United States. One citizen from North Dakota started to complain about the violation of his constitutional rights. A couple of us told him to “pipe down” and remember where he was.

Getting Involved With Jails—A Stimulating Shock

I do not want to rehash my political involvement with the Francis R. "Dick" Ford, which I described in Part One of my jail book, *Exploring Jail Operations*. Teaching for five years in the Maryland prison system, including a semester at the then Patuxent Psychiatric Prison, did not prepare me for the jail scene. Washington County, Maryland's 1857 "firetrap" jail shocked me. I spent four years working as an unpaid consultant at the Washington County Sheriff's Department, including a stint as a jail officer managing and supervising inmates, which influenced my thinking considerably. With such a beginning, the only way to go was up, and this I did thanks to the strong support of Sheriff Francis R. Ford who got me into the jail scene big time!

It was Dick Ford who suggested that since I liked to travel, I should go about the country looking at jails. As improbable as it sounds, that is what I started to do. What an education!

This concludes part one of a two-part article about Ken Kerle's travels and observations about jail and prisons.

Index

- Academy of Criminal Justice Science (ACJS), 60, 61
- Agency decision making (See Criminal justice policy making.)
- American Jail Association (AJA), 60
- Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, 26
- Attica Correctional Facility, 68

- Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF)

- Cocaine, possession of in Texas, 30, 31, 32, 33
- Crime/criminal justice analysis, 9, 25
- Criminal justice policy planning agency(ies), 9, 12, 14–16, 19,
- Criminal justice policy making, 9–21
 - levels/stages of, 12–13, 16

- Drug arrests/seizures, 23, 25, 28–31, 33–34
- Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), 26
- Drug interdiction methods, 23–38
- Drug possession, 23, 29–30, 32, 33, 34
- Drug task force. (See Multijurisdictional drug task force.)
- Drug trafficking (See Narcotics trafficking research.)

- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 26
- Ford, Francis R “Dick,” 69

- Graterford Prison, 65

- Hall’s Professionalism Scale, 39, 42, 44, 51
 - Autonomy, 41–42, 44, 50, 51, 52
 - Belief in public service, 41, 42, 44, 46, 51
 - Belief in self-regulation, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 51
 - Organization as major referent, 41, 42, 44, 48, 51
 - Sense of calling, 41, 42, 44, 49–50, 51
- High-density drug trafficking areas (HIDTAs), 23–38
- Heroin, possession of in Texas, 30
- Howard, John, 59, 61

- Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 26
- Inmates, prison, 59, 60, 64, 54, 67, 68, 69
- Internal Revenue Service (IRS), 26

- Jails/prisons, 59 – 61, 64–69

- Marijuana, possession of in Texas, 30, 31, 32, 33
- McKenna, James, 64–65
- Media, influence on policy planning, 11, 12, 13–14
- Multijurisdictional drug task force, 23, 24–25, 26, 30–34

- Narcotics trafficking research, 23–38

- Office of National Drug Control Policy, 23, 26

- Patuxent Psychiatric Prison, 69
- Police discretion and searches in traffic stops, 27–28, 34
- Policy analysis, 9, 23
- Policy making (See Criminal justice policy making.)
- Professions/professionalism (See also Professionalization of policing movement.)
 - and education and training, 41, 42, 43, 51, 52
 - compared with occupations, 40–43
 - criteria for, 40–42
 - defined, 40
 - rewards of, 39, 40
 - societal views, 40
- Professionalization of policing movement, 24, 39–55
- Profiling, police
 - by ethnicity, 28, 31
 - by gender, 28, 31, 33
 - by race, 27, 31
- Public interest and policy planning, 11, 12

Index

Research, influence on criminal justice

- policy making, 9–21
- acceptability of, 12
- appearance of, 19–20
- credibility of conclusions, 12, 17
- need for, 12
- presentation of, 13, 16, 18, 19
- unbiased, 12, 18
- utility of, 12–13, 16

Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center, 65

Searches and seizures, traffic stops, 23,
27–28, 31–33, 34 (*See also* Vehicle
stops in narcotics trafficking.)

Texas

- and Mexico border, 23, 28
- four-level drug felony scheme, 29–30
- population, 28
- possession of controlled substance
in, 29–30

U.S. Attorney's Office, 26

U.S. Marshals service, 26

U.S. Postal Inspector, 26

Vehicle stops in narcotics trafficking, 23–38