Hartford Police Department Organizational Climate Study:
Final Report

Lisa Barao, Ph.D.
Department of Criminal Justice
Westfield State University

Chelsea Farrell, Ph.D.
Criminology & Criminal Justice
University of Rhode Island

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Authors' Note:

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The following executive summary highlights the key findings and overall areas of improvement from the organizational climate study of the Hartford Police Department (HPD). This section is organized by subheadings that mirror the major components of the final report. Reference to the complete sections will provide a more in-depth and detailed explanation of the study findings and specific recommendations based on the results.

Purpose and Methods

The purpose of this study is to holistically evaluate the workplace experiences and perceptions of officers in the HPD by conducting an independent organizational climate assessment. Broadly, this study explores the department's culture by: examining officers' perceptions of key factors such as internal procedural justice, job satisfaction, internal support, resources, and areas of improvement; assessing the prevalence and individual experiences of workplace discrimination and harassment; and investigating the organizational features of the department that may contribute to negative treatment of officers by their peers or supervisors. Three main data sources were employed: 1) officer surveys, 2) officer interviews, and 3) administrative and case data. Qualitative and quantitative analyses produced findings that are categorized within seven areas: 1) Recruitment and Selection, 2) Diversity in Promotions and Assignments, 3) Transparency, Communication, and Fairness, 4) Workplace Environment, 5) Discipline, Misconduct, and Harassment, 6) Officer Wellness, and 7) Equipment, Resources, and Training. Findings from across these areas are used to inform recommendations to facilitate the development of plans for overall organizational improvement.

It is important to note that this study is focused on the internal organizational climate and does not examine officer interactions with the public. Additionally, this study utilizes officer perceptions (via survey and interview) along with other data sources (i.e., administrative data). Therefore, the primary basis for the findings presented in this report are officers' direct experiences and indirect knowledge. As with any study using self-report/perception, there are important limitations to recognize. Additionally, in assessing employee views and perceptions, this study seeks information that is expected to be more critical of police administrators (i.e., defined in this study as Chief, Assistant Chiefs, Deputy Chiefs, Captains) and immediate supervisors (e.g., often sergeants and lieutenants) than it is of officers' own behaviors, actions, and inactions. However, the goal of this study is to assess the HPD's organizational climate and develop recommendations that aim to make working at the HPD a better experience. In this light, officer perceptions are valid, informative, and critical to the process of organizational improvement.

Recruitment and Selection

An organization's climate and culture are directly impacted by officer recruitment and selection activities. This study examined officers' career motivations and the HPD's testing and selection activities from the application process through hiring recruits. Findings indicate that officers within the HPD were primarily driven to become police officers because of the opportunity to help people and serve the Hartford community and its residents. Officers were also motivated by the varied nature of police work and the stability of the profession. Officers and administrators

discussed the challenges associated with recruiting candidates, which was particularly the case for recruiting women, racial/ethnic minorities, and Hartford residents.

Attrition was analyzed in each stage of the hiring process. In summary, Hartford residents were overrepresented among those eliminated at the application stage due to incomplete applications or failing to meet minimum requirements. However, counts of eliminated candidates at this stage were very low. Hartford residents and nonwhite applicants were also overrepresented in those failing the physical agility test, and nonwhite applicants were overrepresented in those eliminated during the psychological examination phase. In terms of the last finding, this was the case for 2016 – 2018, but contradictory results were found for 2019. Still, the psychological examination should be examined for potential sources of bias that can lead to disparate impact. Findings also revealed that 45% of applicants are lost due to voluntary withdrawal. Although no gender or racial/ethnic disparities were detected for voluntary withdrawals, the HPD should aim to understand if there are any patterns among those who voluntarily withdrew and develop a plan to reduce such withdrawals because it is likely that a portion of these individuals would make for good police officer candidates.

The rate of officer turnover in the HPD is average when compared to other city police agencies, but a substantial proportion of voluntary resignations were among early career officers within their first three years on the job. Increasing retention is critical and relies on assessing the work environment and making informed modifications to improve engagement and satisfaction. Findings suggest this is especially important for retaining early career officers in the HPD.

Diversity in Promotions and Assignments

A key indicator of organizational fairness and openness to inclusion is diversity throughout a department's ranks and divisions. Findings indicate that within the HPD, females were sufficiently represented in all ranks, in comparison to their overall representation in the department as a whole. Racial/ethnic minority officers were found to be fairly represented at all ranks, in comparison to their representation in the department overall, except for the rank of sergeant. An increase in racial/ethnic minority hires in recent years may be the source of this finding because the officer rank now has an increased proportion of racial/ethnic minority officers who are not yet eligible for a sergeant position. Both administrative data and survey data yielded no significant under- or over-representation findings in terms of sex or race/ethnicity across ranks in the HPD in comparison to their representation in the department overall.

Promotional aspirations were also examined. Results indicated no statistically significant differences by sex or race/ethnicity in terms of preference for becoming a supervisor in the future. However, findings did suggest that nonwhite officers were less satisfied with the prospect of remaining in patrol and more likely to define success by promotions and/or specialized assignments. Efforts to expand initiatives that fairly increase department-wide diversity should continue to be prioritized.

In terms of assignments to specialized divisions, findings indicate that females and/or racial/ethnic minority officers are significantly under- or over-represented in some divisions. Females in the HPD are overrepresented in Internal Affairs (41.7%) and the Police Academy

(33.3%) and underrepresented in Vice, Intelligence, and Narcotics (2.7%), in comparison to their representation in the department (15.5%). June 2020 data, however, indicates that the underrepresentation of females in Vice, Intelligence, and Narcotics is no longer statistically significant (6.3%). Racial/ethnic minorities were found to be overrepresented in Detention (66.7%) in comparison to their overall department representation (34.8%). Division preferences were also examined and revealed that Professional Standards, Major Crimes, VIN, Community Service, and Crime Scene Division were the top five career preferences among officers. This was generally consistent across all officers, but some variation across race/ethnicity and gender was found. For example, nonwhite officers were significantly less likely to desire VIN and significantly more likely to desire the police cadet program in comparison to white officers.

Although results did not indicate statistically significant underrepresentation of female or racial/ethnic minorities among field training officers (FTOs), the percentage of minorities working as FTOs is relatively low. Since this position exerts a tremendous amount of influence over the development and careers of officers, diverse representation in FTO positions is crucial. Increasing diversity in the FTO role to reflect various perspectives should be prioritized.

Qualitative findings revealed a great deal of internal frustration resulting from how diversity has been achieved in the HPD. Rushed and politically motivated efforts were perceived by nearly all participants. Regardless of gender or race/ethnicity, participants were concerned about the ways in which the City and department have worked to increase diversity. Such perceptions highlight a need for the HPD to focus on careful, deliberate diversity planning. The HPD should prioritize initiatives that aim to expose officers to a range of job opportunities and informal social networks within the department.

Transparency, Communication, and Fairness

Officers perceive qualities of transformational leadership to be moderately low within the HPD administration. In particular, findings indicated that communication and transparency in the decision-making process was deficient. Officers readily desired more thorough explanations regarding changes made to policies and procedures by the administration. Officer perceptions suggested that the administration often lacks understanding of the challenges that rank-and-file officers face daily. Additionally, findings indicated that the HPD administration is not as supportive or as accessible as they should be. Despite these concerns, officers viewed the police administration as legitimate.

Respondents viewed their immediate supervisors more positively and indicated that they demonstrated a high level of internal procedural justice or fairness within their role. Findings revealed that immediate supervisors treat subordinates with respect, aim to be impartial, and value subordinates' input. However, both supervisors and subordinates voiced a need for more supervisory training that focuses on developing leadership and mentorship skills, rather than administrative tasks.

Fairness is a critical component of developing a just organization to which officers are committed. Results suggest that, on average, officers in the HPD do not strongly agree nor strongly disagree that officers are treated fairly regardless of gender, race/ethnicity, or sexual orientation.

Evidence of in-group bias was detected such that white officers perceive nonwhite officers to have more job-related opportunities and nonwhite officers perceive white officers to have more job-related opportunities. Similarly, in-group bias within gender groups was found such that male officers perceive that females have more opportunities within the department and female officers perceive that males have more opportunities within the department. Although respondents perceived some level of favoritism in the distribution of positions and assignments, the general sentiment was that fairness in this area was improving. Similarly, results indicated that officers view the promotional process as somewhat fair but voiced concerns about the transparency and accuracy of the HR administrative scoring process. Notably, the detective trainee program was well-received by officers and viewed as valuable for fostering relationships, learning new skills, and demonstrating capabilities.

Workplace Environment

The organizational climate study assessed the workplace environment in terms of peer support and relationships, internal gossip and social media participation, and workplace issues specific to underrepresented groups. Results indicate that overall, officers in the HPD feel accepted and respected in the workplace. Specifically, survey and interview findings revealed that officers feel a strong sense of camaraderie and rate their peers highly in terms of procedural justice. Additionally, officers felt supported by their peers and indicated they can seek out their peers for job-related support and emotional support. Like in any workplace, officers did indicate that interpersonal conflicts did arise in the HPD. In response to interpersonal conflicts, many respondents indicated they had success directly confronting issues with coworkers. Although informal conflict resolution can be beneficial, power dynamics likely make it difficult for some officers or some types of interpersonal conflicts to be resolved using informal channels.

Two main sources of workplace frustration were revealed during interviews. Veteran officers commonly voiced frustration with young, new officers and perceived them as lacking respect and work ethic. Informal and formal mentoring programs can be used to foster mutual understanding and relay positive workplace etiquette for all officers. The second source of workplace frustration found in the data was widespread gossip. Gossip within the HPD has had a negative impact on overall department morale. In particular, respondents frequently voiced concerns that anonymous comments to a public blog were spreading rumors and exacerbating gossip-related problems and even impacted officers' work lives.

Results indicated that nonwhite officers, female officers, and LGBTQ+ officers generally feel accepted in the HPD; however, findings also revealed important group-specific internal areas of concern. Nonwhite officers sometimes felt doubly marginalized among their peers in the department and among their racial/ethnic group in the community. Additionally, racial/ethnic minority officers described occasional lack of cultural competency within the HPD and indicated that particular divisions and assignments (e.g., VIN, Field Training Officers) would benefit from more racial/ethnic minority representation. Female officers noted the following three internal areas of concern: 1) physical infrastructure (e.g., locker room is too small; need designated lactation rooms); 2) bolstering professionalism and appropriate conduct in the workplace to reduce occurrences of sexist and/or vulgar comments and jokes; and 3) in-group divisions/criticism

among female officers. Very few respondents volunteered their sexual orientation, but prior research emphasizes the need to create a supportive environment that promotes the positive treatment of LGBTQ+ officers to reduce inappropriate and unacceptable comments/jokes and increase inclusion and acceptance.

Discipline, Misconduct, and Harassment

It is paramount that the HPD makes a continued effort toward reducing harassment in order to foster an inclusive, safe, and fair workplace environment. Evidence from our analysis demonstrates that instances of workplace harassment and discrimination do exist within the HPD. This study utilizes broad measures of harassment, asking respondents to indicate whether they have experienced any of the listed behaviors at least once in the past 12 months. Though this may not amount to an ongoing pattern that legally constitutes harassment, the raw prevalence of such behaviors is an important indicator of the workplace culture and is informative in developing methods to mitigate misconduct.

Surveyed officers did not indicate experiencing sexual coercion behaviors at work, but encounters with sexual harassment and gender-based harassment behaviors were reported. Limitations in the body of existing literature on this topic make it difficult to compare the findings from the HPD to other departments, but in comparison to research from other male-dominated fields, the prevalence of sexual coercion behaviors and sexual harassment behaviors was lower in the HPD and the prevalence of gender harassment behaviors was similar in the HPD.

Nearly 11% of surveyed officers reported encountering race-based harassment behaviors at work. When officers experienced race-based or sexual harassment behaviors, the most common behaviors were offensive or insulting jokes or the use of insulting terms. Regardless of how the HPD compares to other police departments in terms of workplace harassment, any amount of sexual, gender, or race-based harassment is too much and warrants continued efforts to eliminate its presence.

Results from both survey and interview data indicated that most officers perceive the disciplinary process within the HPD to be fair and valued the recent focus on accountability. With that said, officers voiced concerns about feeling targeted for minor violations and inconsistency in the formality of addressing minor violations. A review of IAD and EEO cases suggested that IA and HR conduct thorough and exhaustive investigations into allegations of a hostile workplace, disparaging comments, discrimination, harassment, and Equal Employment Opportunity violations. Although significant variation within the cases examined exists, several contributing factors were found to be prevalent. In particular, needs related to internal procedural justice, supervisory training, performance evaluations, and conflict resolution were repeatedly shown to contribute to the situations that resulted in formal complaints/allegations.

Officer Wellness

Officer wellness is an important aspect of a police organization's overall climate. This assessment examined officer wellness in terms of stressors, job satisfaction, job motivation, apprehension, and cynicism toward citizens and the job. Findings indicate that officers are particularly concerned with negative portrayals of law enforcement in the media. This was the

most common stressor among participants. The other top five stressors among officers in the HPD were insufficient health insurance benefits, negative public criticism of law enforcement officers' actions, insufficient salary, and possible favoritism within law enforcement agencies. None of the operational stressors such as threat of injury or death were among the top concerns for officers.

Overall, officers in the HPD are generally satisfied with their jobs but indicated that they are least satisfied with the amount of support they receive from the police administration. Patrol officers appear to be significantly less satisfied in comparison to officers in other divisions or units. Findings indicated that officers are moderately motivated to perform the duties and responsibilities required of the job and are neutral in terms of apprehensiveness toward using force when needed. Lastly, results demonstrated that officers possess low to moderate levels of cynicism toward citizens and toward their job. Newer and/or younger officers appear to hold more cynical views toward citizens and the job in comparison to more experienced and/or older officers.

Equipment, Resources, and Training

This organizational climate assessment lastly examined officers' evaluation of personnel and equipment resources as well as training needs and opportunities. Findings indicate that officers in the HPD feel that staffing levels are too low, and this hinders their ability to perform their job safely and efficiently. Both patrol officers and officers in specialized units felt that they were spread too thin, and respondents commonly voiced concerns related to the department's ability to hire and retain officers when the salary and benefits are comparatively low in the HPD. Compared to the average starting salary for entry-level police officers in municipal police departments in Hartford County, the HPD starting salary is about 20% lower, or almost $13,000 less.

In terms of equipment and operational resources, findings indicated concerns related to basic necessities such as inadequate cruisers, lack of report writing resources, and basic supplies such as paper and toner. The HPD needs to be resourced properly to address these inadequacies, and an automated system for reporting equipment breakage/damage and supply shortages is needed. Officers also commonly voiced concern regarding the practicality and functionality of uniforms as well as a need for changes to uniform allowance procedures.

Findings related to training indicate that officers want more instruction on how to respond to high-stakes situations (e.g., active shooter, crowd/riot control) and how to respond to people with disabilities (both physical and intellectual) and people with mental illness. Additionally, officers indicated they were less confident in their knowledge and ability to develop solutions to community problems. Results indicated that officers in the HPD want more training and education on cultural understanding, bias, de-escalation, and officer wellness. Finally, participating officers, particularly patrol officers, indicated feeling as though their interests in specialized training were not prioritized.

Summary of Recommendations

The organizational shortcomings revealed in this assessment are not completely unique to the HPD, but rather are common organizational struggles that many police departments experience. These struggles emerge from both current practices and inherited frustrations with practices that have occurred and/or persisted within the HPD over time. Despite the shortcomings

revealed in this study, the HPD also displays many strengths. For example, participating officers indicated positive, close-knit relationships with their peers and revealed an incredibly dedicated spirit toward serving the community and residents of Hartford. Additionally, the fact that the HPD invited open inquiry and constructive criticism of its policies and practices is promising. The department demonstrated a willingness to critically examine issues that many departments seek to avoid and an openness to ongoing progressive change that can benefit its officers and the community it serves.

Although our findings provide evidence of some recent improvements within the HPD, the following summarizes eight key priority areas for continued improvement. Specific recommendations can be found within each section and a full list is provided at the end of this report in an index. Note that some recommendations are reiterated in more than one section.

1. Address Intra-Organizational Friction

Findings indicate that the HPD administration lacks the level of communication, transparency, and support that officers need from their leadership. Creating a workplace culture that focuses on organizational justice (i.e., internal procedural justice and transformational leadership) is an important step toward remedying this divide because it facilitates the development of mutual trust, respect, and support. For example, the HPD should: give officers a chance to voice their views and concerns, demonstrate consistency in decision-making, increase clarity in communication, increase transparency in policies and procedures, treat employees with dignity and respect, increase their visible presence, and find ways to formally and informally recognize positive officer actions.

2. Strengthen Transparency & Communication

A paramount finding from this assessment was a need for transparency and clear communication related to expectations and departmental plans. Detailed explanations for administration decisions and actions are needed along with the solicitation of officer input/feedback. The means of communicating decisions and changes should also be considered. For example, electronic communication may be insufficient to address more complex or easily misinterpreted issues.

3. Improve Performance Management & Career Development

The HPD needs a performance management system to ensure clear communication about standards and expectations and to facilitate performance feedback. 360 evaluations should be implemented to allow subordinates to provide feedback and to ensure reviews take place at least annually. Policies related to position postings and selection procedures would benefit from increased clarity and consistency. The HPD should also expand specialized training and exposure to department opportunities.

4. Manage Personnel Behavior & Conflicts

A continuous effort to reduce instances of harassment, such as through cultural competency and sensitivity training, is critical. These trainings must be reinforced through practice in

the department. The HPD should improve formal disciplinary channels for harassment behaviors and interpersonal conflicts, as well as build informal channels to resolve conflicts when applicable.

5. Engage in Culture Management

Several groups exist within the HPD that protect officer interests and create bonds based on common characteristics like gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, and/or nationality. The administration should be proactive in seeking feedback from the leaders of these organizations. Group leaders hold valuable information about the unique needs, frustrations, and concerns of their members. The HPD should work to maintain a shared vision and inclusive police organization through productive and reciprocal communication channels with all informal organizations.

6. Reduce Task Overload, Resource Limitation, & Officer Stress

Findings indicate that officers are stressed by a shortage of personnel and equipment resources within the HPD. Though the HPD has worked to steadily increase its sworn personnel over the past several years, officers continue to feel overextended. The department should assess whether internal personnel resources can be reallocated to increase effectiveness and efficiency while decreasing workloads placed on individual officers. Officer feedback should be solicited regarding priority purchasing and budgeting needs. Fair compensation needs to be discussed and addressed in a collaborative manner. Additionally, proactive measures to reduce officer stress and increase help-seeking behaviors should be prioritized.

7. Champion Officers in Patrol

Officers working in patrol are disproportionately impacted by the negative effects of organizational, operational, and external shortcomings and pressures. Recommended improvements related to communication, transparency, respect, and support for the entire department should be implemented with special attention to patrol and the HPD administration's relationship with patrol.

8. Expand Deliberate Recruitment & Retention Activity

The HPD should expand recruitment planning and activities to continuously develop new strategies to meaningfully engage with the community and potential applicants. Changes to internal policies and practices to improve work-life balance for both current and future officers should be explored. The HPD should broaden practices that seek to retain officers throughout the selection process, police academy and field training, and the early years of their careers. In addition to exit interviews, 'stay' interviews should be conducted to examine areas of satisfaction and frustration for new officers, and develop interventions to aid retention of early career personnel.

I. INTRODUCTION

The City of Hartford

The City of Hartford is the capital city located in central Connecticut. The city has a residential population of about 122,000 citizens[1] in approximately 17.3 square miles of land area, and that population is estimated to increase substantially during daytime working hours as a result of commuters. Like many U.S. cites, Hartford experienced steady population growth through 1970, after which the residential population began to decline and then remain stagnant from about 1990.[2] Hartford's population decentralized as residents dispersed to regional suburbs and jobs followed shortly thereafter.[3] Downtown Hartford contains corporations centered on finance and insurance with growing innovation and entrepreneurship, and amenities and entertainment are geared toward commuters and young professionals. This center is juxtaposed against predominantly residential neighborhoods comprised of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds with varied socioeconomic characteristics.

An estimated 36.9% of Hartford's population is Black and 33.1% is white. About 44.5% of the population is Hispanic or Latino.[4] The median household income in the City of Hartford was estimated to be about $34,338 in 2019 compared to $72,321 in Hartford County. Approximately 30.1% of the population lives below the poverty line; nearly three times the proportion living below poverty in Hartford County and nationally in the U.S.[5]

The Hartford Police Department

The Hartford Police Department was officially formed in 1860. Its history has followed the trajectory of many departments in the Northeast and it has historically experienced strained relations with its diverse community. Frustrations caused by police mistreatment of racial/ethnic minority citizens grew throughout the first half of the 20th century, and these tensions culminated in protests and riots against police brutality through the 1960s. In 1969, Maria Cintron and two others, together with four different civil rights organizations, filed the *Cintron v. Vaughan* federal discrimination lawsuit against then Chief Thomas Vaughan and five others in response to a pattern of ill-treatment against minority citizens by the HPD. A 1973 settlement established a consent decree containing new procedures for the internal review and investigation of citizen complaints and guidelines for officer conduct.

Following the fatal shooting of 14-year old Aquan Salmon in 1999, the community called for a review of and revisions to the consent decree. Revisions were agreed upon in 2004 and these changes implemented systems to track citizen complaints, assigned more investigators to handle

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[1] U.S. Census Bureau. "Hartford City, Connecticut Population Estimates," (2019).
[2] Brian Baird and Norman Garrick. "Decentralization in the Hartford, Connecticut, Metropolitan Region, 1900-2000." *Transportation Research Record: Journal of Transportation Research Board* 1898 (2004).
[3] Baird and Garrick. "Decentralization in the Hartford, Connecticut, Metropolitan Region, 1900-2000."
[4] Baird and Garrick. "Decentralization in the Hartford, Connecticut, Metropolitan Region, 1900-2000."
[5] U.S. Census Bureau (2019). Hartford County, Connecticut Population Estimates.

citizen complaints, and attempted to remove barriers by allowing citizens to submit complaints to community organizations to be forwarded to the police department. It additionally implemented changes to the investigation and review of firearm discharges and set forth a recruitment and promotion statement emphasizing guidelines for the department to work toward increasing its representation of women and members of racial/ethnic minority groups. Though the settlement agreement was due to sunset in 2016, the City of Hartford recommended that the decree not sunset until the police department: mirrors city demographics, works to prepare city residents for HPD employment, achieves national accreditation, and complies with firearms discharge review procedures.[6] It was extended until at least 2019, and to date, the HPD still operates under this consent decree.

At the beginning of this study, the HPD consisted of 404 sworn officers with 18 additional officers graduating from the police academy at the time that the project commenced. Approximately 32.9% of those 404 officers were racial/ethnic minorities and 14.1% were female. Though both groups are underrepresented in comparison to the general population it serves, police departments have historically struggled to recruit women and racial/ethnic minority officers, and these proportions are about average when compared to the composition of most police departments throughout the United States. In comparison to departments that serve a similar sized population, the HPD's proportion of female officers and racial/ethnic minority officers is higher than the national average (11.8% female and 26.1% racial/ethnic minority officers nationwide for departments that serve 100,000 to 249,999).[7] Still, overall racial/ethnic minority representation is low compared to the demographic composition of the City of Hartford in which 84% of the population identifies as a person of color.

In order to further understand the police department and how it operates within the context of the city, we conducted informal contextual interviews with police administrators and city stakeholders. We asked these individuals to describe their views of the police department overall and to identify what they felt to be the agency's most important strengths and needs for improvement. Police administrators and city stakeholders characterized the current state of the HPD extremely positively overall. They felt that individual HPD officers were dedicated to the department and the community and praised them as highly skilled law enforcement professionals. Several recognized that HPD officers deal with a wide range of public safety and community issues daily, and officers consequently quickly develop the knowledge and experience to effectively handle a varied range of tasks.

When asked about the strengths of the organization as a whole, administrators and city stakeholders highlighted the HPD's efforts to build a more transparent agency and the HPD's productive working relationship with other city agencies and community organizations. The HPD was described as a department that several years prior had struggled to maintain consistency in the application of rules and discipline. Administrators, stakeholders, and officers all described a

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[6] Court of Common Council, "City of Hartford Resolution" (October 2016)

[7] Brian Reaves, "Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices." Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015.

history of lax discipline and said that some officers relied on favors or using threats of complaints to avoid discipline or secure rewards. Though some officers have been resistant to changes to these previously engrained practices, recent police leaders have made fair, transparent, and appropriate discipline a priority. The majority of officers voiced appreciation for this fair enforcement of accountability.

Stakeholders also explained that the police department maintains a close relationship with other city agencies. They felt that police leaders and city officials preserve a respectful and productive working relationship even when they may disagree. The police department also makes an effort to connect with local neighborhood groups through attendance at monthly NRZ (Neighborhood Revitalization Zone) meetings and attendance at city committee and/or commission meetings when public safety issues are being discussed. The Hartford community includes a number of passionate individuals who work officially and/or voluntarily as politicians, commissioners, activists, and neighborhood spokespersons. As a whole, it is a community that cares about social justice, transparency from government agencies, and the well-being of its citizens. Throughout the course of this study, the HPD demonstrated a willingness to engage in difficult conversations and worked to be responsive to the questions and concerns expressed by its community members. Together, both the community and the police department have built a beneficial relationship mutually focused on accountability and service to the city.

When asked about the HPD's continued needs and areas for improvement, administrators and city stakeholders focused on the need for police department resources, a continued emphasis on community service and cultural competency, and ongoing efforts to increase department diversity. The City of Hartford has struggled financially, and these financial struggles have been felt by the HPD as well. Equipment and personnel resources have been limited, and stakeholders describe this as negatively affecting internal trust and morale within the department. Both police administrators and city stakeholders recognize the need to ensure that the police department is staffed, compensated, and equipped properly. They also explained that in order to serve the needs of the community, the police department must continue to develop its focus on service and building community engagement while seeking opportunities and training to continue promoting and diffusing cultural competency throughout the agency. Finally, both police department and city leaders voiced a commitment to continued efforts to attract qualified diverse police officer candidates and to focusing those efforts on residents of Hartford.

Despite this generally positive progress in the police department's internal and external values and conduct, the department has experienced unexpected turmoil over the past few years. After the retirement of Chief James Rovella, the City of Hartford appointed Chief David Rosado to the position in January 2018. Chief Rosado retired in April 2019, leaving current Chief Jason Thody in an interim police chief post for 10 months until he was confirmed to the permanent position in February 2020. Concurrently during that two-year period of administrative instability, two female HPD officers filed separate complaints in early 2019 alleging different occurrences of sexual harassment and retaliatory behaviors that occurred in 2018. Both received substantial community and media attention that resulted in questions regarding the City's handling of employee complaints and questions as to how the police department would change its culture to

improve its treatment of female and LGBTQ+ officers. Furthermore, these incidents sparked concern regarding how officers might treat female and LGBTQ+ community members should they seek the assistance of the police. Responding to calls to change an agency's culture must start with an open and honest examination of internal organizational practices and personnel relations, and this organizational climate assessment aims to provide the HPD with the necessary insight and direction to advance in its ongoing efforts to improve the workplace experiences of its officers.

Purpose of this Study

The initiation of this study follows a period of police leadership turnover and two high-profile employee complaints of sexual harassment. The police administration in the HPD expressed interest in holistically evaluating the workplace experiences and perceptions of officers to develop plans for overall organizational improvement, and this organizational climate study commenced in October 2019. The purpose of an organizational climate assessment is to examine how organizational policies and practices impact the behaviors and perceptions of agency employees. This independent study explores the HPD's organizational climate by examining officers' perceptions of factors like fairness, internal procedural justice, policing approaches, and job satisfaction. Additionally, it explores the resources and organizational improvements that officers feel their department needs. The project seeks to build forward-looking accountability together with the cooperation and support of all levels of department personnel.

This study also explores the prevalence and individual experiences of workplace discrimination and harassment. Such instances can serve as signals that may illuminate various shortcomings and organizational weaknesses, and they can also have far-reaching effects on both officers and members of the community. Cases of employee discrimination and harassment can have substantial consequences in terms of harm to the individual victimized, direct monetary costs to the organization and individual (e.g., legal fees, remediation costs), and a variety of indirect costs which are more difficult to quantify. When officers face discrimination or harassment, such cases erode both officer and community trust in the police department. For officers, this can fracture morale, officer job satisfaction, coworker support, and work motivation. Of course, these occurrences can also hinder the future recruitment of minority officers since they contribute to a perception that the police force is not welcoming of officers from different backgrounds. For community members, highly publicized cases in particular can harm the often-fragile perceptions of police legitimacy that agencies continuously strive to improve. Furthermore, members of underrepresented groups may feel less comfortable and less willing to report crimes or personal victimization.

Finally, and relatedly, this study examines organizational features that may set the stage for occurrences of negative and harmful treatment of officers by their peers or supervisors. Following instances of public criticism and negative media attention, organizations often seek to immediately correct and remediate past wrongs but do little to correct ongoing processes that may continue to lead to such "adverse outcomes." Adverse outcomes rarely occur only once or by

chance, and these events take place within a broader organizational context.[8] Negative events can signal underlying systemic weaknesses, are likely the result of compound errors, and "may provide, if properly analyzed, important keys to strengthening the system and preventing future adverse events or outcomes."[9] This project aims to illuminate and address these potential systemic weaknesses.

Report Overview & Structure

This report details the findings of our organizational climate assessment drawn primarily from surveys and interviews of sworn officers in the HPD. Many officers interviewed said that overall they felt satisfied working at the HPD. Officers demonstrated a great deal of commitment toward the community and it was clear that the officers interviewed felt passionate about the city and residents they serve. They valued community service positions, outreach activities, and described a wide range of encounters in which they felt they had truly been able to help someone.

Internally, officers were especially grateful for the personal relationships they had developed with fellow officers and the many varied professional opportunities they had throughout their careers. They characterized the past few years as a period in which they felt the department was "moving in the right direction," especially in terms of fairness in areas like promotions, assignments, and discipline. Still, nearly all of the officers interviewed assessed the department honestly, critically, and productively, and they were forthcoming in their willingness to detail areas in need of improvement.

Although respondents provided useful insight specific to recent experiences and current perceptions, officers often contextualized their views and attitudes in terms of the entirety of their careers in the HPD. Over the past 10 years, the HPD has been led by four different Police Chiefs. The officers interviewed expressed frustrations and criticisms of practices that had taken place more recently as well as under prior leaders. It is also reasonable to assume that officers' responses to the survey were similarly influenced by both current and historical practices in the police department, although certain questions pertaining to misconduct and harassment asked officers about experiences that occurred in the last 12 months. The current administration therefore inherits not only employee frustrations with any current practices, but lasting and cumulative employee frustrations shaped by past practices as well. Both are relevant because addressing the effects of past practices as well as amending any current flawed practices are equally important to the current leadership in developing plans to improve the organizational climate.

The findings detailed in this report merge results from both the quantitative data (e.g., surveys) and the qualitative data (e.g., interviews). While most qualitative research presents blocks of verbatim quotations to help illuminate the findings reported, we have decided to avoid this practice in our report when discussing our qualitative results. Many of the officers who participated

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[8] National Institute of Justice, *Mending Justice: Sentinel Events Reviews*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, 2014.

[9] Nancy Ritter, "Testing a Concept and Beyond: Can the Criminal Justice System Adopt a Nonblaming Practice?," *NIJ Journal* 276 (2015).

in interviews were concerned about their privacy and the confidentiality of the information they provided. Out of respect for those concerns, we only quote short, broad, unidentifiable phrases throughout the course of our narrative.

The next chapter details the data sources and analytical methods used in this assessment. Then, this report proceeds by reviewing findings in seven key areas: 1) Recruitment and Selection, 2) Diversity in Promotions and Assignments, 3) Transparency, Communication, and Fairness, 4) Workplace Environment, 5) Discipline, Misconduct, and Harassment, 6) Officer Wellness, and 7) Equipment, Resources, and Training.

Each of these chapters first contains a brief introduction. Then, we present findings as detailed analyses and results of the quantitative and qualitative data. Each chapter ends with a plain language summary and discussion of the chapter's findings along with recommendations for improvement. The final chapter of this report provides overall conclusions from this organizational climate study and highlights the most pressing strategic recommendations based on the study's findings.

II. METHODS

Introduction

This assessment is framed by the values guiding root cause analysis, which is undertaken separate from any legal proceedings and does not intend to place blame on individuals or agencies.[10] Instead, this assessment aims to encourage both internal and external stakeholders to contribute to an open, honest examination of the police agency. It is intended to be supportive of officers and police administrators in identifying problems and making meaningful changes to the environment. This approach is necessary to create buy-in, identify the true root causes of negative events and practices, and implement sustainable improvements. It is a forward-thinking approach that avoids focusing on blame-placing and encourages other agencies to be similarly proactive, rather than fearful, of critically assessing their own organizations.

To assess the HPD's organizational climate, culture, and employee relations, a mixed methods examination was employed. It is important to note that this study is not structured to factually determine what may or may not be objectively occurring in the police department. Rather, it relies on the perceptions of officers and is only able to report those perceptions. The data utilized in this report primarily come from officer surveys and officer interviews; therefore, officers' direct experiences and indirect knowledge form the basis of the analysis. Officer perceptions of the workplace are informative because they are the women and men who make up the HPD, but it is important to recognize the limitations of perception and the variation that may exist both across officers and between officer perception and official data sources. Given the goal of this project– that is, to assess the organization's climate and build recommendations to improve the workplace *experience*–officer perceptions are critical to this assessment.

This study uses a concurrent nested mixed methods design[11] to investigate the perceptions of officers and their experiences within their organization. In this approach, researchers collect both quantitative and qualitative data within the same time period and then merge the data to develop a comprehensive interpretation of the results.[12] Quantitative data from officer surveys provide a direct view of officers' attitudes and opinions. A more in-depth and nuanced understanding of participants' perceptions and experiences is gleaned from qualitative data collected from interviews with officers.

In addition to officer surveys and officer interviews, this study utilized other data sources including administrative data from the police department and internal and external investigations

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[10] Ritter, "Testing a Concept and Beyond: Can the Criminal Justice System Adopt a Nonblaming Practice?"; National Institute of Justice, *Mending Justice: Sentinel Events Reviews*.
[11] John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2013.; John W. Creswell and Vicki L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2007.
[12] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*.

of workplace discrimination and harassment. A more detailed description of each data source is provided below.

Data & Sample Characteristics

Officer Surveys

Surveys were administered electronically to officers using Qualtrics survey software. Email addresses for all sworn officers were provided by the HPD, and all email invitations were sent to officers by the researchers. In total, 404 sworn officers employed by the HPD for at least one year were contacted via email to participate in the survey. Upon clicking the included link, officers were directed to an initial page to provide informed consent. In this consent form, it was emphasized that surveys would be kept confidential and anonymous, responses would have no bearing on their employment with the HPD, and participation was completely voluntary. Officers were provided with contact information for the researchers if they had any questions or concerns. Additionally, the researchers attended several roll calls across shifts to clarify the purpose of the study and reiterate the importance of officer input.

Survey data was collected from October 2019 – December 2019. Reminders were sent via email weekly. To ensure all officers who wanted to participate felt comfortable with the means of response, paper surveys were also concurrently made available near their roll call room. Almost all participating officers submitted their responses via the online link and only one paper survey was submitted. The officer survey was completed by 113 officers, a response rate of approximately 28%. Given the context that prompted the HPD to solicit this study, a lower than average response rate was expected.[13]

Of the 113 responses, one respondent was eliminated for missing data. An additional two respondents were dropped due to data concerns. In these two cases, respondents had "straight-lined" their responses. Questions often posed response scales from 1 to 4, and these respondents selected the same scale option for each response even when items alternated between positive and negative wording. An example of this would be a respondent selecting "strongly agree" to both of the following statements: 1) In this agency, female officers receive more opportunities than male officers and 2) In this agency, male officers receive more opportunities than female officers. Thus, they posed data validity concerns. The revised sample used in the following analyses consisted of surveys submitted by 110 sworn officers.

[13] Yehuda Baruch, and Brooks C. Holtom, "Survey Response Rate Levels and Trends in Organizational Research," *Human Relations* 61 (2008); Police Executive Research Forum, *Assessment of the Eugene, Oregon Police Department: Findings and Recommendations* .Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2017.

Table 2.1. Characteristics of Survey Respondents (n =110)		
	Frequency	**Percent**
Race/Ethnicity		
Black/African-American	9	8.2%
Hispanic or Latino	19	17.3%
White	64	58.2%
Other	6	5.5%
Prefer not to answer/Missing	12	10.9%
Sex*		
Female	20	18.2%
Male	82	74.5%
Prefer not to answer/Missing	8	7.3%
Age		
21-29	14	13.2%
30-39	39	36.8%
40-49	34	32.1%
50+	19	17.9%
Prefer not to answer/Missing	4	3.6%
Education		
High School/GED or some college	46	41.8%
College degree + (assoc., bach., grad.)	61	55.5%
Missing	3	2.7%
Military Experience		
Currently is or was in the military	25	22.7%
No military experience	81	73.6%
Missing	4	3.6%

* Note: Participants were asked about their biological sex (i.e., male/female) and their self-identified gender (e.g., man, woman). Given the consistency across the two measures (only one participant identified their sex and preffered not to answer their gender), sex is presented and utilized.

Table 2.1 presents the characteristics of the 110 survey respondents. For consistency purposes across both the quantitative data and qualitative data, race and ethnicity were combined. Approximately 58.2% of the sample self-identified as White (N = 64), 8.2% as Black (N = 9), and 17.3% as Hispanic (N = 19). Participants were asked to self-identify their biological sex as well as their gender. Results from these two items were consistent across 109 of the 110 participants, such that all participants who identified as female also identified as women

Table 2.2. Job-Specific Characteristics of Survey Respondents (n =110)		
	Frequency	**Percent**
Prior Law Enforcement Experience		
Yes	17	15.5%
No	93	84.6%
Rank		
Officer	40	36.4%
Detective	28	25.5%
Sergeant and above	27	24.5%
Prefer not to answer/Missing	15	13.6%
Division		
Patrol	48	43.6%
Any other division	62	56.4%
Length of Service		
5 years or less	22	20.0%
6 to 10 years	14	12.7%
11 to 15 years	39	35.5%
More than 15 years	25	22.7%
Prefer not to answer/Missing	10	9.1%

and nearly all participants who identified as male also identified as men. There was one exception where a male participant preferred not to answer the gender question. Given the consistency across sex and gender, we present sex for ease of interpretation.

Table 2.2 presents the job-related characteristics of the survey sample. Most respondents (84.6%) had only worked in the HPD and had no prior law enforcement experience. When asked to report their current rank, 36.4% of respondents were officers (N = 40), 25.5% were detectives (N = 28), 24.5% held a rank of sergeant or above (N = 27), and 13.6% chose not to disclose their rank (N = 15). 43.6% of respondents worked in patrol (N = 48) while 56.4% worked in other units or divisions (N = 62).

Comparisons of department-wide demographics to officer survey respondents revealed no significant proportional differences in gender or race (Table 2.3). Still, as with all voluntary samples, systematic differences between the attitudes of respondents versus non-respondents may exist.

Officer Interviews

Despite the wide array of questions included on the survey of sworn officers, interviews with officers offer additional insight necessary to better understand organizational experiences within the HPD. They provide more context and depth that can expand understanding and aid leaders in generating appropriate solutions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a voluntary sample of 44 sworn officers. The survey invitation email also included a separate link to a Qualtrics form and direct researcher contact information for willing participants to volunteer

Table 2.3. Examination of Survey and Interview Nonresponse Bias

	Female			Nonwhite		
	Percent	*z*	*p*	Percent	*z*	*p*
HPD Population (*n* = 404)	14.1%			32.9%		
Officer Surveys (*n* = 110)	18.2%	-1.07	0.285	30.9%	0.40	0.691
Officer Interviews (*n* = 44)	20.5%	-1.14	0.255	34.1%	-0.16	0.872

Table 2.4. Characteristics of Interview Volunteers (*n* =44)

	Frequency	Percent
Race/Ethnicity		
Black/African-American	6	13.6%
Hispanic	8	18.2%
White	27	61.4%
Other	1	2.3%
Unknown	2	4.5%
Sex		
Female	9	20.5%
Male	35	79.5%

for an interview. Officers who filled out the form were contacted by the researchers to schedule an interview based on their desired preferences as indicated by their form responses. Others directly contacted the researchers via email or phone to arrange an interview. Officers were able to select an interview location in which they would feel comfortable and interviews were also possible via phone.

Interviews consisted of 14 pre-determined guiding questions. Participants were also allowed to bring up any topics they found important even if such topics were not included in the guiding questions. During the course of the interview, follow-up questions were asked to clarify or expand on the unique experiences shared by each participant. Of the 44 interviews, 21 consented to audio recording while 23 declined. In recorded interviews, audio files were transcribed and destroyed within one week. For those who preferred not to be recorded, detailed notes were taken during the interview and narratives of all responses were typed within 48 hours. In both cases, no names or contact information were retained within these interview documents. Interviews varied in length from approximately 45 minutes to 2 hours and 30 minutes.

Table 2.4 presents the characteristics of officers who participated in interviews. To minimize the risk of deductive exposure of participant identities, characteristics like rank and length of service are not reported for this sample. To maintain confidentiality, we also did not ask participants to record their race/ethnicity. However, 91% of participants (N = 40) self-identified

as a particular race/ethnicity throughout the course of their interviews. The race/ethnicity of two participants was inferred based on researcher perception and the researchers were unable to make a determination of race/ethnicity for two participants. Approximately 61.4% of the interview sample was White (N = 27), 13.6% was Black or African American (N = 6), and 18.2% was Hispanic (N = 8). About 79.5% (N = 35) were male and 20.5% (N = 9) were female.[14]

Administrative & Case Data

The HPD and the City of Hartford provided administrative data to facilitate an assessment of recruitment and retention patterns within the HPD. The City of Hartford's Department of Human Resources receives applications and conducts the written, physical, and oral board exams for police officer applicants. They provided demographic information for all police officer applicants from the time of application through the completion of the oral board for the 2019-2 recruitment and selection process. The HPD oversees the remaining components of the selection process from background investigations through the final hiring decisions. The HPD provided demographic data on all police officer candidates remaining throughout these stages of the hiring process from 2016 through 2019.

The HPD provided case-level data for internal affairs investigations (IAD Cases; Internal Affairs Division) from 2015 – 2019 with allegations related to creating a hostile workplace, disparaging comments, discrimination, and harassment. In addition to internal investigations, the City of Hartford provided external investigation data related to Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO)/Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities (CHRO) complaints. All closed investigations were provided and reviewed. Open and ongoing investigations were not included in this report.

Analytic Approach

Officer Surveys

All quantitative analyses for this report were conducted using Stata/SE 16. As noted above, one case was dropped due to missing data and two cases were dropped due to data validity concerns (i.e., straight lining), leaving a final sample size of 110. All analyses were conducted on this sample. The survey data is used to understand the prevalence of various views and experiences of officers within the HPD. Officers were asked questions on a variety of topics including perceptions of fairness and discrimination, internal procedural justice, organizational efficiency and communication, and resources in the HPD. Additionally, officers were asked demographic questions (e.g., race/ethnicity, sex and gender, sexual orientation, marital status). This allows for comparisons to be drawn across various officer characteristics in terms of experiences and perceptions.

[14] Sex was inferred by the researcher's perception of the volunteer's gender presentation.

The analyses presented in this report rely on descriptive statistics, mean scores for specific survey items, independent sample t-tests, one-way ANOVAs, post hoc tests (e.g., Tukey, Bonferroni), and multivariate regression models. Independent sample t-tests are used to determine if there are significant differences between the means of two groups for a specific variable based on group membership. For example, to assess whether there is a significant difference between mean scores for men and women on a particular survey scale, a t-test is suitable. Similarly, an ANOVA test, or an analysis of variance, compares means when there are more than two groups to determine if there are significant differences between them. If ANOVA results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the groups, then post hoc tests such as Tukey's test are used to determine which of the groups significantly differ from one another. Multivariate regression analyses are also used to more closely examine relationships among officer characteristics and attitudes while controlling for other factors.

Officer Interviews

The qualitative analysis of interviews utilized an inductive coding and analytic approach. Each interview was personally conducted and/or transcribed by the two leading researchers for this study, allowing a closer familiarity and deeper processing of each participant's responses and experiences. For the inductive coding process, significant statements relating to the goals and topics of focus in this study were highlighted and coded by theme in interview transcripts using NVivo software. An inductive process allows the transcripts to guide what themes emerge as opposed to fitting statements into a predetermined framework of themes. As the coding process continues, coding themes are added and adjusted to best fit the emerging findings. Transcripts are then repeatedly reviewed and coded according to the ongoing theme revisions. This analysis highlights the most common themes present in officer interviews.

This study utilizes two different procedures to establish qualitative validity and reliability: disconforming evidence and peer debriefing. First, a search for disconforming evidence seeks information that contradicts core themes and key findings from the interview analysis. The goal of this procedure is to ensure that contradicting evidence does not outweigh the established themes. Second, peer debriefing was used throughout the interview and analysis process. This procedure consists of reviewing data and findings with individuals familiar with the study and the concepts being investigated. Ongoing peer debriefing has occurred with academic colleagues, the HPD, and outside police practitioners.

Administrative & Case Data

Administrative data was analyzed using two-sample proportion tests. For recruitment and selection data, these tests are used to compare proportions of women, racial/ethnic minorities, and Hartford residents eliminated at each stage to the proportions of each group in the remaining pool of eligible applicants overall. For staffing data, two-sample proportion tests examine rank and division representation compared to group representation in the department overall.

Case data was analyzed in two stages. First, the researchers used a coding framework to identify case specific information about the parties involved, the timeline of the case (e.g., time between date of incident, date of report, and verdict), and investigatory procedures. The second

stage utilized a sentinel events review (SER) model. Our planned SER process involved meeting with an SER team, which consists of internal and external stakeholders, to discuss investigations and identify the processes and weaknesses that led to the occurrence of workplace harassment, discrimination, or hostility. However, the COVID-19 pandemic as well as ongoing local protest activity interrupted capabilities and limited resources for this process to be carried out as planned. In our amended process, both researchers independently reviewed and assessed each investigative case provided. Each researcher identified factors contributing to the event and developed recommendations for areas of improvement with the goal of reducing the likelihood of similar incidents in the future. Individual findings and recommendations were merged and discussed within the research team.

Data Limitations

It is important to note that, as with all research, several data constraints exist that limit the interpretation of results and conclusions drawn. First, while the survey and interview samples are only slightly below average, small sample sizes may diminish the reliability of results. Given that only 28% of HPD officers participated in the officer survey, it is possible that the opinions expressed are not fully representative of the entire HPD population.

Second, data provided on both surveys and interviews may suffer from nonresponse bias. Those motivated to participate may have had particularly positive or negative experiences within the department, and the opinions of those who feel more moderately or neutrally may be missing. Additionally, although our examination of nonresponse bias did not reveal any concerning proportional differences in terms of gender or race/ethnicity, it is still possible that systematic differences exist between those who chose to respond and those who chose not to participate.

Third, those who did participate may have been concerned that their responses would not remain anonymous and may have been fearful of responding honestly. In an attempt to alleviate concerns, anonymity and confidentiality were emphasized in all e-mail solicitations and consent forms. Still, fear of potential social and professional consequences may have prevented complete honesty from respondents.

Lastly, this study is structured to assess employee views and perceptions of the organization. Therefore, responses are biased to be more critical of administrators and immediate supervisors than they are of officers' own behaviors, actions, and inactions. With this acknowledgment in mind, even if the police administration might disagree with some criticisms made by officers, officers' perceptions are valid and vitally important for the police administration to be able to understand where supervisory and communication breakdowns occur.

III. RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

Introduction

The HPD maintains a full-time Recruitment Unit that includes officers permanently assigned to the unit year-round. Recruitment officers attend career fairs, staff open houses, conduct applicant workouts, and develop creative methods to engage potential applicants both within and outside of the city. While official recruitment and application intake activities remain under the purview of the City of Hartford's Department of Human Resources (HR), the HPD works actively to attract and direct potential applicants to the hiring process.

The HPD, like many police departments, faces challenges recruiting a sufficient number of qualified applicants. Departments nationwide have struggled to attract applicants for a number of proposed reasons. First, scholars have noted that during times of intense public and media scrutiny and negative police-community relations, people may be less likely to seek a position in law enforcement, especially if they are racial/ethnic minorities. Second, salaries in law enforcement have failed to remain competitive and are often much lower than salaries that young people might earn in other related fields. Third, the hiring process for becoming a police officer is time-consuming, complex, and invasive.[15] These features might deter potential applicants in some cases. In other cases, applicants might become gainfully employed in another field before completing the police selection process.

Moreover, the HPD has also struggled to increase gender and racial/ethnic diversity, a collective difficulty experienced among law enforcement agencies due the profession's history of discriminatory employment and enforcement practices. Through the formation and evolution of organized police forces, police departments have been organizations dominated by white male officers. Though a small number of women were employed as officers in the late 1800s and early 1900s, they did not fulfill the same functions as male officers. Instead, they engaged in tasks like caring for the homeless, counseling wayward youth, and offering guidance to women in need.[16] Many were also physically isolated in separate women's bureaus outside of the police department. Similarly, although racial/ethnic minorities were employed in several police departments, especially in the North, they were primarily assigned to patrol minority communities and arrest minority citizens.[17] Neither women nor racial/ethnic minorities were fully integrated into the department or serving in equal roles.

Following the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act, women and racial/ethnic minorities began to achieve functional equality within police departments. The representation of female officers increased rapidly through the 1990s, but it has

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[15] W. Dwayne Orrick, "Best Practices Guide: Recruitment, Retention, and Turnover of Law Enforcement Personnel." Washington, DC: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 2008.

[16] Susan E. Martin, *Breaking and Entering: Policewomen on Patrol.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980.

[17] Kenneth Bolton and Joe Feagin, *Black in Blue: African-American Police Officers and Racism.* New York: Routledge, 2004.

since stalled at about 12% within police forces nationwide for the past two decades.[18] The representation of racial/ethnic minorities continues to increase, albeit very slowly. In 2013, about 27% of police forces nationwide were racial/ethnic minority officers, increasing from about 25% in 2007.[19]

Increasing gender and racial/ethnic diversity within police departments is suggested to offer a number of potential benefits to the law enforcement profession. Racial/ethnic minority officers might share ethnic and cultural identities with community members, hold more positive attitudes toward minority communities, reduce encounters involving negative bias or the use of force, and result in more positive attitudes of community members toward the police.[20] Female officers might reduce excessive force and decrease departmental liability,[21] reduce perceptions of police corruption,[22] and improve encounters with and outcomes for domestic violence and sexual assault survivors.[23]

While a full investigation of the HPD's recruitment process is beyond the scope of this report, recruitment and selection activities are relevant to our examination of the organizational climate and culture because they are the starting point for achieving an appropriately skilled and diverse workforce. This section first reviews career motivations reported by current HPD officers to help inform department recruitment efforts. Next, it examines the HPD's testing and selection activities from the time of application to the hiring of police recruits. This section then reviews retention and turnover patterns among new officers. Analyses and results are presented first, and conclusions and recommendations are discussed in the section summary.

Findings

Officer-Reported Career Motivations

The HPD engages in numerous recruitment efforts and implements creative strategies to attract applicants and retain candidates throughout the selection process. Important to the success of these efforts is aligning the message delivered throughout the recruitment and selection process to the motivations of potential successful candidates. Exploring the career motivations of current officers in the HPD may help shed light on the motivations of applicants likely to be successful police officer candidates, especially as they pertain to underrepresented groups like racial/ethnic minorities and women.

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[18] Brian Reaves. "Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices."
[19] Brian Reaves. "Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices."
[20] Dawn Irlbeck, "Latino Police Officers: Patterns of Ethnic Self-Identity and Latino Community Attachment." *Police Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (2008): 468-95.
[21] Amie Schuck and Cara Rabe-Hemp. "Women Police: The Use of Force by and against Female Officers." *Women & Criminal Justice* 16, no. 4 (2005).
[22] Tiffany Barnes, Emily Beaulieu, and Gregory Saxton. "Restoring Trust in the Police: Why Female Officers Reduce Suspicions of Corruption." *Governance* 31 (2017).
[23] Amie Schuck. "Women in Policing and the Response to Rape: Representative Bureaucracy and Organizational Change." *Feminist Criminology* 13, no. 3 (2018): 237-59.; Ivan Sun "Policing Domestic Violence: Does Officer Gender Matter?" *Journal of Criminal Justice* 35 (2007): 581-95.

Figure 3.1. Officer Career Motivations: Pay Security Subscale Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)

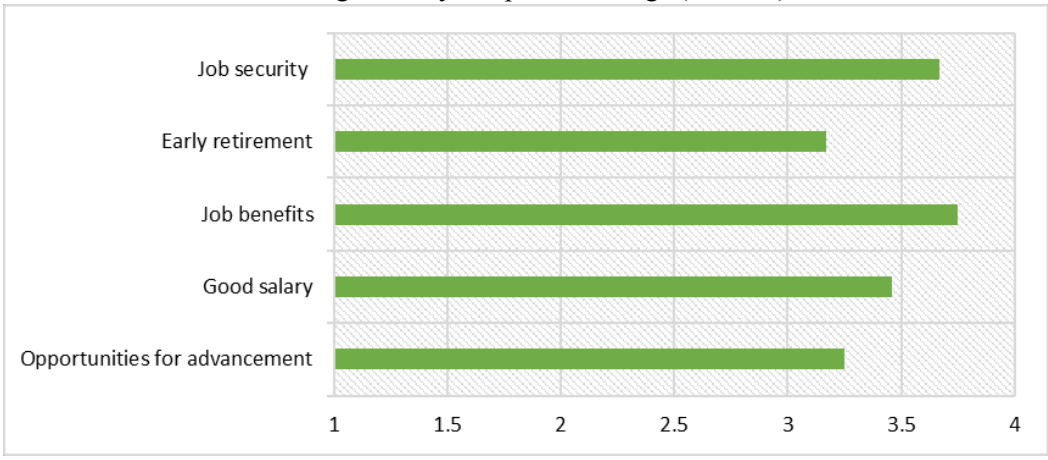
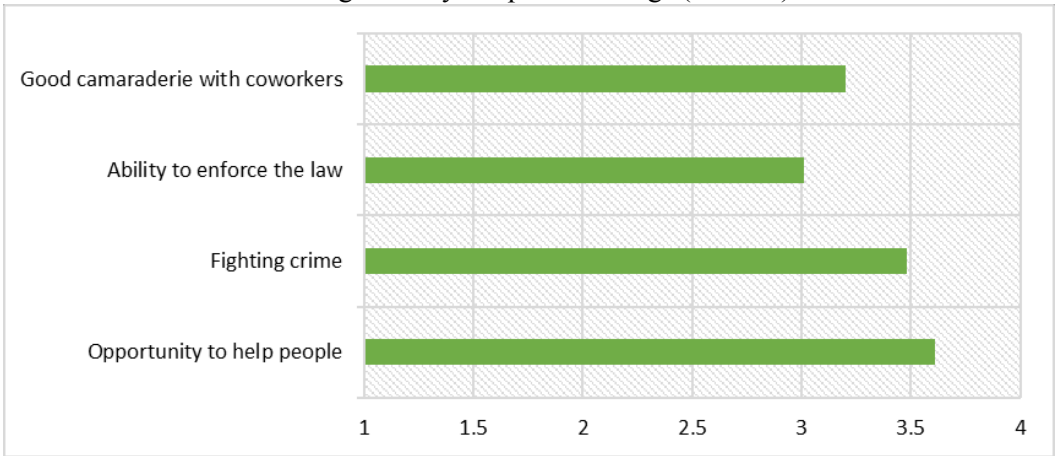


Figure 3.2. Officer Career Motivations: Service/Helping Subscale Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)



HPD officer survey respondents were asked to rate the importance of seventeen factors in their decision to pursue a career in law enforcement. Importance was rated on a scale of 1 to 4 where 1 = not at all important and 4 = very important. Thirteen of these items comprise three subscales representing the importance of pay security, service and helping, and power and status. In prior studies, recruits and officers often rate service and pay security motivations as most influential while power and status motivations are often least influential.[24]

The pay security scale contains five career motivation items rated by survey respondents: opportunities for advancement, good salary, job benefits, early retirement, job security. A

[24]David Lester. "Why Do People Become Police Officers: A Study of Reasons and Their Predictions of Success." *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 2, no. 2 (1983); Anthony Ragnella and Michael White. "Race, Gender, and Motivation for Becoming a Police Officer: Implications for Building a Representative Police Department." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 32 (2004).

summative scale was created ranging from 5 – 20 with a midpoint of 12.5. The mean score of survey responses on this subscale across the full sample was 17.4. There were no significant differences in means based on race/ethnicity or sex (see Appendix A). Of these five items, respondents rated job benefits and job security to be most important (Figure 3.1). An ordinal logistic regression of the summative subscale indicated that pay security factors were more important to younger officers when compared to older officers (Appendix A).

The service and helping scale contains four career motivation items rated by survey respondents: the opportunity to help people, fighting crime, ability to enforce the law, good camaraderie with coworkers. A summative scale was created ranging from 4 – 16 with a midpoint of 10. The mean score of survey responses on this subscale across the full sample was 13.3. There were no statistically significant differences based on sex or race/ethnicity (Appendix A). Of the four items included in this subscale, officers rated the opportunity to help people the highest (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.3. Officer Career Motivations: Power and Status Subscale Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)

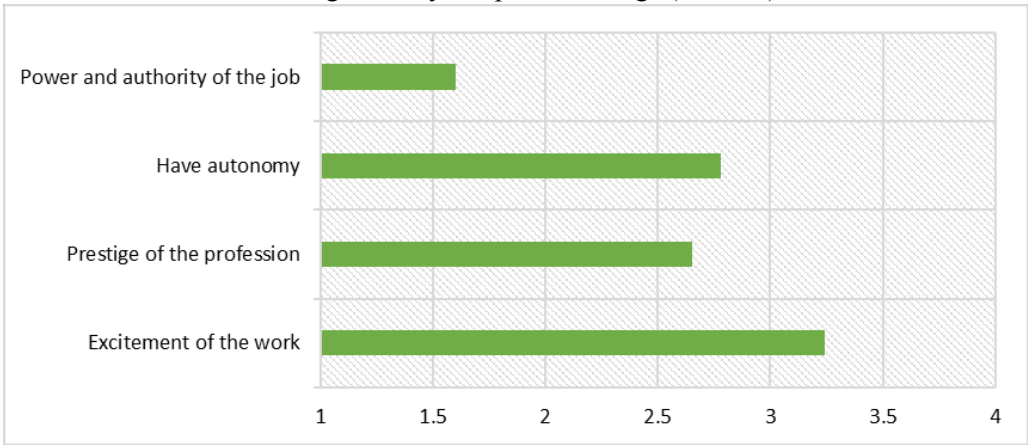
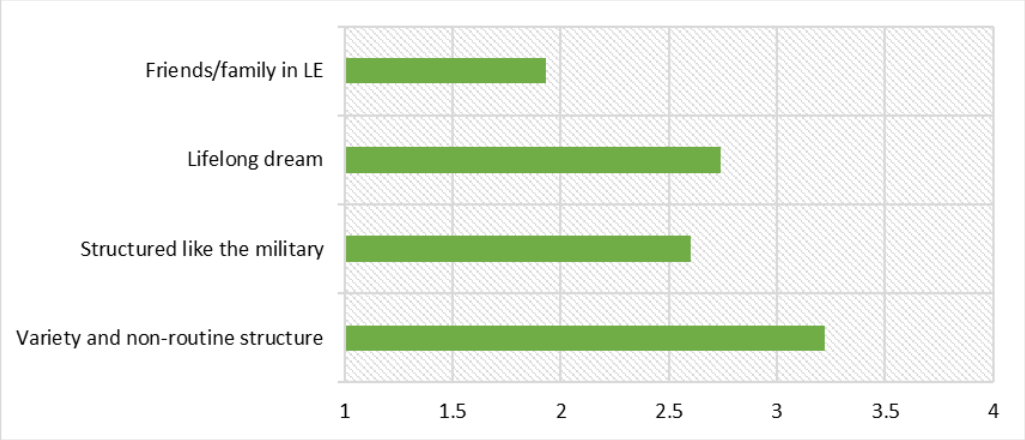


Figure 3.4. Officer Career Motivations: Other Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)



The power and status scale contains four career motivation items rated by survey respondents: excitement of the work, prestige of the profession, autonomy, and the power and authority of the job (Figure 3.3). A summative scale was created ranging from 4 – 16 with a midpoint of 10. The mean score of survey responses on this subscale across the full sample was 10.3. There were no statistically significant differences based on sex or race/ethnicity (Appendix A).

The HPD officer survey also included four additional items that did not load into the three subscales (Figure 3.4). Other motivational factors included the variety and non-routine nature of the work (mean = 3.22; SD = 0.90), the paramilitary structure (mean = 2.60; SD = 1.08), the influence of family/friends in law enforcement (mean = 1.93; SD = 1.11), and the career as a lifelong dream (mean = 2.74; SD = 1.21). There were no statistically significant differences in these item responses based on race/ethnicity or sex.

Findings from interviews with current HPD officers largely mirrored results from the officer surveys. Generally, officers described helping people and the variety of police work as their two most powerful career motivations. One officer explained that the career path interested him because the first order of the job was to help people. Another stated that she "just wanted to mean something in society and help." Officers also commonly explained that they "didn't want to work inside" and "sitting behind a desk wasn't what I wanted to do." Officers stated that they "wanted to do something that wasn't going to be repetitive" and they were attracted by the "ability to do different things each day." They described Hartford especially as being a department with a lot of activity in which "you could literally never experience the same thing twice." Though less common than the importance of helping and variety, many officers interviewed also mentioned the importance of job stability and benefits. Officers stated that they entered the profession because they knew policing was a "good job with good government benefits" and job security.

Amongst the nonwhite and female officers interviewed, helping and the variety of the work remained the most important career motivators. Importantly, many female officers also mentioned having been in other public service fields (e.g., EMS) prior to their entry into law enforcement. Notably, officers who currently or had previously resided in the city provided more detailed explanations regarding the importance of service in law enforcement, and they felt that their personal experiences and familiarity with the city were valued by the citizens they encountered. Officers explained wanting to give back to their home city. Some said that they knew what it was like to grow up in Hartford and that their personal and family struggles offered them a perspective that they thought to be valuable in their work. One officer described that telling people he grew up in Hartford sometimes "sort of put them a little bit at ease; that maybe I would understand the situation a little bit better and what they were going through." Officers felt that their personal connections to the city and sharing their own experiences would aid them in building more powerful connections with residents.

Assessment of Selection Process Disparities

For interested applicants, the selection process for police officer positions in the United States is long and invasive. Many selection processes last from six months to one year, and some

even longer. Most police testing and selection processes are structured as "weeding out" models. This means that each candidate must pass each stage of the testing process before proceeding and participating in the subsequent stage. Failure of any test results in elimination.

In efforts to increase diversity in police departments, scholars have highlighted the need to first ensure that no components of the law enforcement selection process create an unfair disadvantage for particular groups of applicants. For women, there is concern that organizational attitudes which consider masculinity as a valued trait will permeate the selection process through tests and procedures that unfairly eliminate female candidates. Most attention has been focused on the potential disparate impact of physical agility tests and the ways in which it may unfairly eliminate female candidates from the testing process.[25]

For both female and racial/ethnic minorities, concern also surrounds stages like the oral board and polygraph/background investigation due to the relatively subjective application of standards and criteria. Although many police departments attempt to structure these stages as objectively as possible, they still inevitably include subjective assessments of candidate demeanor, attitudes, and "appropriate" behavior. This creates a risk that candidates outside of the white male majority may be judged more harshly regardless of whether the application of that bias is conscious or intentional.

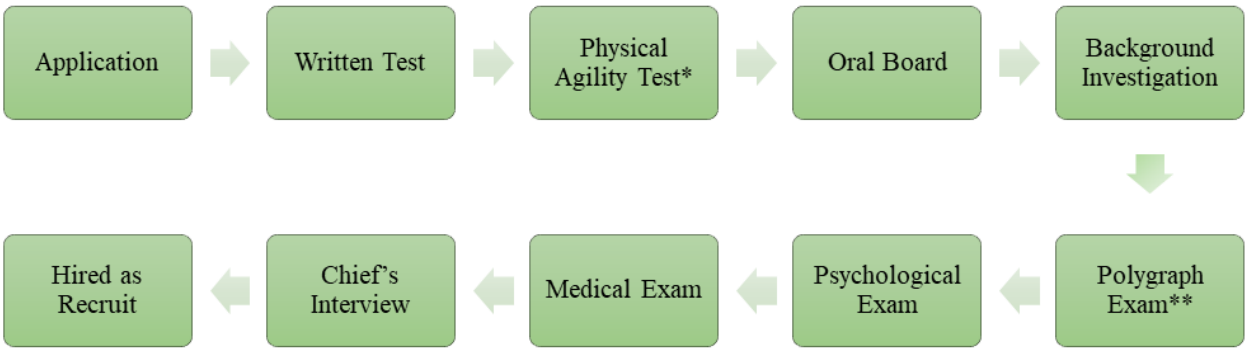
The HPD testing and selection process follows a typical progression utilized by most municipal police departments in Connecticut (Figure 3.5). Prior to participating in the first test of the process, the written test, the City of Hartford requires the submission of a relatively basic employment application. The City requires its police officers to be at least 21 years of age, possess a high school diploma, or GED, and possess a valid driver's license. Interested applicants who complete the application and meet basic qualifications then take a written exam. The written exam includes questions assessing: 1) observation and memory, 2) written communication, 3) reading comprehension, and 4) reasoning and analytical ability.

Following the written exam, candidates who have not yet received a CHIP card must pass a Physical Agility Test adhering to Cooper Standards. Candidates must initially meet the 40th percentile threshold if they are non-residents, but standards are relaxed for Hartford residents, who must meet the 30th percentile standard. All candidates must meet the 40th percentile by the end of the selection process when they are about to enter the police academy.

The third test consists of an oral board in which candidates answer questions primarily regarding hypothetical scenarios. The goal is for a panel of relevant law enforcement and City personnel to assess the candidate's displayed attitude, communication, and judgment. The City of Hartford HR is responsible for administering and recording scores earned for the written test,

[25]Gary Cordner and Annmarie Cordner. "Stuck on a Plateau? Obstacles to Recruitment, Selection, and Retention of Women Police." *Police Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (2011).; Kim Lonsway. "Tearing Down the Wall: Problems with Consistency, Validity, and Adverse Impact of Physical Agility Testing in Police Selection." *Police Quarterly* 6, no. 3 (2003).

Figure 3.5. Hartford Police Department Recruitment & Selection Process



* Applicants who submit a valid CHIP card do not take the physical agility test with the City of Hartford.
** The polygraph examination is administered while the background investigation phase is ongoing.

physical agility test, and oral board. From the next stage forward, the process is overseen by the Hartford Police Department.

The background investigation stage consists of an assigned HPD investigator examining factors like candidates' criminal history, employment history, and credit history. The polygraph examination, meant to corroborate the candidate's provided background information and examine other self-reported experiences and behaviors, is also conducted at this stage. Immediately following this process, and sometimes simultaneously, candidates participate in a psychological examination conducted by a licensed psychologist and a medical examination. Finally, remaining candidates proceed to a Chief's interview prior to receiving an employment offer.

Data Sources

To examine the HPD selection process, we utilize administrative data provided by the City of Hartford Department of Human Resources and the Hartford Police Department. It should be noted that applicant data from the application stage to the oral board is recorded and retained by HR, while data from the background investigation stage until time of hire is recorded and retained by the Hartford Police Department.

The Hartford Police Department provided applicant data from the background investigation stage until time of hire from 2016 – 2019. This data includes candidate characteristics like race, gender, age, and education. HR was only able to provide applicant data from initial application through the oral board for the second 2019 (2019-2) hiring process. This data included demographics for all those who applied for an entry-level police officer position in the 2019-2 recruit class, and it provides information on the race and gender of applicants at each stage of the selection process. Thus, we are only able to examine attrition by race and gender for all ten stages of recruit selection for the 2019-2 process. Due to the variation in data collection and retention between Human Resources and the HPD, we were unable to analyze candidate attrition longitudinally for any other years and testing processes, but we are still able to provide descriptive

data and proportional tests for the background investigation stage to the time of hire from 2016 – 2019 using data from the HPD.

2019 HPD Selection Process Attrition

For the purpose of examining attrition throughout the 2019-2 selection process, we first dropped all candidates who failed to appear to a test or otherwise voluntarily withdrew from the selection process. Because our goal was to assess any test phases resulting in disparate impact, the initial portion of this analysis only includes those who were eliminated by the City of Hartford/Hartford Police Department, not those who self-eliminated. Our sample for this analysis of attrition includes 195 applicants who remained in the 2019-2 process voluntarily (i.e., did not withdraw or fail to appear for a test). The small sample size prohibits the use of sequential logit or other regression models to assess candidate progression through the selection process. Instead we rely on two-sample tests of proportions comparing the candidate pool at each stage to those eliminated at each stage. These tests examine attrition of candidates from underrepresented groups (i.e., racial/ethnic minorities, women, and Hartford residents) targeted by the HPD's efforts to diversify its department to better mirror the composition of its community.

Prior to any test being administered, it is possible for HR to eliminate applicants who fail to meet minimum qualifications listed on the initial job posting and application. Only four applicants were eliminated for these reasons and there were no statistically significant disparities by sex ($z = -1.635$, $p = .102$) or by race/ethnicity ($z = -0.820$, $p = .413$). However, Hartford residents were statistically significantly overrepresented amongst those eliminated at the initial application stage ($z = -2.323$, $p = .020$) (Table 3.3).

In the written examination, only one applicant failed to achieve the minimum passing score. There were no statistically significant differences in proportions for nonwhite, female, or Hartford resident applicants.

Fifty-one applicants were eliminated from the selection process in the physical agility stage where they failed to meet the required standards. At this stage, female applicants made up 17.4% of the candidate pool and 17.6% of those failing the test. Nonwhite applicants comprised 54.2% of the remaining candidate pool but accounted for 78.4% of those failing the test. A two-sample test of proportions indicates statistically significant differences based on race/ethnicity (Table 3.1) and Hartford residency (Table 3.3). Nonwhite applicants ($z = -3.124$, $p = .002$) and Hartford residents ($z = -2.671$, $p = .008$) were significantly overrepresented as failing applicants in the physical agility stage. About 90% of Hartford residents failing the physical agility test were also nonwhite applicants.

Forty-three applicants were eliminated during the oral board examination. There were no statistically significant differences in proportions for either sex or race/ethnicity, but Hartford residents were statistically significantly underrepresented amongst those eliminated in the oral board since no Hartford residents failed this test ($z = 2.780$, $p = .005$).

An additional thirty-five applicants were eliminated due to findings in their background investigations. Nonwhite applicants made up 39.6% of the candidate pool at this stage and 28.6%

Table 3.1. 2019 Selection Process Attrition: Nonwhite Applicants

	Remaining	Total Nonwhite		Attrition				
	Candidates	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	*p*	
Application	195	106	54.4%	3	75.0%	-0.820	0.413	
Written Exam	191	103	53.9%	0	0.0%	1.078	0.280	
Physical Exam	190	103	54.2%	40	78.4%	-3.124	0.002	**
Oral Board	139	63	45.3%	25	58.1%	-1.468	0.142	
Background	96	38	39.6%	10	28.6%	1.156	0.248	
Polygraph	61	28	45.9%	11	42.3%	0.309	0.757	
Subjective Board	35	17	48.6%	8	44.4%	0.290	0.772	
Psychological	17	9	52.9%	1	50.0%	0.078	0.938	

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table 3.2. 2019 Selection Process Attrition: Female Applicants

	Remaining	Total Nonwhite		Attrition			
	Candidates	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	*p*
Application	195	35	17.9%	2	50.0%	-1.635	0.102
Written Exam	191	33	17.3%	0	0.0%	0.457	0.646
Physical Exam	190	33	17.4%	9	17.6%	-0.033	0.973
Oral Board	139	24	17.3%	7	16.3%	0.152	0.879
Background	96	17	17.7%	2	5.7%	1.726	0.084
Polygraph	61	15	24.6%	3	11.5%	1.381	0.167
Subjective Board	35	12	34.3%	5	27.8%	0.480	0.631
Psychological	17	7	41.2%	2	100.0%	-1.575	0.115

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table 3.3. 2019 Selection Process Attrition: Hartford Residents

	Remaining	Total Nonwhite		Attrition				
	Candidates	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	*p*	
Application	195	47	24.1%	3	75.0%	-2.323	0.020	*
Written Exam	191	44	23.0%	1	100.0%	-1.814	0.070	
Physical Exam	190	43	22.6%	21	41.2%	-2.671	0.008	**
Oral Board	139	22	15.8%	0	0.0%	2.780	0.005	**
Background	96	15	15.6%	3	8.6%	1.030	0.303	
Polygraph	61	12	19.7%	5	19.2%	0.054	0.957	
Subjective Board	35	7	20.0%	2	11.1%	0.817	0.414	
Psychological	17	5	29.4%	1	50.0%	-0.593	0.553	

*p <.05; **p <.01

Note: Data discrepancies between HR and HPD data resulted in a loss of 7 Hartford residents between the oral board and background phases.

Table 3.4. 2019 Selection Process Proportional Comparison (n = 195)

	Total Applying		Total Hired			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	p
Nonwhite	106	54.4%	8	53.3%	0.256	0.798
Female	35	17.9%	5	33.3%	-1.415	0.157
Hartford Residents	47	24.1%	4	26.7%	-0.226	0.821

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table 3.5. 2019 Selection Process Withdrawals (n = 351)

	Total Candidates		Withdrawals			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	p
Nonwhite	196	55.8%	75	54.7%	0.220	0.826
Female	65	18.5%	23	16.8%	0.439	0.661
Hartford Residents	72	20.5%	30	21.9%	-0.342	0.733

*p <.05; **p <.01

of those disqualified due to their background investigation. Female applicants made up 17.7% of the candidate pool at this stage and only 5.7% of those eliminated due to their background investigations (Table 3.2). However, this difference was not statistically significant in a two-sample test of proportions (z = 1.726, p = .084). Hartford residents comprised 15.6% of the candidate pool at this stage and 8.6% of those eliminated.

Twenty-six applicants were eliminated following the administration of the polygraph examination. Nonwhite applicants comprised 45.9% of the candidate pool at this stage and 42.3% of those eliminated. Female applicants comprised 24.6% of the candidate pool and 11.5% of those eliminated. Hartford residents made up 19.7% of the candidate pool at this stage and 19.2% of those eliminated. No statistically significant differences in proportions emerged.

Following the background investigation and polygraph examination, a 'subjective board' composed of HPD investigators meets to discuss any questionable factors discovered that did not necessarily meet the criteria for an objective disqualification. Of the 35 candidates remaining in the process, 18 were eliminated after review by the subjective board. Nonwhite applicants comprised 48.6% of the candidate pool and 44.4% of those eliminated. Female applicants comprised 34.3% of the candidate pool and 27.8% of those eliminated. Hartford residents made up 20.0% of the candidate pool and 11.1% of those eliminated. There were no statistically significant differences in proportions.

The final stages of the process involve a psychological exam, medical exam, and Chief's interview. Two candidates were eliminated after participating in the psychological examination. Although both were female, there were no statistically significant differences in proportions. No candidates were eliminated in either the medical examination or Chief's interview stages.

Overall, nonwhite candidates accounted for 54.4% of beginning applicants and 53.3% of those hired. Female candidates accounted for 17.9% of beginning applicants and 33.3% of those

Table 3.6. 2016 - 2019 Applicant Attrition: Nonwhite Applicants

	Remaining	Total Nonwhite		Attrition				
	Candidates	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	*p*	
Background	931	460	49.5%	137	53.7%	-1.189	0.235	
Polygraph	676	323	47.8%	186	45.1%	0.866	0.387	
Subjective Board	264	137	51.9%	42	50.6%	0.207	0.836	
Psychological	181	95	52.5%	22	81.5%	-2.834	0.005	**

*p<.05; **p<.01

Table 3.7. 2016 - 2019 Applicant Attrition: Female Applicants

	Remaining	Total Female		Attrition				
	Candidates	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	*p*	
Background	931	151	16.2%	29	11.4%	1.893	0.058	
Polygraph	676	122	18.0%	55	13.3%	2.040	0.041	*
Subjective Board	264	67	25.4%	15	18.1%	1.365	0.172	
Psychological	181	52	28.7%	11	40.7%	-1.266	0.205	

*p<.05; **p<.01

Table 3.8. 2019 - 2016 Applicant Attrition: Hartford Residents

	Remaining	Total Residents		Attrition				
	Candidates	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	*p*	
Background	931	149	16.0%	40	15.7%	0.116	0.908	
Polygraph	676	109	16.1%	65	15.8%	0.131	0.896	
Subjective Board	264	44	16.7%	11	13.3%	0.739	0.460	
Psychological	181	33	18.2%	10	37.0%	-2.252	0.024	*

*p<.05; **p<.01

hired. Hartford residents comprised 24.1% of beginning applicants and 26.7% of those hired. In the 2019-2 selection process, there were no statistically significant differences in the proportion of applicants compared to the proportion of those eventually hired based on race/ethnicity, sex, or residency (Table 3.4). Compared to their representation in the applicant pool, nonwhite, female, and Hartford resident applicants were comparably represented among those hired as HPD recruits.

Although voluntary withdrawals and applicants failing to appear for tests were eliminated from our sample to analyze attrition throughout the selection process, we conducted a two-sample test of proportions to assess the likelihood of applicant withdrawal (Table 3.5). If a particular group is withdrawing from the process or failing to appear for tests at a higher rate, it may indicate an opportunity for police department intervention. There were no statistically significant differences in the proportion of applicants withdrawing compared to their representation in the full initial applicant pool.

2016 – 2019 HPD Applicant Attrition

The HPD provided full applicant data for selection processes from 2016 through 2019. As previously discussed, the HPD becomes responsible for data collection and retention at the background investigation stage until time of hire, and the analysis in this section accordingly only

Table 3.9. 2019 - 2016 Pscyhological Exam

	Remaining Candidates	Total Nonwhite		Attrition			
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	*p*
2016	17	4	23.5%	2	100.0%	-2.202	0.028 *
2017	54	34	63.0%	12	100.0%	-2.523	0.012 *
2018	70	32	45.7%	12	92.3%	-3.092	0.002 **
2019	40	25	62.5%	2	33.3%	1.355	0.176

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table 3.10. 2019 Selection Process Withdrawals (n = 1204)

	Total Candidates		Withdrawals			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	z	*p*
Nonwhite	591	49.1%	123	47.1%	0.586	0.558
Female	185	15.4%	31	11.9%	1.445	0.149
Hartford Residents	171	14.2%	21	8.0%	2.692	0.007 **

*p <.05; **p <.01

assesses those stages. Our sample for this analysis includes an aggregated 931 applicants to the HPD from 2016 – 2019 and does not include those who voluntarily withdrew from the process or failed to appear for tests or interviews. A total of 255 applicants were eliminated during the background investigation stage, and an additional 412 applicants were eliminated after taking the polygraph examination. As with the 2019 process, it should be noted that the background investigation is often continuously ongoing when the polygraph examination is conducted, so the exclusive ordering of these phases is only enforced for analysis purposes. There were no statistically significant differences in these phases based on race/ethnicity or residency, but female applicants were significantly underrepresented amongst those eliminated during the polygraph exam (z = 2.040, p = .041) (Table 3.7). This means that female applicants are less likely to fail or be disqualified during this stage of the selection process. There were no statistically significant differences found in the subjective board phase when HPD investigators meet to discuss subjective disqualifications based on candidates' background investigations.

The final phase represented in this data is the psychological examination. While female applicants made up 28.7% of the candidate pool at this stage and 40.7% of those eliminated after the psychological exam, this difference was not statistically significant. However, nonwhite applicants and Hartford residents were both significantly overrepresented as candidates failing the psychological exam. Nonwhite applicants comprised 52.5% of the candidate pool at this stage and 81.5% of exam failures (z = -2.834, p = .005) (Table 3.6). Hartford residents comprised 18.2% of the candidate pool and 37.0% of exam failures (z = -2.252, p = .024) (Table 3.8). At this stage, all remaining Hartford resident applicants were nonwhite. Although the psychological failure rate for white female applicants was not significant (z = 1.312, p = .190), nonwhite female applicants were significantly overrepresented among psychological exam failures (z = -2.508, p = -.012). Nonwhite female applicants made up 16.6% of the candidate pool and 37.0% of exam failures.

To further examine these disparities, we explored whether these overrepresentations were consistent over time during different years (Table 3.9). Nonwhite applicants were statistically significantly overrepresented among those eliminated by the psychological exam in 2016, 2017, and 2018. There were no statistically significant differences in 2019. Overall in 2019, nonwhite applicants comprised 62.5% of the candidate pool at this stage and 33.3% of those eliminated by the psychological exam. The HPD should consider potential reasons for this (i.e., vendor change or modification to exam procedures).

Finally, we conducted a two-sample test of proportions to assess differences in the likelihood of applicant withdrawal based on the full applicant sample of 1,204 applicants from 2016 – 2019. Across all selection processes in this time period, there were 261 applicant withdrawals. Hartford residents were statistically significantly underrepresented amongst voluntary withdrawals ($z = 2.692$, $p = .007$) (Table 3.10), suggesting that city residents have a lesser tendency to voluntarily exit the testing process. There were no statistically significant differences based on race/ethnicity or sex.

Retention of New Officers

The work of police departments does not end with recruitment and hiring. Although many agencies have become increasingly proactive in attracting applicants, few concentrate on retention as a similarly high priority. Hiring and training new officers constitutes a significant investment of time and money, and one attempt to quantify these expenses estimates that losing an officer with three years of experience costs the agency more than twice his/her salary[26]—in HPD's case, approximately $120,000.

Table 3.11. Sources of Officer Attrition

Hire Year	Retirement/ Medical	Termination	Voluntary Resignation	Voluntary Resignation Rate	Agency Turnover Rate
2016	22	2	2	0.5%	6.4%
2017	20	0	6	1.5%	6.6%
2018	26	2	13	3.4%	10.7%
2019	9	2	16	3.8%	6.4%
2020	2	2	7	3.9%	6.2%

*Voluntary resignation rate and turnover rate for 2020 are estimated annual rates from 5 months of turnover

Table 3.12. Early Career Officer Time to Resignation

	Cumulative Attrition Through:		
Hire Year	1 Year	2 Years	3 Years
2016	0.0%	15.4%	23.1%
2017	11.1%	25.0%	30.6%
2018	14.8%	16.4%	
2019	12.1%		

[26] W. Dwayne Orrick. "Calculating the Cost of Police Turnover." *Police Chief* 69, no. 10 (2002).

Table 3.13. Attrition of Nonwhite Officers 2016 - 2019

Hire Year	Total Hired		Attrition through 2020			
	Frequency	Percent of Total Hired	Frequency	Percent of Total Attrition	*z*	*p*
2016	4	33.3%	1	33.3%	0.000	1.000
2017	20	55.6%	10	76.9%	-1.351	0.177
2018	24	39.3%	8	72.7%	-2.052	0.040 *
2019	22	66.7%	2	50.0%	0.661	0.509

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table 3.14. Attrition of Female Officers 2016 - 2019

Hire Year	Total Hired		Attrition through 2020			
	Frequency	Percent of Total Hired	Frequency	Percent of Total Attrition	*z*	*p*
2016	2	16.7%	0	0.0%	0.760	0.447
2017	8	22.2%	3	23.1%	-0.067	0.947
2018	16	26.2%	4	36.4%	-0.695	0.487
2019	14	42.4%	2	50.0%	-0.290	0.772

*p <.05; **p <.01

There are two major types of agency turnover: voluntary and involuntary turnover. Involuntary turnover results when an organization terminates the employment relationship and voluntary turnover results when an employee terminates the relationship. The primary sources of voluntary turnover are retirements and resignations. While retirements are expected and can sometimes be beneficial to the agency in helping advance new ideas and change existing culture, voluntary resignations prior to retirement eligibility deserve attention. Factors like compensation, other job opportunities, the workplace environment, the organizational culture, and individual personality traits may all play a role in officers' decisions to resign.[27] Police departments should work to identify sources of retention difficulties and intervene in ways that help improve officer job satisfaction and organizational commitment to reduce resignations.

Over the past five years, the HPD's turnover rate has remained relatively stable at just over 6%, and this turnover rate is about average for large law enforcement agencies.[28] However, the source of that turnover has changed (Table 3.11). In 2016 and 2017, the HPD's turnover rate was driven primarily by retirements. From 2018 – 2020, the HPD saw a substantial uptick in voluntary resignations. Of total voluntary resignations, 50% in 2017, 85% in 2018, 69% in 2019, and 86% in 2020 were resignations of officers hired within the past three years. This is not overly unusual

[27] Orrick. "Best Practices Guide: Recruitment, Retention, and Turnover of Law Enforcement Personnel."
[28] Christine Cooper and Samantha Ingram. "Retaining Officers in the Police Service: A Study of Resignations and Transfers in Ten Forces." London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, 2004.; Christopher Koper, Edward Maguire, and Gretchen Moore. "Hiring and Retention Issues in Police Agencies: Readings on the Determination of Police Strength, Hiring and Retention of Officers, and the Federal Cops Program." Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2001.

as churn among early career officers has been found to contribute to a disproportionate amount of police department turnover.[29] An assessment of time to resignation across officers hired from 2016 – 2019 suggests that about 15 – 25% of officers hired will have resigned by their second year and about 23 – 31% will have resigned by their third year (Table 3.12). These patterns highlight a need for the HPD to develop retention strategies that especially target and engage early career officers during these first few years. Moreover, as indicated in Section VIII: Officer Wellness and Section IX: Equipment, Resources, and Training, contractual changes related to reduced pay, health benefits, and changes to retirement age may be a key contributing factor of turnover among early career officers in the HPD.

Prior research indicates that women and racial/ethnic minorities are likely to be overrepresented in police department voluntary turnover, but our analysis does not show this to be the case in general. There is one exception in voluntary turnover amongst those hired in 2018 (Table 3.13). Nonwhite officers accounted for 39.3% of those hired in 2018 but made up 72.7% of those who had resigned by 2020.

Summary & Recommendations

Recruitment

Officers working in the HPD were chiefly motivated to become police officers due to the opportunity to help people and serve residents of the Hartford community. Service also remained the primary career motivation for both nonwhite and female officers. This seemed especially impactful for officers who had also resided in the city and felt that their connection to the community was valuable for building trusting and productive relationships. To a slightly lesser extent, officers were also motivated by the variety and non-routine nature of police work. They frequently explained that desk work and repetitive tasks were unattractive features of other prospective career paths. Lastly, many officers mentioned that stability and job benefits played a role in their decision to pursue policing.

Since officers were primarily driven to pursue law enforcement because of the service aspects of the profession and since this was especially powerful for minority and resident officers, efforts to increase department diversity and attract more Hartford residents to the department should focus heavily on highlighting these features in all recruitment messaging. The opportunity to serve the community and make a difference in the lives of Hartford citizens should be central to the photos and descriptions used in recruitment materials. The HPD should examine additional opportunities to incorporate more examples and experiences of service into open houses, career fairs, and presentations.

Though not the primary motivation, pay and job security followed closely behind service as a career motivator for officers. The City of Hartford lags behind surrounding municipalities in its police officer salary and benefits package, especially after enforcing cuts affecting officers amidst the city's financial crisis. In order to continue attracting and retaining qualified officers

[29] Greg Ridgeway *et al.* "Police-Community Relations in Cincinnati." Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005.

from all backgrounds, the city must focus on increasing these benefits for officers. HPD officers said they were attracted to the department despite the lower salary because they felt they could truly help people and they felt there were a diverse array of job opportunities. Though police officer salaries in metropolitan areas are often lower than surrounding suburban areas, the City of Hartford should work to ensure that their police officer salaries and benefits packages are more competitive with other municipal departments.

Both officers and administrators described struggles to recruiting candidates and noted that a significant barrier to increasing departmental diversity was a relative lack of interest in police officer positions by women, racial/ethnic minorities, and city residents. Despite nonwhite citizens making up 85% of Hartford's population, only 55.8% of applications received were from nonwhite applicants in the 2019-2 selection process. In that same process, Hartford residents made up only 20.5% of applicants and women made up only 18.5% of applicants.

Efforts to recruit racial/ethnic minorities and/or city residents can often be hampered by residents' negative perceptions of the police and police work. The HPD should seek new opportunities, such as holding 'Living Room Conversations,' to connect with the community and counter negative views of law enforcement. These conversations focus on open and honest dialogue between officers and community members and provide an opportunity to meaningfully engage with citizens and potential applicants. They also serve as an opportunity to communicate how residents can help serve their communities and make a difference in the role of a police officer.

Applications received from women are exceedingly low—a pattern seen by most law enforcement agencies in the recruitment process. The HPD should continue hosting presentations and conversation sessions geared toward openly addressing the unique concerns of women and sharing the experiences of current female officers. For women who bear the brunt of childcare responsibilities and for older applicants, balancing familial responsibilities can be a significant concern.[30] In one study examining the practices of police agencies internationally who have succeeded in significantly increasing its representation of female officers, flexible scheduling was pinpointed as a key contributor to their success.[31] Scheduling, time off, and shift alterations occur according to negotiated contractual procedures, and the process for amending these is complex. Still, this complexity should not deter efforts to improve the well-being and work-life balance of the HPD's current and future officers. The HPD should convene a workgroup comprised of union representatives, officers, and administrators to explore ways to improve scheduling and time-off procedures.

Prior research has demonstrated that potential female applicants may be deterred by ideas of the police academy experience strongly focusing on elements like fighting and less-than-lethal

[30] Sandrine Caroly. "How Police Officers and Nurses Regulate Combined Domestic and Paid Workloads to Manage Schedules: A Gender Analysis." *Work: A Journal of Prevention, Assessment, and Rehabilitation* 40 (2011).
[31] Aiyana Ward and Tim Prenzler. "Good Practice Case Studies in the Advancement of Women in Policing." *International Journal of Police Science & Management* 18, no. 4 (2016).

weapons.[32] Racial/ethnic minorities may similarly be deterred by this if their perceptions of a paramilitary academy do not align with their desire to enter a service and helping profession. The police department should first explore their academy curriculum (not a task undertaken as part of this study) to assess practices that may unnecessarily contribute to an intimidating paramilitary environment. Beyond that exploration, the recruiting unit should make transparent information about the police training academy experience readily available. The HPD should create brochures and online documents that detail academy expectations, curriculum hours, and clarify the practices and total curriculum hours dedicated to activities like ground fighting, hand-to-hand combat, and less-than-lethal weapons exposure.

Finally, conversations regarding efforts to change the composition of the police workforce should involve the community. The HPD collaborated with the IACP in 2002 to conduct a community survey and hold engagement sessions with stakeholders and community members, but these efforts focused on identifying process-related barriers to recruitment.[33] The HPD should now take time to focus on the content and messaging of recruitment efforts with special attention toward what residents want from their police department. Community focus groups should be used to gather residents' opinions on what values the HPD should emphasize, what qualities and characteristics they feel are most important for police officers, how best to determine whether potential applicants possess those qualities and characteristics, and how citizens recommend finding and reaching out to qualified potential candidates.

> ***Recommendation 3.1:*** Develop recruitment presentations and materials that highlight the service/helping features of working in the HPD. Redesign brochures, flyers, and online pages to include photos and vignettes that highlight service.
>
> ***Recommendation 3.2:*** Routinely host 'Living Room Conversations' away from the police department in neighborhood locations of civic importance.
>
> ***Recommendation 3.3:*** Host recruitment sessions that address and discuss the unique concerns that women, racial/ethnic minorities, and Hartford residents might have about working in law enforcement.
>
> ***Recommendation 3.4:*** Convene a workgroup to explore changes to scheduling and time-off procedures that can improve work-life balance for current and future officers.
>
> ***Recommendation 3.5:*** Develop brochures and online documents that demystify the police academy experience for potential applicants.

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[32] Michael Rossler, Cara Rabe-Hemp, Meghan Peuterbaugh, and Charles Scheer. "Influence of Gender on Perceptions of Barriers to a Police Patrol Career." *Police Quarterly,* (2020).

[33] International Association of Chiefs of Police. "Mobilizing the Community for Minority Recruitment and Selection: A Strategy to Leverage Community Assets to Enhance Recruitment and Placement of Minorities." Alexandria, VA: Author, 2003.

Recommendation 3.6: Host community focus groups centered on police recruitment strategies and messaging.

Recruit Selection

Once candidates make the decision to apply to an open police officer position, they proceed through nine stages before reaching the final hiring decision. We analyzed attrition in the 2019-2 selection process from application to hiring. We also analyzed aggregate attrition in each stage from the background phase to hiring from 2016 – 2019. In the 2019-2 process, Hartford residents were overrepresented among those eliminated at the initial application stage because they failed to complete the application or failed to meet minimum requirements.

Nonwhite applicants and Hartford residents were also overrepresented as applicants who failed the physical agility test. It is important to note that applicants only take the physical agility test with the City of Hartford if they do not have a CHIP card which is valid for the physical requirement at multiple police departments throughout the state. As a result, this data is not capturing the pass and failure rate of candidates who take the CHIP test. This means that while the City of Hartford data reflects a disparity, this may simply be because nonwhite and Hartford residents are more likely to apply solely to the HPD and more likely to take the physical agility test with the City of Hartford instead of testing for a CHIP card. Still, the HPD should continue working to ensure that the physical fitness requirements do not eliminate otherwise qualified applicants by helping potential applicants build a successful training regimen.

Attrition was also aggregated across phases for all selection processes conducted from 2016 – 2019. Since this analysis used data provided by the HPD, it only examines attrition from the background phase forward. The only statistically significant overrepresentation occurred in the psychological examination phase. Nonwhite applicants were overrepresented as those eliminated in this test. This negatively impacted Hartford residents since all residents remaining in the candidate pool at this stage were nonwhite. Examining this pattern by year reveals that nonwhite applicants were statistically significantly overrepresented as those eliminated by the psychological exam from 2016 – 2018, though there were no significant differences in proportions in 2019.

Finally, although there were no gender or racial/ethnic disparities in withdrawals, the HPD lost about 45% of its initial 2019-2 applicants through voluntary withdrawal. Withdrawals may be appropriate for candidates who determine they are unqualified or otherwise uncommitted, but it is likely that a portion of these withdrawals are from individuals who would have been good police officer candidates. The HPD should work to assess reasons and patterns for applicant selection process withdrawal and subsequently plan methods of intervention.

Recommendation 3.7: Continue to hold physical fitness sessions for prospective applicants. Incorporate these sessions into social media platforms to target those who might be unable to attend sessions due to work/familial responsibilities.

Recommendation 3.8: Assess the psychological examination phase for exam components that might disproportionately affect racial/ethnic minority candidates.

Recommendation 3.9: Conduct exit interviews with those withdrawing from the selection process and maintain a database for tracking and assessing patterns in these withdrawal reasons.

Retention of New Officers

This section examined retention of new officers in the HPD. Overall, the rate of turnover in the HPD is about average, but it is important to recognize that voluntary resignations among early career officers have contributed to a substantial proportion of the agency's turnover. The majority of officers resigning from 2016 – 2020 had been hired within the past three years. Addressing retention first requires assessing the work environment. We recommend forming a retention task force to develop ways to boost employee engagement and satisfaction and monitor the effectiveness of those actions.

The HPD must also be open to conducting honest conversations about why early career officers leave and exploring what they can do to make them stay. The HPD should continue to conduct exit interviews with all personnel who voluntarily resign prior to retirement eligibility, and this data should be retained for ongoing planning and assessment. The data collected via exit interviews should be routinely assessed to determine if common causes for turnover can be addressed by the department. Additionally, the police department should conduct "stay interviews" to routinely check in with early career officers at least once at 18 months and once more at 3 years. These interviews should focus on discussing what is going well for officers and addressing any concerns that may drive that officer to resign in the future.

Finally, the HPD and City of Hartford must work together to develop a compensation package that is comparable to surrounding departments. Without working to increase salary and benefits, the HPD will continue to struggle in hiring and retaining young officers who realize that they can find more fairly compensated opportunities elsewhere.

Recommendation 3.10: Compose an Employee Engagement and Retention Committee. Charge committee members with assessing employee needs and planning methods to boost engagement and satisfaction.

Recommendation 3.11: Continue the use of exit interviews with all employees who resign and retain this information in a database for tracking patterns.

Recommendation 3.12: Conduct "stay interviews" with early career officers every 18 months to assess what is going well and to identify any areas of concern for individual employees.

Recommendation 3.13: Carefully examine surrounding salary and benefits packages. Work with the City to ensure fair compensation relative to surrounding and similar departments. Communicate the consequences for failing to offer comparable benefits.

IV. DIVERSITY IN PROMOTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Introduction

The diffusion of diverse officers throughout a police department's ranks and divisions is an indicator of organizational fairness and openness to inclusion. Equal accessibility to job opportunities communicates to officers of all genders, races/ethnicities, and backgrounds that their skills and contributions are valued. Barriers to opportunities and peer acceptance may decrease organizational commitment and job satisfaction. This in turn can lead to tension, dissatisfaction, and create an environment in which misconduct is more likely to occur. This section examines diversity representation in promotional ranks and division assignments using administrative data. Datasets were provided from several different time points, so it should be noted that there is slight variation in the overall group proportions used for comparisons in each subsection. This section lastly discusses the diversity initiatives employed by the HPD. Analyses and results are presented first, followed by a discussion of conclusions and recommendations in the section summary.

Findings

Promotions

In the HPD, promotions to supervisory positions (e.g., sergeant) follow a civil service testing process consisting of a written exam, an assessment center, and often a Chief's interview.[34] Once all components of the promotional testing process are completed, candidates are issued an overall score and ranked from the highest to lowest scoring candidates. The City of Hartford Department of Human Resources (HR) provides a list of candidates to the Chief to fill openings at that rank. To allow some department agency in the decision-making process, the Chief is able to skip two candidates on the list without explicit justification. Therefore, HR provides the Chief with a list of two more candidates than openings available. For example, if there were seven vacancies at the rank of sergeant, HR would provide the chief with a list of the nine highest-ranking candidates in the promotional process. This list would not include the rank, but instead be provided in alphabetical order. If, however, the Chief considers all nine candidates to be equally qualified, the rankings can be requested. As opposed to supervisory promotions, detective positions are not awarded through a civil service process, and they are instead more subjective promotional appointments.

To assess diversity within department ranks, demographic data for officers and their associated ranks as of February 2020 was provided by the HPD. The sex and race of officers were examined at each rank, and two-sample tests of proportions were conducted to determine whether groups were statistically significantly over- or under-represented at any particular rank compared to their representation in the department overall (Table 4.1). These tests consider both sample size (e.g., the number of sworn officers at each rank) and proportion in determining statistically

[34] Not everyone is interviewed by the Chief and the Chief's interview does not impact score or ranking.

Table 4.1. Examination of Female and Racial/Ethnic Minority Officer Representation

	SEX					
	Male		Female		*z*	*p* >|z|
HPD Total (*n* =426)	**361**	**84.7%**	**65**	**15.3%**		
Chief of Police	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0.42	0.671
Assistant Chief	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0.42	0.671
Deputy Chief	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	-1.35	0.176
Captain	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	0.85	0.396
Lieutenant	19	82.6%	4	17.4%	-0.27	0.786
Sergeant	54	88.5%	7	11.5%	0.78	0.435
Detective	63	88.7%	8	11.3%	0.88	0.379
Officer	218	82.9%	45	17.1%	-0.63	0.531
	RACE/ETHNICITY					
	White		Nonwhite		*z*	*p* >|z|
HPD Total (*n* =426)	**275**	**64.6%**	**149**	**35.0%**		
Chief of Police	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0.73	0.463
Assistant Chief	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	-1.36	0.174
Deputy Chief	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	-0.44	0.657
Captain	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	0.42	0.676
Lieutenant	18	78.3%	5	21.7%	1.31	0.191
Sergeant	48	78.7%	13	21.3%	2.12	0.034 *
Detective	45	63.4%	26	36.6%	-0.26	0.794
Officer	161	61.2%	102	38.8%	-1.01	0.314

*p <.05; **p <.01

significant differences. According to this data, both female and racial/ethnic minority officers are equally represented throughout the department when compared to the overall gender and racial/ethnic composition of the HPD.

In comparison to their overall representation in the department (15.3%), women are fairly represented at all ranks and no statistically significant proportional differences exist. In comparison to racial/ethnic minority representation in the department overall (35.0%), racial/ethnic minorities are equally represented at every rank except for the rank of sergeant where they are statistically significantly underrepresented ($z = 2.12$, $p = .034$). The HPD recently hired a class of officers that graduated from the police academy in October 2019, and approximately 78% of that class consisted of racial/ethnic minority officers. These officers expand the number of racial/ethnic minorities at the officer rank, but they are not yet eligible for a promotion to sergeant. When the existing proportion of racial/ethnic minorities at the rank of sergeant is compared to department-wide representation prior to the hiring of this recent class of recruits, no statistically significant differences of proportions exist ($z = 1.85$, $p = .064$).

In ranks and divisions that experience an overrepresentation or underrepresentation of certain groups, it is important to consider that group-level differences in career preferences might exist. For example, it would be difficult to achieve equal representation in the Traffic Unit if female

Table 4.2 Officer Career Preferences by Sex

	Female (n = 20)		Male (n = 82)			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	t	p
Patrol	7	35.0%	17	20.7%	-1.35	0.181
Supervisor	10	50.0%	42	51.2%	0.10	0.923
Specialized Division	17	85.0%	57	69.5%	-1.39	0.167

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table 4.3. Officer Career Preferences by Race/Ethnicity

	Nonwhite (n = 34)		White (n = 64)			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	t	p
Patrol	3	8.8%	19	29.7%	2.40	0.018 *
Supervisor	16	47.1%	34	53.1%	0.57	0.572
Specialized Division	26	76.5%	45	70.3%	-0.64	0.521

*p <.05; **p <.01

officers as a group were significantly less interested in those positions when compared to males. Since these career preferences are an important consideration for informing assessments of departmental diversity, we use officer survey data to assess gender and/or racial/ethnic minority group differences in preferences for supervisory positions and specialized division assignments.

Both male and female officers surveyed were alike in their overall career aspirations (Table 4.2). About 35% of female officers and 21% of male officers indicated that they would be satisfied remaining in patrol, and approximately half of both female officers and male officers indicated interest in supervisory positions. The goal to become a supervisor was similarly prevalent in racial/ethnic comparisons where about half of both nonwhite and white officers listed supervisory positions as a preference (Table 4.3). However, nonwhite officers were significantly less likely to indicate that they would be interested in remaining in patrol (t = 2.40, p = .018).

We additionally asked survey respondents to indicate the number of times they had applied for a promotion as well as the number of times they had been awarded a promotion. The resulting difference between these two values represents the reported number of times an officer has applied for a promotion without achieving one through test failure, scoring lower than other eligible peers, or administrative discretion. There were no statistically significant differences in the percentage of promotions not awarded by sex (mean diff = 0.015, t = 0.105, p = .916) or by race/ethnicity (mean diff = -0.111, t = -0.955, p = .344). These comparisons suggest that when officers apply for promotions, there are no differences in achievement by sex or race/ethnicity, but a complete analysis of achievement disparities would require in-depth examinations of applicants, test scores, and promotional awards over time.

Division Assignments

Overall officer career preferences indicate that the majority of survey respondents were interested in working in one or more specialized divisions. Procedures for division assignments in

Table 4.4. Examination of Racial/Ethnic Minority Officer Representation in Department Divisions

	Total	Nonwhite			
Division	Frequency	Frequency	Percent	*z*	*p*
Chief of Police	5	2	40.0%	-0.243	0.808
Crime Scene Division	7	1	14.3%	1.132	0.258
Detention	15	10	66.7%	-2.531	0.011 *
Headquarters	10	3	30.0%	0.315	0.753
Internal Affairs	12	6	50.0%	-1.087	0.277
K-9	5	1	20.0%	0.692	0.489
Major Crimes	25	6	24.0%	1.106	0.269
Patrol	194	61	31.4%	0.829	0.407
Police Academy	54	24	44.4%	-1.385	0.166
Special Investigations	15	8	53.3%	-1.472	0.141
Teleserve	11	3	27.3%	0.516	0.606
Traffic	15	5	33.3%	0.120	0.905
Vice, Intelligence, & Narcotics	37	11	29.7%	0.626	0.531

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table 4.5. Examination of Female Officer Representation in Department Divisions

	Total	Female			
Division	Frequency	Frequency	Percent	*z*	*p*
Chief of Police	5	2	40.0%	-1.484	0.138
Crime Scene Division	7	0	0.0%	1.136	0.256
Detention	15	3	20.0%	-0.460	0.646
Headquarters	10	1	10.0%	0.484	0.628
Internal Affairs	12	5	41.7%	-2.412	0.016 *
K-9	5	0	0.0%	0.960	0.337
Major Crimes	25	2	8.0%	1.029	0.303
Patrol	194	21	10.8%	1.591	0.112
Police Academy	54	18	33.3%	-3.215	0.001 **
Special Investigations	15	5	33.3%	-1.828	0.068
Teleserve	11	0	0.0%	1.423	0.155
Traffic	15	2	13.3%	0.242	0.809
Vice, Intelligence, & Narcotics	37	1	2.7%	2.133	0.033 *

*p <.05; **p <.01

the HPD tend to differ by position according to officers, but assessing candidates generally involves replying to an internal job posting with a letter of intent and any required documents. Following this submission, a review of qualifications and an interview commonly take place. The decision to award an assignment is generally subjective and is at the discretion of the appropriate division commander.

To assess diversity within department divisions, we rely on department roster data provided by the HPD that includes individual assignments as of July 2019. Overall, women and racial/ethnic minorities are equally represented in department divisions proportional to their representation in the department in general. However, both groups are over- or under-represented in some units. Racial/ethnic minority officers are overrepresented in Detention. Although about 35% of the department consists racial/ethnic minorities, they make up 66.7% of Detention (z = -2.53, p = .011). Racial/ethnic minority officers are not statistically underrepresented in any department divisions compared to their representation in the department overall.

As indicated in Table 4.5, women comprise about 16% of the HPD, but they are significantly overrepresented in Internal Affairs (41.7%; z = -2.41, p = .016) and the Police Academy (33.3%; z = -3.22, p = .001). Lastly, female officers are significantly underrepresented in VIN where they account for only 1 of its 37 positions (2.7%; z = 2.13, p = .033). A VIN roster updated as of June 2020 showed that the unit now includes 32 sworn personnel, of which 2 are women (6.3%; z = 1.44, p = .150). This difference in proportions is no longer statistically significant.

Examining officer career preferences as a whole shows that amongst officer survey respondents, the most desired division assignments were in Professional Standards (which includes recruiting, the training academy, range/armory, and cadet program), Major Crimes, and Vice, Intelligence, & Narcotics, respectively (Table 4.6). Of those who desired a position in Professional Standards, most indicated an aspiration to work at the training academy specifically (62.2%).

In assessing preference differences by group, racial/ethnic minority officers were less likely to list VIN as a division in which they would like to work (Table 4.7). About 34% of white officers indicated VIN was a career preference while only 15% of officers of color listed it as a career preference (t = 2.10, p = 0.038). Although there were no significant differences in professional standards division preferences overall, racial/ethnic minority officers were significantly more likely to indicate that working with the police cadet program (which falls under Professional Standards) was a preference. No white officers listed this as an assignment preference, but 9% of officers of color listed it as an assignment in which they'd like to work (t = -2.46, p = 0.016).

Female officers were significantly more likely to indicate that working in Booking/Detention was a career preference (Table 4.8). Only 1% of male officers selected this division, but 10% of female officers indicated it as a preference (t = -2.11, p = 0.038). There were no statistically significant sex differences in divisional preferences for any other units.

Table 4.6 Overall Officer Specialized Divison Preferences		
	Frequency	Percent
Community Service†	22	20.0%
Crime Scene Division	20	18.2%
Detention	3	2.7%
Internal Affairs	11	10.0%
K9	14	12.7%
Major Crimes	32	29.1%
Planning & Accreditation	9	8.2%
Professional Standards†	37	33.6%
Special Investigations	17	15.5%
Vice, Intelligence, & Narcotics	31	28.2%

† Community service division includes Community Service Officer and Community Response Unit preferences; Professional Standards includes recruiting, training academy, range, and cadet program assignments

Table 4.7 Officer Career Preferences by Race/Ethnicity						
	Nonwhite (n = 34)		White (n = 64)			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	t	p
Community Service	10	29.4%	9	14.1%	-1.84	0.069
Crime Scene Division	8	23.5%	10	15.6%	-0.96	0.341
Detention	2	5.9%	1	1.6%	-1.18	0.242
Internal Affairs	5	14.7%	3	4.7%	-1.73	0.086
K9	5	14.7%	9	14.1%	-0.09	0.932
Major Crimes	10	29.4%	18	28.1%	-0.13	0.895
Planning & Accreditation	3	8.8%	4	6.3%	-0.47	0.642
Professional Standards	14	41.2%	19	29.7%	-1.14	0.257
Special Investigations	6	17.6%	9	14.1%	-0.46	0.643
Vice, Intelligence, & Narcotics	5	14.7%	22	34.4%	2.10	0.038 *

*p <.05; **p <.01

† Community service division includes Community Service Officer and Community Response Unit preferences; Professional Standards includes recruiting, training academy, range, and cadet program assignments

Table 4.8 Officer Specialized Divison Preferences by Sex

	Female (n = 20)		Male (n = 82)			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	t	p
Community Service†	3	15.0%	18	22.0%	0.68	0.496
Crime Scene Division	3	15.0%	15	18.3%	0.34	0.732
Detention	2	10.0%	1	1.2%	-2.11	0.038 *
Internal Affairs	4	20.0%	6	7.3%	-1.72	0.089
K9	2	10.0%	12	14.6%	0.54	0.594
Major Crimes	5	25.0%	25	30.5%	0.48	0.633
Planning & Accreditation	1	5.0%	7	8.5%	0.52	0.602
Professional Standards†	8	40.0%	28	34.1%	-0.49	0.627
Special Investigations	5	25.0%	11	13.4%	-1.28	0.205
Vice, Intelligence, & Narcotics	4	20.0%	25	30.5%	0.93	0.356

*p <.05; **p <.01

† Community service division includes Community Service Officer and Community Response Unit preferences; Professional Standards includes recruiting, training academy, range, and cadet program assignments

We also asked officers to provide the number of times they had applied for a position in a specialized unit as well as the number of times they had been awarded or denied a position. There were no statistically significant differences in the percentage of unit assignments denied by sex (mean diff = -0.096, t = -0.863, p = .391) or by race/ethnicity (mean diff = -0.124, t = -1.316, p = .192). These comparisons suggest that when officers apply for division assignments, there are no differences in achievement by sex or race/ethnicity. However, it should again be noted that a complete analysis of achievement disparities would require in-depth examinations of applicants, the division application process, and division positions awarded over time.

Training Officers

Lastly, we examined group representation among field training officers (FTOs). In the previous section, it is noted that both female and nonwhite officers are equally or over-represented as members of the police academy staff. This is especially important because a diverse academy staff may convey to recruits that officers are accepted and excel within the department regardless of their background and demographic characteristics. However, this is not the only area in which this matters. Few officers are terminated during the police training academy, and the greater test of their abilities arguably occurs in the field training phase.

Once recruits graduate from the police academy, probationary police officers (PPOs) spend approximately 13 weeks rotating through the field training process. They are partnered with three different officers throughout this period who instruct them and assess their progress. If problems with performance arise, these are reviewed by the FTOs and supervisors, and these individuals make recommendations and decisions regarding remediation, probation extension, and/or

Table 4.9. Examination of Representation Among Field Training Officers

	Total	Group			
	Frequency	Frequency	Percent	*z*	*p*
Nonwhite					
Certified FTOs	66	16	24.2%	1.698	0.089
Active Patrol FTOs	45	11	24.4%	1.402	0.161
Female					
Certified FTOs	66	5	7.6%	1.716	0.086
Active Patrol FTOs	45	3	6.7%	1.601	0.109

*p <.05; **p <.01

termination. This FTO process exerts a tremendous amount of influence over the PPO's immediate and long-term future in the department.

The HPD currently has 66 officers certified to serve as FTOs. Of all certified FTOs, 24.2% are racial/ethnic minorities and 7.6% are women. Although 66 are certified, officers rarely act as FTOs if they are promoted or are assigned to specialized divisions unless an FTO shortage occurs. Out of the 66 certified FTOs, 45 actively work in patrol in non-supervisory roles, making them the primary officers who would be asked to field train new PPOs. Of these 45, 24.4% are racial/ethnic minorities and 6.7% are women.

In the HPD, nonwhite officers comprise 34.8% of the department ranks and 24.4% of certified FTOs. Female officers comprise 15.6% of the department ranks and 7.6% of certified FTOs. Two-sample tests of proportions reveal no statistically significant differences in the number of female or nonwhite FTOs compared to their representation in the department overall. However, the proportion of both nonwhite and female officers among FTOs is comparatively low.

Diversity Initiatives

With the exception of one division (i.e., Detention), the HPD is sufficiently diverse throughout its ranks and divisions in comparison to racial/ethnic groups' representation in the police department overall. Increased diversity within ranks and divisions is limited and determined by the proportion of women and racial/ethnic minorities in the department, making strategic recruitment and selection activities even more important.

Under both legal and public pressure to increase female and racial/ethnic minority representation, many of the officers interviewed voiced disapproval toward the methods that the city and department used to attempt to diversify police ranks and divisions. This disapproval was expressed by nearly all officers regardless of race/ethnicity and gender.

Officers felt that external pressure to ensure diversity within divisions and ranks resulted in many of the unfair practices they mentioned in relation to selection processes for both positions and promotions. Respondents supported the need for officers of different backgrounds and skillsets throughout the police department but felt that this was being achieved the wrong way. Officers tended to agree that the goal to have the department reflect the community they serve in terms of

race/ethnicity, gender, etc. was valuable, but the pressure the administration felt to accomplish this goal resulted in a haste response. Diversification is a long-term process and one that needed strategic, fair planning according to respondents. Conversations between the HPD, City leaders, and community members should incorporate evidence-based practices aimed at increasing diversity over time. Strategic planning should be realistic about the time it takes to increase diversity properly. City benchmarks for success should center on continued development and evaluation of carefully planned diversity efforts rather than assessing progress through numbers alone.

Many officers felt that reliance on merit and qualifications were lost in these quick diversification efforts. One officer who self-identified as a racial/ethnic minority said that when he was considering putting in for an open position, his peers encouraged him to apply and said he would definitely get it because of his minority status. He said, "It's not because of my work ethic; it's because of me filling a stat for the department." Another officer of color explained that it's "not fair to others if I get something because I'm a minority," and felt that non-minority officers sometimes "have no right of way when they put in for a position." Said an additional racial/ethnic minority officer, "I don't want to get a position because I'm a [minority], I want to get a position because I'm the best for the position." Several female racial/ethnic minority officers felt that when they got a position they truly deserved, the perception throughout the department would still be that it was because of their minority status. Furthermore, some officers questioned this themselves—they said that they would like to think they were given opportunities because of merit but that they weren't really sure.

Arguments against diversification initiatives are not rare, especially from non-minority employees who may perceive interference in their own opportunities. Still, it should be emphasized that in most interviews, neither white male officers *nor* minority officers (officers of color or female officers) were satisfied with the ways in which the department was going about achieving their diversity goals. Interviews suggest that the internal and administrative practices for achieving these goals appear to be causing tension and stress. Creating heterogeneous workgroups throughout the department is important, and divisions including officers from a variety of different backgrounds with a number of different perspectives can be beneficial to both the department and community. However, research has indicated that diversity initiatives lacking careful planning and consideration may sometimes cause tension, strengthen biases, and reinforce inequalities.[35] Officer interviews suggest some degree of this to be occurring within the HPD, and these effects run contrary to the ideal goals of such initiatives. The HPD appears to have achieved a diverse department throughout its ranks, and this is laudable, but interviews with officers suggest that continued diversity strategies should lean more on successful approaches that may be viewed as fairer and more legitimate like increasing initiatives that focus on mentoring, informal social networking, and cross-training in various department divisions.

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[35] Frank Dobbin and Alexander Kalev, "Why Diversity Programs Fail," *Harvard Business Review* (2016); Christine Williams, Kristine Kilanski, and Chandra Muller, "Corporate Diversity Programs and Gender Inequality in the Oil and Gas Industry," *Work and Occupations* 41, no.4 (2014).

Summary & Recommendations

A diversified police department, both in terms of gender and/or racial/ethnic identity, has the potential to yield several positive outcomes both internally and externally. Internally, diversity throughout ranks and divisions signals to officers that the organization is fair, inclusive, and just. These organizational features are related to higher levels of workplace satisfaction and lower levels of tension and misconduct. Diverse police departments may also offer a number of benefits to the community. These benefits include the sharing and understanding of different cultural identities, reductions in excessive force encounters, and improvements in citizen attitudes toward the police.

Promotions & Assignments

Diversity in the HPD was first examined using demographic data for all sworn officers and their associated ranks as of February 2020. In comparison to their overall representation in the department, women were sufficiently represented at all ranks, and no statistically significant proportional differences existed. Compared to their representation in the department overall, racial/ethnic minority officers were fairly represented at all ranks except the rank of sergeant. However, this disparity appears to have occurred due to an increase in minority hiring in the past few years. This increases overall department representation and swells racial/ethnic minority representation at the officer level, but these officers are not yet eligible to test for sergeant positions. This finding of fair rank representation was also reflected in officer survey results which showed no significant differences in reported promotional achievements by sex or race/ethnicity.

We also assessed career preferences among surveyed officers to determine whether there were any group-level differences in promotional aspirations. About half of all officers surveyed indicated a preference for becoming supervisors, and there were no statistically significant differences by sex or race/ethnicity. However, nonwhite officers were significantly less likely to indicate that they would be interested in remaining in patrol. This suggests that nonwhite officers may be: a) more dissatisfied with the type of work they encounter in patrol, and b) more likely to define success by the achievement of promotions and/or specialized assignments. Despite demonstrating sufficient diversity through the ranks, the HPD should expand its efforts to fairly and transparently continue to increase department-wide diversity as discussed below.

Next, we assessed diversity in assignments to specialized divisions, in which positions are awarded by more subjective procedures, using demographic data for all sworn officers and their associated unit locations as of July 2019. Although generally fairly represented throughout the department, there are some divisions in which female and/or racial/ethnic minority officers are over- or under-represented. Racial/ethnic minority officers are over-represented in Detention (66.7%) compared to their representation in the department overall (34.8%), but they were not statistically underrepresented in any department divisions. Women were overrepresented in Internal Affairs (41.7%) and the Police Academy (33.3%) compared to their representation in the department overall (15.6%). Conversely, female officers were underrepresented in the Vice, Intelligence, and Narcotics unit (2.7%), but an updated roster as of June 2020 showed that women now comprise 6.3% of this unit, and there are no longer any statistically significant differences in proportions for this division.

The sex-based over- and under-representations observed within the HPD are similar to those found in other police departments where female officers are often overrepresented in "inside jobs" requiring teaching or nurturing behaviors that are stereotypically associated with women.[36] Whether this is a common preference among female officers or whether women are steered into such positions remains unclear in existing research. Though the statistical disparity has since been corrected, the patterns observed in VIN have also taken place elsewhere. Scholars have suggested that when women enter male-dominated professions like policing, men may find ways to re-segregate themselves by maintaining a predominantly male composition in units that emphasize more stereotypically masculine qualities like gang units and drug units, whether this occurs consciously or unconsciously.[37]

We also assessed division preferences among officers surveyed. Our list of divisions and positions included 15 different options and allowed write-in preferences. Overall, officers in the HPD were similar in their career aspirations. The top five desired units among all officers surveyed were: 1) Major Crimes (29%); 2) VIN (28%); 3) Training Academy (21%); 4) Community Service Officer (19%); and 5) Crime Scene Division (18%). Nonwhite officers were significantly less likely to indicate VIN as a career preference (15%) when compared to white officers (34%). However, nonwhite officers were significantly more likely to list working in the police cadet program as a career preference (9%) when compared to white officers (0%). Lastly, female officers were significantly more likely to list Detention as a career preference (10%) when compared to male officers (1%).

We also assessed the sex and race/ethnicity composition of the HPD's field training officers. There were no statistically significant differences in the proportion of female or racial/ethnic minority officers amongst FTOs. Although these tests indicate statistically proportional representation, the percentage of both female and racial/ethnic minority FTOs is still relatively low compared to their department-wide representation. FTOs hold a position involving both supervisory authority and supportive mentorship, and FTOs are typically the first in the department to impress values and attitudes upon new officers. It would be beneficial to the HPD to increase diversity among FTOs to better reflect a wider range of experiences and perspectives valuable in shaping incoming officer cohorts.

Outside of these analyses, our interviews with officers revealed a tremendous degree of internal frustration regarding how diversity had been achieved in the department thus far. Participants felt that external political pressure led to rushed efforts to promote or grant specialized assignments to female and/or racial/ethnic minority officers. Officers agreed with the need for departmental diversity, but officers from all backgrounds disagreed with the methods used to do so. Notably, female and nonwhite officers felt especially frustrated with the HPD's diversification

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[36] D.J. McCarthy. "Gendering 'Soft' Policing: Multi-Agency Working Female Cops, and the Fluidities of Police Culture/S." *Policing and Society* 23, no. 2 (2013).

[37] Dana Britton. *At Work in the Iron Cage: The Prison as a Gendered Organization.* New York: New York University Press, 2003; Susan Ehrlich Martin. *Breaking and Entering: Policewomen on Patrol.*; Susan Miller. *Gender and Community Policing: Walking the Talk.* Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1999.

methods because it watered down their own hard work and personal achievements. They suggested that neither they nor their peers could ever feel completely confident that they actually earned positions and assignments of their own merit. This effect is important to consider. Though opposition to diversification initiatives is common among non-minority employees, neither white male officers nor minority officers (officers of color or female officers) were satisfied with the ways in which the HPD was going about achieving their diversity goals, and this appears to cause a great deal of internal organizational stress and tension.

Though the HPD is largely adequately representative throughout its ranks and divisions, these findings as a whole suggest the need to develop more strategic initiatives that expose officers to a range of opportunities and social networks and award opportunities in ways that feel fair and just to all. Departmental diversity should be a priority goal for the HPD, especially given the needs and composition of its community, but it is a goal that requires thoughtful and deliberate planning. A careful planning process can help avoid the unintended consequence of creating inter-group tension and reinforcing inequalities.

Recommendation 4.1: Explore and implement job rotation and/or job shadowing programs to expose officers to more opportunities and social networks.

Recommendation 4.2: Ensure that the most highly desired units (e.g., Major Crimes, VIN) are a focus of job rotation and other career development opportunities.

Recommendation 4.3: Solicit interest for the creation of a mentor network. Pair mentors with early career officers based on skills and interests.

Recommendation 4.4: Maintain databases of applicants and outcomes for all internal positions. Assess reasons for position/promotion denial annually to develop new plans for career development.

Recommendation 4.5: Form an HPD Diversity Task Force composed of officers invested in improving departmental diversity through fair, transparent, and just methods. Charge this task force with soliciting officer input, overseeing new initiatives, and monitoring diversity progress.

V. TRANSPARENCY, COMMUNICATION, AND FAIRNESS

Introduction

Effective organizational management relies on transformational leadership and internal procedural justice. These foundational goals are critical for both the police administration and immediate supervisors. Relatedly, perceived fairness is a critical aspect of a just organizational climate. Higher ratings of organizational fairness are linked to higher levels of employee compliance, acceptance of decisions, and organizational commitment.[38] The following section is divided into two subsections, Transparency & Communication and Perceptions of Fairness. Analyses and results are presented within each subsection first. Conclusions and recommendations related to both areas are discussed at the end of the overall section.

Findings

Transparency & Communication

This section reviews core practices and characteristics important to leadership and supervision. This discussion revolves around two concepts: transformational leadership and internal procedural justice. Transformational leadership refers to the extent to which the command staff creates a shared vision, encourages open communication, and effectively prepares officers for regular job tasks and new challenges.[39] Because the police administration (e.g., Chief, Assistant Chiefs, Deputy Chiefs, Captains) exercises the most responsibility for directing the vision and activities of the police department, we assess transformational leadership at the police administration level.

Immediate supervisors (e.g., sergeants and lieutenants) are also responsible for creating a supportive work environment, and supervisors' style of leadership can powerfully impact officers' job satisfaction and perceptions of fairness. Therefore, we assess behaviors linked to internal procedural justice at the immediate supervisor level. Research has demonstrated that internal procedural justice—whether or not officers believe they are treated in a fair manner—is a key indicator of a positive organizational climate.[40] Internal procedural justice refers to four central elements: treating officers with dignity and respect, demonstrating neutrality in decision-making, allowing workers to have a voice in the decision-making process, and demonstrating trustworthy motives.

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[38] Jerald Greenberg, "Using Socially Fair Treatment to Promote Acceptance of a Work Site Smoking Ban," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 79, no. 2 (1994); E. Allan Lind et al., "Individual and Corporate Dispute Resolution," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1993).

[39] S. Hakan Can, Helen Hendy, and M. Berkay Ege Can, "A Pilot Study to Develop the Police Transformational Leadership Scale (PTLS) and Examine Its Association with Psychosocial Well-Being of Officers," *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 32 (2017).

[40] Rick Trinkner, Tom Tyler, and Phillip Goff, "Justice from Within: The Relations between a Procedurally Just Organizational Climate and Police Organizational Efficiency, Endorsement of Democratic Policing, and Officer Well-Being," *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 22, no. 2 (2016).

Transformational leadership and internal procedural justice were assessed for the police administration and immediate supervisors, respectively, using a series of items on officer surveys. Additional characteristics related to these concepts also emerged in interviews and are reviewed in qualitative descriptions.

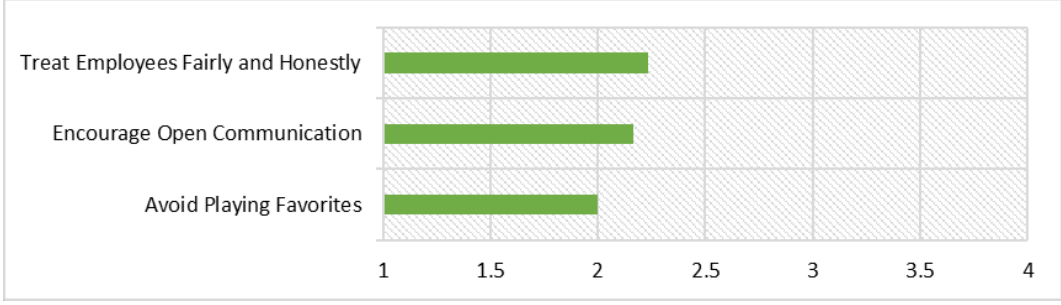
Police Administration

Transformational Leadership

Survey respondents were asked a series of 15 questions regarding their perceptions of the police department administration. These questions are designed to assess transformational leadership through three subscales: 1) clear communication, 2) fairness and honesty, and 3) training and cooperation. Respondents rated each of the 15 items on a scale from 1 – 4 where 1 = strongly disagree and 4 = strongly agree. Higher values indicate that officers perceive the police administration to more strongly demonstrate the characteristics and practices associated with transformational leadership.

Figure 5.1. Transformational Leadership: Clear Communication Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)

Figure 5.2. Transformational Leadership: Fairness & Honesty Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)



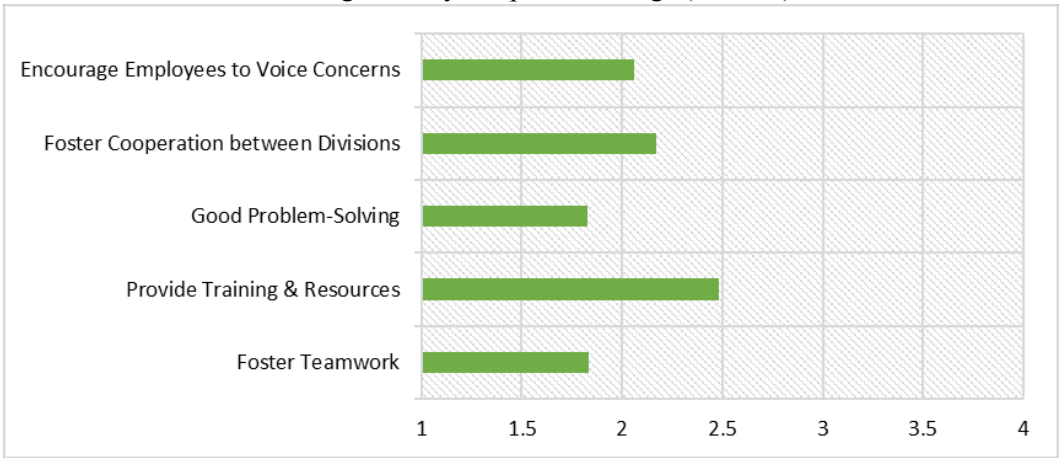
Examples of items that tap into clear communication include: Most communications from them (the administration) are difficult to understand,[41] they (the administration) let us know exactly what is expected of us, they (the administration) give us clear goals for our work (Figure 5.1). A summative scale with strong reliability (α = 0.92) was created using seven items. The mean score on the clear communication subscale was 16.3 on a scale from 7 – 28 (midpoint = 17.5), suggesting that respondents view the police administration's communication as moderately unclear.

The fairness and honesty subscale utilizes items such as, the administration treats employees with fairness and honesty and they tend to play favorites[42] (Figure 5.2). A summative scale with strong reliability (α = 0.87) was generated using three items. The mean score for the full sample was 6.4 on a scale from 3 – 12 (midpoint = 7.5), indicating that respondents perceive the administration as somewhat unfair.

The third subscale measures training and cooperation using a summative scale of five items including: they provide training and resources for us to improve our work, they encourage us to speak up about departmental concerns (α = 0.88) (Figure 5.3). The mean score on this subscale for the full sample was 10.4 on scale from 5 – 20 (midpoint = 12.5), suggesting that the administration's practices of fostering cooperation, teamwork, and necessary training opportunities are inadequate.

The full transformational leadership scale was assessed using all 15 items resulting in a scale from 15 – 60 (midpoint = 37.5) and a mean score of 33.2 for the full sample (α = 0.96). This suggests that overall, respondents do not perceive the police administration to regularly demonstrate the qualities and practices associated with a strong level of

Figure 5.3. Transformational Leadership: Training & Cooperation Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (*n* = 110)



[41] This item was reverse coded.
[42] This item was reverse coded.

transformational leadership. The mean scores on the full transformational leadership scale for male and female respondents were compared as well as the mean scores across racial/ethnic groups. T-test results indicated there were no statistically significant differences between male and female officers' perceptions of transformational leadership as it relates to the police administration. ANOVA results indicated there were no statistically significant differences across racial/ethnic groups either. The subscales that make up the transformational leadership scale were also examined for gender differences and racial/ethnic group differences, but none were detected.

The mean scores on the transformational leadership scale were compared by division. Specifically, officers in patrol (N = 47) versus officers in other divisions or units (N = 61) were compared. T-test results indicated a statistically significant difference between patrol officers' perception of the administration's transformational leadership in comparison to other officers' perceptions (t = -2.96, p = .004). Additional analysis was conducted to examine this finding further using multiple regression. Ordinal logistic regression results are presented in Appendix B. Controlling for years on the job, age, race/ethnicity, sex, and education level, findings from the regression model reiterate that an officer's division is a significant predictor of their perception of transformational leadership within the administration (Coef. = 1.02, p = .02). Officers in a division or unit other than patrol are significantly more likely to rate the police administration higher on the transformational leadership scale in comparison to officers in patrol.

Communication

Overall, the officers interviewed felt that communication and transparency in the department was severely lacking. They described a divide between line officers and the police administration wherein officers did not understand the reasons for command staff actions and policies. Furthermore, officers felt that the administration lacked working knowledge and an understanding of the experiences and issues facing patrol officers.

Officers described several official memos and/or e-mails that they found to be short-sighted, ineffective, and overly punitive in tone. Officers felt the administration was quick to make assumptions and "they don't even try to figure out what the reason is for the problem; we could have told them." The majority of officers expressed a desire for the command staff to: 1) ask them questions and get officer input before drafting orders, and 2) explain why orders were necessary so that officers could understand the reasons behind them.

Legitimacy & Support

Legitimacy refers to the degree to which officers feel their supervisors are qualified and entitled to exercise authority over them. When officers feel that their leadership is legitimate, they are more likely to feel that they share common values with their supervisors

Figure 5.4. Leadership Legitimacy Items:
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)

and have a shared sense of duty and obligation toward their supervisors' directives.[43] Survey respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement (from 1 – 4) with the following 3 statements assessing leadership legitimacy: 1) it is wrong to ignore your supervisors' directives, 2) I am confident in the good intentions of my police administration, and 3) I am confident in the good intentions of my immediate supervisors (Figure 5.4). A summative scale utilizing these three statements was used to generate a legitimacy scale. The mean on this scale for the full sample was 9.7 on a scale from 3 – 12 (midpoint = 7.5), suggesting that on average, respondents view the department leadership as legitimate. Gender differences and variation across racial/ethnic groups were analyzed. No significant differences on mean scores on the legitimacy scale were detected across gender, nor across racial/ethnic groups. Similarly, no significant variation across age, education level, length of service, division, or rank was found regarding officers' perception of the legitimacy of their leadership.

Still, many of the officers interviewed wanted more visibility and support from the command staff. They characterized this as an ongoing issue across administrations over time and felt that they rarely saw Chiefs visit units or roll calls unless there was a problem. Officers shared the following sentiment regarding the command staff, "everything is done by e-mail. There's no personal contact with them." Many officers interviewed wanted the command staff to "just come downstairs and talk to us." They encouraged the police administration to visit roll calls to have informal conversations, show their interest, build relationships with officers, and show their support. Said by most officers in a similar way: "It would go a long, long way" and "the small things are always what matter."

Creating a "shared sense of us" is a difficulty faced by many police leaders. When officers feel that administrators lack knowledge and understanding it is often because they feel that administrators lack "street-level policing experience."[44] What results is a

[43] Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, "Justice from Within: The Relations between a Procedurally Just Organizational Climate and Police Organizational Efficiency, Endorsement of Democratic Policing, and Officer Well-Being."
[44] James Hoggett et al., "Challenges for Police Leadership: Identity, Experience, Legitimacy, and Direct Entry," *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 34 (2019).

credibility gap that many police leaders must actively and consistently work to close. Prior research suggests that demonstrating an effort to listen to and understand officers at all levels, engaging in clear communication, and demonstrating support for officers (both inward- and outward-facing support) can help fill that gap and build credibility.[45] When leaders strengthen internal support and build that legitimacy, their directives are more likely to generate compliance and they are better positioned to create a shared departmental vision with more extensive buy-in from officers.

Recognition & Praise

Officers also wanted to see more acknowledgement for their positive actions and felt that praise was lacking. The officers interviewed readily spoke of the great work done by members of the department daily, but they said they felt like all people focused on were negative incidents. Officers interviewed felt that they were rarely recognized for their good work. To address this, they suggested both formal annual award ceremonies and informal acknowledgements (e.g., e-mails, recognition in roll call) from immediate supervisors and the police administration.

These actions can become increasingly impactful given that officers indicated a substantial degree of stress evolving from negative public and media attention toward the police. Notably, when officers surveyed were asked to indicate factors that worried them and caused them stress, 73% (N = 80) indicated that the negative portrayal of law enforcement in the media caused them stress, and 66% (N = 73) indicated that the negative public criticism of officers' actions caused them stress. Comparatively, only 42% indicated concern about the threat of injury and 41% indicated concern about the threat of death. A more detailed discussion of sources of stress among officers is presented in the "Officer Wellness" section.

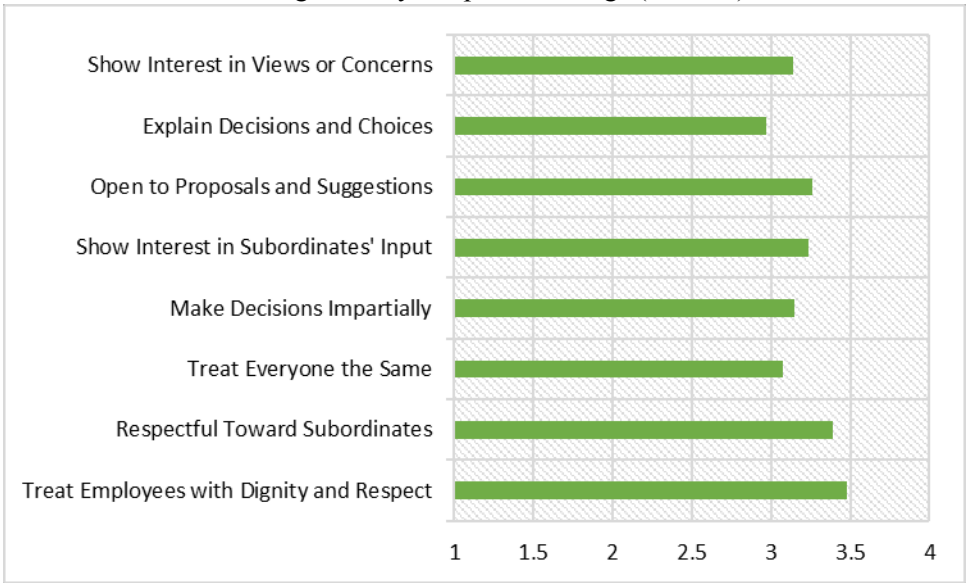
If officers are experiencing stress as a result of public negativity, and they also feel persistent negative attention internally, that stress may be compounded, and it can truly feel like a "thankless" job. Officers also described these factors as contributing to a decrease in officers' willingness to engage in proactive police work. Praise for officers' positive actions, community interactions, conscientious investigating/reporting, etc. can be an easy way to boost morale and organizational commitment while potentially easing job-related stress.

Immediate Supervisors

Similar to the transformational leadership questions that were asked to assess the police administration, survey respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with eight statements to assess internal procedural justice among their immediate supervisors. A composite scale was generated from the following four subscales: 1) dignity and respect, 2) neutrality, 3)

[45] Hoggett et al., "Challenges for Police Leadership: Identity, Experience, Legitimacy, and Direct Entry,"

Figure 5.5. Internal Procedural Justice Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)



voice, and 4) trustworthy motives. Higher values indicate that respondents agree that their immediate supervisors treat their subordinates with dignity and respect, are impartial when making decisions, are interested in what subordinates have to say, and sufficiently explain the decisions they make, respectively.

The mean rating for the full sample was 6.9 on the dignity and respect subscale (2 – 8, α = 0.78), 6.2 on the neutrality subscale (2 – 8, α = 0.86), 6.5 on the voice subscale (2 – 8, α = 0.86), and 6.1 on the trustworthy motives subscale (2 – 8, α = 0.83). With the midpoint on each subscale being 5, the results suggest that respondents perceive that their immediate supervisors treat their subordinates with dignity and respect, are moderately impartial when making decisions, are interested in what subordinates have to say, and are moderately trustworthy in their motives behind decision-making.

A composite scale of internal procedural justice was generated using the four subscales. The internal procedural justice scale assessing immediate supervisors had a mean of 25.7 on a scale from 8 – 32 (midpoint = 20). This suggests that respondents rate their immediate supervisors moderately high in terms of internal procedural justice. This was the case regardless of respondent race/ethnicity or sex. Variation across respondent age, education level, rank, length of service, and division were also assessed using T-tests, ANOVA, and multiple regression. No significant differences were detected across these variables and none of these variables were significant predictors of officers' perception of their immediate supervisors in terms of internal procedural justice.

Interviews with officers confirmed these findings as the majority of officers interviewed expressed fewer frustrations with their immediate supervisors in comparison to the police administration. Officers generally seemed to feel more support from their direct supervisors,

typically sergeants and lieutenants. However, many officers interviewed also felt that supervisory and leadership training was lacking. They described feeling that the existing training as focused more on administrative tasks than the development of leadership skills. Both officers and supervisors themselves felt that more training regarding leadership and mentorship was needed. Some also felt that more training regarding ensuring adequate personnel supervision and discipline was necessary, but others argued that any supervision and discipline deficiencies were more attributable to low staffing and a relatively wide span of control.

Perceptions of Fairness

This section presents findings related to officers' perceptions of fairness within the HPD. General perceptions of fairness in treatment regardless of race/ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation are examined first. Assessing perceptions of overall fairness is useful, but disentangling specific aspects of fairness clarifies those perceptions and provides additional insight and opportunity for more targeted recommendations. Therefore, we also examine fairness related to: 1) job-related opportunities, 2) assignments to specialized units, 3) promotional procedures, and 4) discipline.

General Fairness

First, survey respondents were asked to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: I believe that this agency treats its employees the same regardless of race or ethnicity. On a scale from 1 – 4 with 4 = strongly agree and 1 = strongly disagree,[46] the overall sample mean was 2.3. Given that the midpoint or neutral point on this scale is 2.5, this indicates that on average, respondents somewhat disagreed that employees were treated the same regardless of race and ethnicity.[47]

To assess fairness in terms of treatment of men and women at the HPD, survey respondents were asked to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: I believe that this agency treats its employees the same regardless of gender. The mean response for the full sample was 2.4, suggesting that respondents somewhat disagreed that men and women were treated the same.[48]

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[46] Response options were: 4=strongly agree, 3=somewhat agree, 2=somewhat disagreed, and 1=strongly disagree.

[47] Mean comparisons were examined for this statement across groups (Appendix B). Although there is slight variation in the mean level of agreement for this statement, analysis of variance (ANOVA) results indicated that there were no significant differences between racial and ethnic groups. T-tests indicated there were no significant difference between males and females in their assessment of fair treatment regardless of race or ethnicity.

[48] ANOVA results confirmed that there were no significant differences between racial/ethnic groups. Mean comparisons by sex suggest that on average male respondents were slightly more likely to agree that the HPD treats employees the same regardless of gender in comparison to female respondents, although as a group they too somewhat disagreed. Further testing indicated that there were no significant differences between male and female officers in their responses.

Survey respondents were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: I believe that this agency treats its employees the same regardless of sexual orientation. Using a scale from 1 – 4 where higher values indicate stronger agreement with the statement, the mean response was 2.9. This suggests that respondents somewhat agreed that employees were treated the same regardless of sexual orientation.[49]

A summative scale was generated using the three statements discussed above, resulting in a scale from 3 – 12 with a midpoint of 7.5, where higher values indicate stronger agreement that the HPD treats employees fairly regardless of race/ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. The mean for the full sample was 7.7 suggesting that officers fall just above the midpoint of this scale and do not feel strongly in either direction. The reliability of combining all three of these questions into a single scale was assessed and determined to have strong reliability ($\alpha = 0.89$). Mean comparison testing indicated there were no significant differences between racial/ethnic groups on this scale, nor were there any significant differences between male and female respondents.

Job-Related Opportunities

Race/ethnicity

Survey respondents were asked to rate how much they agreed or disagreed on a scale from 1 – 4 (1 = strongly disagree and 4 = strongly agree) with the following two statements: 1) In this agency, white officers receive more opportunities than nonwhite officers and 2) In this agency, nonwhite officers receive more opportunities than white officers. The mean response for the first statement for the full sample was 1.9, suggesting that respondents somewhat disagreed that white officers receive more opportunities than nonwhite officers. The mean response for the second statement was 2.7, indicating that respondents somewhat agreed that nonwhite officers receive more opportunities than white officers. Overall, respondents indicated that nonwhite officers have more opportunities than white officers (60% somewhat agreed or strongly agreed). Whereas 23% of respondents somewhat agreed or strongly agreed that white officers receive more opportunities than nonwhite officers.

To determine whether this pattern in perception holds across different groups of officers, mean comparisons tests were conducted across racial/ethnic groups. Results indicated significant differences across racial/ethnic groups in terms of their mean response to the statement that white officers receive more opportunities than nonwhite officers.[50]

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[49] Although Hispanic respondents were in stronger agreement that employees were treated the same regardless of sexual orientation in comparison to other groups, no statistically significant differences between racial/ethnic groups were detected. Similarly, t-test results indicate there was no difference in the mean response for male and female respondents.

[50] Bonferroni post hoc tests were employed, and findings demonstrated that the mean response for White respondents significantly differed from that of Black respondents (diff = 1.66, $p = .000$) and Hispanic respondents (diff = 1.10, $p = .000$). There were no significant differences between White respondents and respondents of another racial/ethnic background, nor any differences between Black and Hispanic respondents, Black and other respondents, or Hispanic and other respondents.

These findings indicate that White respondents were significantly more likely than Black and Hispanic respondents to disagree that White officers receive more opportunities than nonwhite officers. In turn, when compared to White respondents, Black and Hispanic respondents were significantly more likely to agree that White officers receive more opportunities than nonwhite officers.

In terms of the second statement, examining whether officers think that nonwhite officers get more opportunities than white officers, significant group differences were detected. Post hoc tests reveal which racial/ethnic groups significantly differ from one another. In this case, the only significant difference was found when comparing White respondents to Black respondents (diff = -1.05, p = .03). This suggests that White respondents were significantly more likely than Black respondents to agree that nonwhite officers receive more opportunities than white officers. No other significant racial/ethnic group differences were detected.

Perception of fairness related to job-related opportunities across race were also assessed across other demographic characteristics and job-related characteristics. No significant differences across gender, age, or education level were found for either of the two statements.[51] T-test results indicated that patrol officers and officers from other divisions rated both statements similarly. Additionally, no significant differences across rank or length of service were found.

Gender

Respondents were asked to rate how much they agreed or disagreed on a scale from 1 – 4 (1 = strongly disagree and 4 = strongly agree) with the following two statements: 1) In this agency, female officers receive more opportunities than male officers and 2) In this agency, male officers receive more opportunities than female officers. The mean response for the first statement for the full sample was 2.6, suggesting that respondents somewhat agreed that female officers receive more opportunities than male officers. The mean response for the second statement was 2.1, indicating that respondents somewhat disagreed that male officers receive more opportunities than female officers. Overall, respondents indicated that female officers have more opportunities than male officers (59% of the full sample somewhat agreed or strongly agreed). Whereas 26% of respondents somewhat agreed or strongly agreed that male officers get more opportunities than female officers.

T-tests were used to examine whether there were significant differences between males and females in their perception of fairness in opportunities regardless of officer sex. Findings suggest that male respondents are significantly more likely than female respondents to agree that females are given more opportunities than male officers (t = -

[51] Analysis of variance (ANOVA) testing demonstrated moderately significant variation across the four age categories. Post hoc testing showed specifically that officers 50 years and older were more likely to agree that non-White officers get more opportunities than White officers, in comparison to officers 40-49 years old (diff = 0.84, p = 0.03). None of the other age group mean comparisons were significantly different.

2.14, p = .03). Similarly, results indicate that female respondents are significantly more likely than male respondents to agree that males are given more opportunities than female officers (t = 2.78, p = .007). This may suggest some level of in-group bias where male respondents feel as though female officers are given more opportunities and female respondents feel as though male officers are given more opportunities.

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) testing was used to determine if there were any significant differences across racial/ethnic groups in terms of their perception of fairness in opportunities for male and female officers. No significant differences across racial/ethnic groups were detected. Perception of fairness in opportunities across gender were also examined across other demographic characteristics and job-related characteristics. No significant differences across age groups were detected, but significant differences across education level were found related to the statement that male officers are given more opportunities than female officers. Specifically, mean comparison testing demonstrated that officers with a college degree (i.e., associates, bachelors, or more advanced) are significantly more likely to agree that male officers get more opportunities than female officers (t = -2.26, p = .03), in comparison to officers without a college degree (i.e., high school diploma, GED, or some college). No significant differences across division, rank, or length of service were found.

Positions & Assignments

In discussing positions, we refer to officer assignments into specialized divisions and/or special teams (e.g., Vice, Intelligence, & Narcotics; SWAT; Marine Division). In interviews with officers, most participants perceived a moderate degree of favoritism in internal positions and assignments, and this perception was confirmed with survey results. Survey respondents were asked to rate on a scale from 1 – 4, with 1 being extremely unfair and 4 being extremely fair, how fairly officer assignments to specialty units are handed out in their department. The mean response for the full sample was 2.2 suggesting that officers tend view assignment distribution as somewhat unfair. Approximately 31% of respondents indicated assignment distribution was extremely unfair, 25% indicated it was somewhat unfair, 35% indicated it was somewhat fair, and 9% thought it was extremely fair. Results indicate that regardless of sex or race/ethnicity, respondents view the process of being assigned to a specialty unit as somewhat unfair. Variation across other demographic characteristics were examined using T-tests and ANOVA. No significant differences across age or education level were detected, indicating respondents view the assignment process as somewhat unfair regardless of age and education level.

Job-specific characteristics in relation to perceived fairness of assignment distribution were assessed. Findings revealed that officers in divisions and units other than patrol were significantly more likely to view the assignment process as fairer than patrol officers (t = -3.89, p = .000). The mean response for patrol officers was 1.8 on a scale from 1 – 4 where 1 is extremely unfair and 4 is extremely fair, and the mean response for officers in any other division or unit was 2.5. Similarly, significant differences across officer rank were found. Post hoc tests revealed that detectives rated (mean = 2.6) the assignment process as significantly fairer than officers (mean = 1.8; diff = 0.87, p = 0.001). No other inter-rank differences were statistically significant. Length of service was

examined using four categories: 0 = 5 years on the job or less, 1 = 6 – 10 years, 2 = 11 – 15, 3 = 16 or more years. ANOVA results indicated significant variation across these categories in terms of perceived fairness in the assignment process. Post hoc test showed specifically that respondents with 11 to 15 years on the job were more likely to view the assignment process as fair (mean = 2.5) in comparison to officers with less than 5 years on the job (mean = 1.8; diff = 0.74, $p = 0.02$).

In interviews, officers felt that positions sometimes didn't go to the best candidates, but they were mixed in their explanations of the motivations behind these staffing decisions. Some felt that positions were the result of favoritism and "who knows who," but other officers felt it was strongly related to demographics. Amongst those who perceived the latter to be at play, they explained that people were pressured to diversify various units and teams by giving minority officers positions even if they were not among the most qualified candidates. Some interview participants even detailed their participation in selection processes for specialized positions in the past in which they felt pressured to choose a diverse candidate.

Officers described a lack of consistency and transparency in the procedures for assessing and appointing candidates for various positions. They said that sometimes position openings were posted while other times they were not posted or were only posted shortly before application materials were due. They also described differences in the interview process—sometimes all officers who met the basic qualifications received interviews while for other postings, only certain officers were interviewed.

Despite expressing perceptions of unfairness in this process, many officers also acknowledged the need for subjectivity. Officers noted that scoring the highest on an objective assessment does not guarantee the high scorer is the best person for the job, therefore commanders need some flexibility when determining who to select. In this way, officers felt that the selection process for assignments was necessary and generally accepted the risk of favoritism.

Officers also felt that while a moderate degree of unfairness and favoritism impacted assignment decisions, it had improved in recent years. Still, officers said that transparency and consistency would go a long way in making people feel more satisfied with the decisions that were made. Officers suggested that implementing consistent posting and application procedures and offering interviews to all candidates who met basic qualifications would substantially improve feelings toward assignment selection.

Promotions

The promotional process involves consistent procedures relying on more objective standards (see Section IV). To understand how officers feel about the promotional process, survey respondents were asked: how fair are the officer promotion procedures in this department (on a scale from 1 – 4, 1 = extremely unfair and 4 = extremely fair)? The mean response for the full sample was 2.6 suggesting that officers tend view the promotion procedures as somewhat fair. Approximately 17% of respondents indicated that the promotion procedures were extremely unfair, 22% indicated they were somewhat unfair, 46% indicated they were somewhat fair, and 15% thought they were extremely fair.

Male and female respondents had similar group means (male = 2.7 and female = 2.4) and a T-test indicated there were no significant differences between male and female respondents on this question. Although there was some variation in mean responses across different racial/ethnic groups (white respondents = 2.7, Black respondents = 2.2, Hispanic respondents = 2.4, other respondents = 2.0), analysis of variance (ANOVA) testing revealed that none of these racial/ethnic group differences were statistically significant. Taken together, these findings suggest that regardless of sex or race/ethnicity respondents would rate the promotion procedures in the HPD as somewhat fair. Variation across officer age and education level was also examined. No significant differences in perceived fairness as it relates to the promotional process were detected across education level or age.

Job-specific characteristics in relation to perceived fairness related to promotions were assessed. Despite significant differences across divisions, rank, and length of service being detected for fairness related to assignments, none of these job-related characteristics demonstrated significant differences for fairness related to promotions.

Although 61% of officers surveyed perceived the promotional process as either somewhat fair or extremely fair, interviews with officers highlight possible explanations for why 39% of officers surveyed believed this outwardly objective civil service process lacked legitimacy. The majority of officers interviewed perceived the promotional process to supervisory positions to be fair overall. When officers interviewed suggested that it was not fair, most pointed to practices under the purview of HR rather than the HPD. Officers expressed suspicion toward the practice of dropping questions from the written exam after the exam was scored and disagreed with instances in which the minimum passing score was lowered to move a larger and potentially more diverse pool of candidates to the next stage of the process. Officers expressed frustration that "now people have to compete for the job against people who actually failed the test." The officers interviewed explained that they understood and supported the need to diversify, but still felt that minimum standards had to be maintained and it was possible to find a way to ensure both.

Officers also described instances in which scores were calculated and published only for HR to find that they had made a mistake and needed to recalculate candidate scores. Referring to these instances of changing scores, officers said, "Right away, you've discredited the whole process." Several officers interviewed explained that publishing and then pulling back scores had happened several times. Even if the reasons for retracting scores are legitimate, officers said, "when you do things like that, it raises questions and people get upset."

These administrative scoring criticisms aside, many officers said that the promotional process for supervisory positions had improved in recent years. The testing process previously included an oral board which officers characterized as being overly subjective, lacking transparency, and resulting in extremely unfair scores. Now, candidates for supervisory promotions participate in an assessment center testing process and the officers interviewed considered this change to be very positive.

An additional reason why some officers surveyed may have assessed the promotional process as unfair is because the survey did not distinguish between perceptions of fairness in

supervisory promotions and perceptions of fairness in detective promotions. Officers interviewed characterized these as two very different processes resulting in differing perceptions of fairness. Some officers felt that historically, a proportion of detective promotions were awarded subjectively to whomever was in the most powerful social circles. While some received well-deserved promotions based on merit, others were perceived to have been promoted to detective based primarily on favoritism.

While an appointment to detective is a promotion in terms of salary, it is not a supervisory rank and does not follow a civil service testing process. Thus, appointments for detective promotions are much more subjective. However, a number of officers felt positively about a new detective trainee program that had been implemented in the HPD. Through this initiative, officers interested in a detective position in a particular division apply to a "detective trainee" position. Those who meet the minimum qualifications are interviewed, and the majority receive the opportunity to take part in a 90-day rotation through the division as a detective trainee. Once they complete their rotation, they return to patrol while others complete their 90-day period. After all detective trainees have completed rotations, selections are made for promotional appointments to detective based on the skills and work ethic officers demonstrated during their trainee rotation.

Officers interviewed felt that this process gave officers the opportunity to develop relationships with members and commanders of specialized units. It also gave commanders the opportunity to evaluate candidates' practical skills rather than relying on resumes and interviews alone. Officers cited instances in which they felt that an officer probably would not have had a shot at a position because he/she had a somewhat negative reputation or simply had not built a reputation at all. Instead, this initiative gave those officers a chance to demonstrate their abilities and be assessed fairly. Even if they did not receive a promotion, officers interviewed who had gone through this rotational trainee process felt that the skills they learned in the division made them much better officers when they returned to patrol.

Summary & Recommendations

Transparency & Communication

Officers working in the HPD perceive qualities of transformational leadership to be moderately low within the police administration. Given that respondents did not perceive the administration to regularly demonstrate the qualities and practices associated with a strong level of transformational leadership, efforts to address deficiencies related to communication from the police administration to officers, unfair treatment of officers by the administration, and insufficient efforts to foster cooperation and teamwork should be prioritized. Clear and transparent communication from management downward is essential. Findings indicated that communication and transparency in decision-making is especially lacking within the HPD. Officers indicated that official memos and emails that relayed modifications to policies and procedures were ineffective and lacked explanation. Notably, the HPD has responded to the initial discussion of findings from this study by attempting to find opportunities to increase departmental communication and involvement through the use of suggestion boxes and brief officer surveys regarding proposed changes to policy and practice.

Results indicated that officers viewed the police administration as legitimate but also lacking in their understanding of the tasks and challenges that officers face in their daily work. A common source of frustration among respondents was inadequate visibility and support from the command staff. Empirical evidence has demonstrated that command staff can build their credibility by making an effort to listen to officers at all level, engage officers via clear communication, and demonstrate their support for officers.[52] Support from the administration through recognition of officers' positive actions was desired by many participating officers. Taking the time to highlight the good work that officers do such as positive actions, helpful community interactions, or conscientious investigating/reporting can foster a supportive work environment, increase morale, build organizational commitment, and alleviate job-related stress.

Overall, HPD officers indicated that they feel more positively about their immediate supervisors and perceive that they demonstrate a moderately high level of internal procedural justice. Respondents agreed that their immediate supervisors treat their subordinates with dignity and respect, are impartial when making decisions, are interested in what subordinates have to say, and sufficiently explain the decisions they make. However, both officers and supervisors alike desired more supervisory training regarding mentorship and leadership development. Respondents suggested that existing training is focused primarily on administrative tasks and more training dedicated to becoming an effective leader was needed.

Recommendation 5.1: Command staff should seek input on potential orders and changes to policies from officers at all ranks in the HPD. Feedback should be solicited through multiple manners (e.g., forums, email) to ensure officers have the ability to offer input on changes prior to them being finalized.

Recommendation 5.2: Modifications to policies and procedures should be disseminated to officers with thorough explanations as to why such changes are being made. Additionally, the expected benefits of any change should be included to create buy-in and reduce punitive tone.

Recommendation 5.3: Command staff should consider the means of delivering updates to employees. Emails are useful and create a paper trail, but face-to-face interactions can provide more detailed information, relay rationale, and facilitate input/feedback.

Recommendation 5.4: Command staff should develop a strategy to increase their visits to roll calls and build authentic rapport and relationships with rank-and-file officers. Such a strategy should be long-term and adaptive to needs.

Recommendation 5.5: Utilize formal annual award ceremonies and regular informal acknowledgements via email or recognition during roll call to highlight officers' positive actions and good work.

[52]Hoggett et al., "Challenges for Police Leadership: Identity, Experience, Legitimacy, and Direct Entry."

Recommendation 5.6: Increase supervisor training to include/expand curricula focused on how to become a more effective leader and mentor.

Perceptions of Fairness

Officers' perceptions of fairness within the HPD were assessed in terms of general fairness and fairness related to job opportunities, assignments to specialty units, promotional procedures, and discipline. Overall, officers did not strongly agree nor strongly disagree that employees are treated fairly in the department regardless of race/ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. Fairness, particularly perceived fairness, is an essential component of fostering a just organizational climate. Additionally, inadequate organizational fairness impacts other critical areas of building a well-rounded, effective organization including employee compliance, commitment to the organization, and acceptance of decisions and changes.[53] Efforts to bolster fair practices and increase perceptions of fairness broadly among officers in the HPD are needed.

In assessing job-related opportunities, 60% of officers surveyed somewhat agreed or strongly agreed that nonwhite officers have more opportunities than white officers. White respondents were significantly more likely than Black respondents to agree that nonwhite officers receive more opportunities than white officers. Similarly, Black and Hispanic respondents were significantly more likely than White officers to agree that white officers receive more opportunities than nonwhite officers. These findings suggest some level of in-group bias where the racial/ethnic group one identifies as is perceived to have fewer job-related opportunities in comparison to other racial/ethnic groups.

59% of officers surveyed somewhat agreed or strongly agreed that female officers have more opportunities than male officers. Similar findings related to in-group bias by gender were found, such that male respondents are significantly more likely to feel as though female officers are given more opportunities and female respondents are significantly more likely to feel as though male officers are given more opportunities.

Many officers believe the distribution of positions and assignments to be somewhat unfair and perceived some level of favoritism within the process, but officers tended to feel that fairness had been improving. Most officers believed the promotional process to be somewhat fair, but they did express concerns about the transparency and accuracy of the HR administrative scoring process. This sentiment was consistent across respondent gender and race/ethnicity. Although under the purview of HR, rather than the HPD, common concerns related to questions being dropped or reducing the minimum passing score need to be addressed. Regardless of motive, officers perceived the recalculation of candidate scores as discrediting the process. Recommendations to improve HR's process is beyond the scope of this study, but the HPD and HR should work collaboratively to limit the use of these concern-causing practices. The use of the detective trainee program to facilitate the promotional process to detective was well-received by

[53] J. Greenberg, "Using Socially Fair Treatment to Promote Acceptance of a Work Site Smoking Ban," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 79, no. 2 (1994);

officers and fostered relationships across ranks, built opportunities for candidates to demonstrate their abilities, and taught trainees new skills.

Recommendation 5.7: Implement a performance evaluation management system for all personnel. This should be inclusive of periodic reviews, clear communication about expectations, progress monitoring, and conversations regarding feedback.

Recommendation 5.8: Design and implement consistent posting and application procedures for positions and assignments.

Recommendation 5.9: Offer interviews to all candidates who meet basic qualifications for a position or assignment. If the number of applicants exceeds interview capabilities, make the criteria for interview invitation clear and transparent.

Recommendation 5.10: Continue the use of assessment center testing processes for supervisory promotions.

Recommendation 5.11: Continue and consider expanding the use of the detective trainee program.

VI. WORKPLACE ENVIRONMENT

Introduction

This section presents findings related to the workplace environment, primarily focusing on support, acceptance, and respectful treatment from coworkers. Relationships with peers have important consequences for officer stress and satisfaction. Coworker support has been found to be an important predictor of stress levels among line officers, and support from peers may help buffer the effects of stressful encounters or supervisor mistreatment.[54] When officers have more coworker support, they report more job satisfaction, workplace involvement, and organizational commitment.[55] We present findings related to peer support and relationships, internal gossip and social media participation, and workplace issues specific to underrepresented groups. Analyses and results are presented first, and conclusions and recommendations are discussed at the end of this section.

Findings

Peer Support & Relationships

Nearly all of the officers interviewed said that the best part of their job was the camaraderie and the relationships they had built with their peers. Most officers interviewed felt accepted and respected at work, and they felt as if they worked in good teams with a lot of peer support. Many shared sentiments that, "everyone looks out for each other," and "it's like my second family here."

Surveys of officers confirmed these feelings. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with four statements to assess internal procedural justice among peers. A composite scale was generated from four items that addressed dignity and respect, neutrality, voice, and trustworthy motives. Higher values indicate that respondents agree that their peers: treat them with dignity and respect, treat fellow officers fairly and impartially, are open to input and suggestions, and show interest when they express their views and concerns (Figure 6.1).

These responses suggest that on average, respondents somewhat agree that their peers treat them with dignity and respect, treat them fairly and impartially, are open to input, and show interest in their views. T-tests and ANOVAs were conducted to compare mean responses across sex and race/ethnicity. Besides one exception, there were no significant differences between male and female respondents or respondents of different racial/ethnic backgrounds in terms of their assessment of their peers. One exception was found when comparing mean responses to the statement that peers are open to input and suggestions across male and female responses. Male respondents were significantly ($p < 0.05$) more likely to somewhat agree or strongly agree that peers are open to input (mean = 3.1) in comparison to female respondents (mean = 2.7).

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[54] Melissa Sloan, "Unfair Treatment in the Workplace and Worker Well-Being: The Role of Coworker Support in a Service Work Environment," *Work and Occupations* 39, no. 1 (2012).

[55] Dan Chiaburu and David Harrison, "Do Peers Make the Place? Conceptual Synthesis and Meta-Analysis of Coworker Effects on Perceptions, Attitudes, OCBs, and Performance," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 93, no. 5 (2008).

Figure 6.1. Internal Procedural Justice Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)

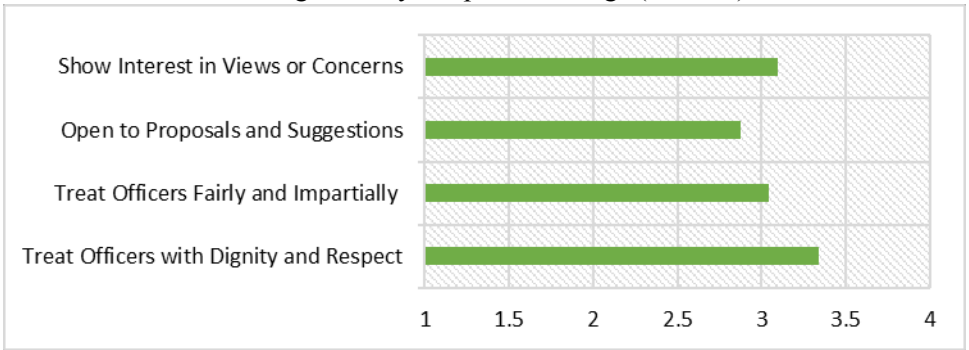
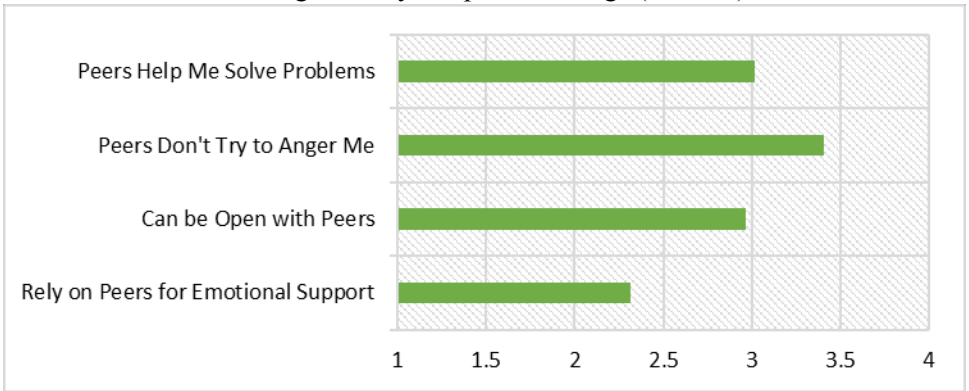


Figure 6.2. Peer Support Items
Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)



The composite scale for peer internal procedural justice yielded a mean of 12.4 on a scale from 4 – 16 (α = 0.87) with a midpoint of 10. This indicates that respondents rate their peers moderately high in terms of internal procedural justice. On this composite scale there were no significant differences across respondent sex or race/ethnicity.

To assess whether officers viewed their peers as supportive, survey respondents were also asked to rate their level of agreement with the following statements: I rely on my peers for emotional support, we are very open about what we think about things, my peers seem to like to make me mad,[56] and my peers are good at helping me solve problems (Figure 6.2). These four items were used to create a scale of peer support where higher values indicate stronger peer support. The mean for the full sample on the peer support scale was 11.7 on a scale from 4 – 16 (α = 0.74). This suggests that respondents view their peers as generally supportive. Mean comparisons across respondent sex and race/ethnicity suggest that this finding holds across groups and no significant differences were detected.

[56] This item was reverse coded.

Although the majority of officers surveyed and interviewed felt positively about their peers, several officers interviewed acknowledged some instances throughout their careers when someone had made an offensive comment, or they found themselves in a conflict with a coworker. However, these were often characterized as rare events, and they described them to be conflicts that would arise in any workplace or "family." The officers interviewed explained that they felt comfortable addressing people directly if a conflict arose, and they were often confident that the direct discussion would resolve the issue. Many did not feel that conflicts with peers were significant issues because, "when I have addressed them, they were done."

Inter-Generational Disconnect

Many officers mentioned difficulties managing relationships between senior officers and newer, younger officers. More senior officers frequently described new officers as having a "sense of entitlement." They explained feeling that the younger generation did not exhibit the level of respect and deference to authority that is expected in paramilitary organizations. One officer said, "When I first got hired, I would never question a boss if they asked me to do something" and another explained that officers can speak up and question others "once you establish yourself as a hard worker and you're competent." Senior officers explained that the mentality when they got on the job was that you "keep your mouth shut, learn your job, and maybe after a few years, you could speak up."

Frustrations from more senior officers didn't just revolve around paramilitary etiquette, but also in their feeling that younger officers expected to achieve specialized positions very quickly without taking the time to learn their jobs and "pay their dues." Said one officer, "You have officers now that come on the job that have less than a year on and not only want, but expect, to get a position or special assignment right away." More senior officers described younger officers as lacking work ethic and being unable to accept constructive criticism. They felt that younger officers complained when they were criticized or didn't get what they wanted. These perceptions created some ongoing tension between new officers and more senior officers.

Some officers felt that these issues might be helped with more formal and informal mentoring especially focusing on social etiquette and bonding. "I think the veteran officers are not teaching the younger officers … listen and teach them the job, but also teach them that there's things beyond the job." Putting aside opinions about the right or wrong workplace orientations and attitudes, officers emphasized a need to build the team mentality among officers, increase bonding, and enhance mutual understanding between these groups.

Internal Gossip & Social Media

Because officers value internal camaraderie so strongly in the police department, they were especially disheartened with instances of negative rumors and gossip. Officers interviewed said that some people create their own problems and a negative environment by making assumptions and spreading rumors. Some officers felt that negative gossip was often motivated by jealousy and greed while others felt it was due to officers' inability to just talk to one another face-to-face.

Several officers explained that there were more internal cliques now compared to earlier in their careers, and those cliques disrupt cohesiveness through the department, resulting in an environment that pits "blue against blue." They felt that the formation of cliques led to power struggles and the spreading of rumors. For many who thought they were entering the cohesive family of law enforcement, this had a more demoralizing effect. One officer explained that previously, "you could always rely on each other and in this day and age and in this climate, you can't."

Officers explained that it sometimes felt like gossip was driven by jealousy and greed. Some officers said that others made up rumors about officers who got certain positions or worked more overtime hours. These sources of stress quickly compound when officers, who expected to face stress and danger in their daily operations, now find themselves worrying about internal issues and peers. As one officer explained, "You have to worry about the streets … and you have to worry about your peers… And then you have to worry about your administration." Police officers often describe their department environment as being like "high school" in terms of gossip, and HPD is no different in that it also seems to suffer from the negative effects of professional and personal workplace gossip.

Throughout the course of our interviews, we spoke with officers who were deeply negatively affected by hurtful rumors and comments spread throughout the department. Often, they felt they had no recourse for addressing those issues because they spread so quickly throughout the agency and made it difficult to find and confront a source. Additionally, several officers expressed distrust toward the department's Employee Assistance Program (EAP), an issue that has anecdotally been mentioned to affect other police departments as well.

Outside of internal gossip, many of the officers interviewed also mentioned the toll that social media outlets had taken on the department. Officers were less concerned with traditional social media outlets (e.g., Facebook, Twitter) and more concerned with activity on public blogs that allow site visitors to post comments anonymously. They said that a small group of officers turns to posting anonymous comments online which can then substantially negatively affect the people they target due to community, news media, and political attention. This topic was very frequently brought up in our interviews, and nearly every officer interviewed who spoke about this blog described it as being an online environment that was "toxic" to the department. Officers explained that negative comments can "cause heartache for the Chief and the families of officers who are written about." Officers said that people "spread misinformation and terrible rumors" and when an officer gets accused of something, "he's getting dragged through the mud whether he did it or not."

Officers said that their issues revolved less around the articles and much more around the anonymous comments posted in response to each of these articles. They said that the comment section of this website turns into a "feeding frenzy" and that it ends up creating the public perception that there's more drama than there really is. Several of the officers interviewed had direct experience being the subject of a post and/or comments on the blog. Each of these officers relayed similar experiences of how it had deeply affected them and members of their families and caused extreme levels of stress and anger. It furthermore made them feel on-guard at work since

they couldn't be sure who had written comments or provided information that was so personally hurtful.

Officers felt like in addition to creating undue stress to officers targeted online, these activities paint the police department as a whole in a bad light and "detract from the majority of officers who work here who are positive and do great things." As noted earlier, officers felt as though their hard work and examples of good policing were neglected by the administration. This, in combination with the negative impact of internal gossip and public scrutiny often based on what officers described as misinformation, makes it particularly hard to want to come to work, according to many officers who were interviewed.

Although the effects of this online blog were a significant concern among officers interviewed, a civil suit was filed against the site manager while data collection was in process. This suit seeks action that would reveal the identities of those making inflammatory comments online. Though author stories are still posted routinely, comment activity on the blog website has decreased substantially, and we suspect that concern over this online source has also decreased slightly among HPD officers.

Group-Specific Issues

The following sections detail issues and concerns voiced by members of underrepresented groups in the HPD. Though these issues were not mentioned by the majority of interview respondents overall, they were discussed by several officers identifying as members of each of the following minority groups. This insight is especially valuable because considering and addressing the specific perceptions and needs of underrepresented groups is crucial for building a fair, just, and accepting police department.

Nonwhite Officers

Of our interviews, 34% were conducted with officers who identify as a race/ethnicity other than white. One internal issue expressed by some nonwhite officers was an occasional lack of cultural competency on behalf of their fellow officers. Nonwhite officers commonly expressed sentiments like, "most of the guys are okay," and felt that the majority of their peers were accepting and respectful. However, they noted rare instances in which their peers made remarks that they felt were insensitive or disrespectful. Speaking of one interaction in which a peer officer made an offensive comment, a nonwhite officer described, "It was a little insensitive … It was very uncomfortable. It happens sometimes and it's offhand, and maybe they mean it and maybe they don't." When these instances happened, nonwhite officers often felt that the comments made weren't intentionally disrespectful or malicious. Instead, several felt that it might be beneficial to find ways to increase cultural competency and sensitivity among their peers so that they understand why a comment would be hurtful or offensive and when they're crossing boundaries.

Some officers also noted the need for more administrative interest in achieving meaningful and impactful diversity throughout the department. While staffing diversity might be sufficient on its face, some highlighted the need to consider the realistic impacts of minimal minority representation in some divisions. For example, units that frequently police street-level disorder

and drug crimes (e.g. VIN) should consider how substantially increasing visible minority representation in the division might help them achieve more community trust and legitimacy. Additionally, since policing has historically been dominated by white males, nonwhite officers are likely to experience more hesitancy toward entering the profession. When those in instructor and mentor positions are predominantly white, this may confirm existing skepticism regarding acceptance and equal access to opportunities for racial/ethnic minorities. Increasing the representation of nonwhite officers in the training academy and amongst field training officers (FTOs) could increase feelings of confidence and empowerment for new recruits and officers of color, and it may enhance perceptions of equality amongst white recruits and officers as well. For the benefit of the department as a whole, these are divisions and positions where the department should strive to achieve more ambitious diversity goals that are beyond minimum statistical proportionality.

Externally, officers of color voiced frequent experiences of double marginality. Comments regarding peers occasionally lacking cultural competency suggest that they sometimes feel marginalized in the department, and they also sometimes feel rejected by their own racial/ethnic community in the city. One officer expressed that it was sometimes a negative experience dealing with the community because they'd criticize him if he was forced to arrest a fellow Hispanic person. Another officer explained that "somehow they think I'm betraying the culture and things like that." A third nonwhite officer described his frustration by saying, "I know the community wants the police department to be more reflective of them… You want me to be there but when I'm there it's seen as a negative because I'm selling you out or betraying something."

Nonwhite officers do have some avenues of resources and support within the HPD. The Hartford Guardians organization, originally formed in 1962, focuses on ensuring the equal rights and professional advancement of Black officers. Similarly, the Hispanic Officers Association (HOA), formed in 1984, works for the progression of Hispanic/Latinx officers and engages in activities to preserve the culture both within the HPD and the Hartford community. Members of both groups engage in community outreach and engagement activities including providing meals and essentials to residents in need, conducting holiday drives for local youths and families, and visiting classrooms to talk to young people in Hartford about law enforcement careers. Importantly, their existence also provides a way for officers to share common experiences and concerns and develop means to address them collaboratively.

Female Officers

Female officers emphasized the need for improvements to physical infrastructure and accommodations for women. Several women noted that the women's locker room was too small and that they no longer have space for all officers. Given that the current public safety complex is relatively new, having opened in 2012, they were frustrated that the city hadn't adequately planned for increasing numbers of female officers. In light of these concerns, the administration has begun planning renovation efforts to make sure that this capacity issue is remedied.

Women also wished the department made better accommodations for breastfeeding officers returning to work. While the department provides accommodations as required by law,

officers said that there were no designated lactation rooms, and that plans were developed as needed. As the department plans to continue hiring more females, female officers expressed a need to make the workplace more accommodating of achieving work-life balance for women. As one officer lamented, "You've said you wanted to hire more women for the past decade, so why did you build this building with no lactation room and a locker room that isn't big enough?"

Overall, both women and men opposed the narrative that sexual harassment was rampant in the department. They cautioned that they weren't discounting any officer's claims, but they felt it important to recognize that any actions alleged are not reflective of the whole department. Some women mentioned encountering sexist jokes or comments, but they did not portray these as frequent occurrences, and it was not a significant area of concern discussed by most of those interviewed.

When women discussed the sexist or vulgar jokes or comments sometimes made by their peers, they often stated that women often make comments that are just as crude as the men. One officer stated, "If you're offended by how a male counterpart talks to you, why are you talking the same way to him? The same inappropriate way." The same officer went on to explain that in a case like that, "Yes, he's wrong. But she's just as wrong." Research of women in male-dominated workplaces had noted that women might engage in these similar behaviors to "fit in" with male coworkers and gain acceptance. Still, this suggests that rather than focusing efforts on male officers only, it is likely necessary to bolster professionalism and recognition of appropriate conduct throughout the entire department.

The comments of both men and women also suggested that women may be further pushed outside of core department social networks due to tensions evolving from recent complaints and controversies. They explained feeling that male officers now hold back from interacting with female officers because they're concerned that comments or looks may be taken the wrong way. One officer explained that "it has a cooling factor on the ability to even just communicate and function." Women should feel empowered to file formal complaints regardless of the reactions of male peers, but since both male and female officers value their relationships with peers, this ripple effect was a concern for several. This unintended consequence highlights the need for the police department to incorporate and emphasize additional avenues for informal conflict resolution so that both men and women can safely and comfortably address conflicts and misunderstandings before they rise to the level of formal discipline and will thus feel more comfortable building workplace relationships.

Finally, the HPD appears to also experience a phenomenon that has been noted to take place in other police departments as well. Female officers tend to police other female officers, branding their conduct as inappropriate and creating tension and divisiveness within the group. One woman mentioned that the PD previously had a women's group, but it fell apart due to internal tension. Several women also complained that female officers, especially newer and younger officers, cause trouble when they sleep with male officers, and they condemned those women (rather than the involved men) that did so. When women openly criticize other female officers, they call attention to nonexistent flaws or perceived flaws based upon double standards. This is a practice commonly observed to be undertaken by male officers in order to undermine the status

and abilities of female officers. Consequently, when this criticism is practiced by female officers, it further assists efforts to invalidate the presence of women in policing and helps maintain women's status as outsiders in the police department.

The HPD is hopeful that a newly formed group, Police Organization for Women's Equality and Rights (POWER), will help increase bonding and solidarity among female officers. Since women make up a small proportion of sworn officers, the POWER group may be capable of aiding officers in giving a louder voice to the unique issues and oversights that impact workplace experiences of women. Strengthening bonds may also reduce divisive attitudes that work to hold female officers back and allow women to unite in progressing and advancing as a group.

LGBTQ+ Officers

As previously noted in our discussion of methods (see Section II), very few survey or interview participants identified as a sexual orientation other than straight/heterosexual. Although this limits our discussion of the experiences of officers within the HPD specifically, existing research regarding LGBTQ+ employees in masculinized workplaces can offer some guidance as to the issues that officers may be likely to experience. Law enforcement has had a turbulent relationship with the LGBTQ+ community, and LGBTQ+ individuals have historically been subjected to verbal, physical, and sexual abuse by the police. Evidence suggests even in recent years, many LGBTQ+ people continue to hold negative perceptions toward the police. This, coupled with ideas that police departments may be too militarized or hyper-masculinized to be accepting of LGBTQ+ officers, can potentially deter community members from seeking jobs as police officers.

For those who do enter law enforcement, perceptions of discrimination in promotions, assignments, and evaluations seem common.[57] Officers are likely to feel that since their actions and behaviors may not align with heterosexual and/or masculine norms, they're assessed less positively than their peers. In their social interactions with fellow officers, research suggests that LGBTQ+ officers are commonly exposed to homophobic comments, and many also feel that they are treated as outsiders from more powerful in-groups in the department.[58] Studies have indicated that when negative perceptions toward LGBTQ+ officers exist in a department, they can proliferate throughout the agency and significantly impact the workplace culture.[59] However, when a department creates a supportive environment promoting the positive treatment of LGBTQ+ officers, those actions can go a long way in making officers feel supported and accepted.[60]

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[57] Roddrick Colvin, "Shared Perceptions Among Lesbian and Gay Police Officers: Barriers and Opportunities in the Law Enforcement Work Environment." *Police Quarterly* 12, no.1 (2009): 86-101.
[58] Mark Charles and Leah Rose Arndt, "Gay- and Lesbian-Identified Law Enforcement Officers: Intersection of Career and Sexual Identity." *The Counseling Psychologist* 41, no.8 (2013): 1153-1185.
[59] Colvin, "Shared Perceptions Among Lesbian and Gay Police Officers: Barriers and Opportunities in the Law Enforcement Work Environment."
[60] Vincenza Priola et al., "The Sound of Silence: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Discrimination in 'Inclusive Organizations'" *British Journal of Management* 25, (2014) 488-502.

Though the officers we surveyed and interviewed did not report experiences with exclusion, mistreatment, or harassment as a result of their sexual orientation, it is reasonable to assume that some of these marginalizing experiences exist and occur in the HPD as well. The HPD has attempted to strengthen inclusivity and unite LGBTQ+ individuals in the police department and the community through the formation of an LGBTQ+ affinity group. The group would be focused on community outreach activities and building connections with local residents, but as of the publication of this report, the department has been unable to find any officers who are interested in leading the group.

Summary & Recommendations

Peer Support & Relationships

Workplace support and acceptance by peers have important consequences for job satisfaction, officer stress, and organizational commitment. Findings suggest that overall, officers feel accepted and respected at work. In interviews, officers frequently described department camaraderie as one of the most positive aspects of their job. In surveys, officers rated their peers high in internal procedural justice. This indicates that officers feel their peers treat them very fairly and respectfully. Survey respondents also rated their peers high in support, indicating that officers feel that their peers help them solve problems and are willing to provide both job-related and emotional support. When responses were examined by groups, there were no statistically significant differences in how female or racial/ethnic minority officers felt about their peers.

Although the majority of officers surveyed and interviewed felt positively about their peers, several officers still mentioned some shortcomings of their relationships. First, officers did mention that conflicts sometimes arose between coworkers, but many felt that they were able to resolve such conflicts directly. Many felt able to initiate discussions about interpersonal problems and explained that confronting their issues with others often resolved them. That officers seem generally receptive to informal conflict resolution is a positive feature of the HPD's workplace dynamic. Although the majority of officers subjected to what they perceived to be problematic behavior felt comfortable personally addressing problems, this may not be the case for all officers, especially those subjected to a power dynamic. The HPD should capitalize on the general willingness to address and resolve problems informally by implementing additional structures to help the victims of problem behaviors step forward in a non-intimidating environment.

Second, many of the officers interviewed described difficulties managing relationships between senior officers and newer, younger officers. Veteran officers frequently viewed new officers as displaying a sense of entitlement in their daily interactions and their job-related expectations. They described younger officers as lacking respect, patience, and work ethic. These feelings suggest a need for implementing more formal and informal mentoring programs between direct supervisors and officers to convey standards of social etiquette, improve bonding, and foster mutual understanding.

Third, officers were frustrated with widespread gossip in the police department and the damaging effects it had to overall department morale. Officers interviewed said that some people spread assumptions and rumors because they want to damage reputations for their own benefit or

were jealous of others' achievements. Officers felt that this was exacerbated by anonymous comments posted to a public blog, where some officers made statements or spread negative rumors that had the power to substantially affect officers' work lives.

> ***Recommendation 6.1***: Increase training and programs for methods of informal conflict resolution.
>
> ***Recommendation 6.2***: Explore semi-annual opportunities for team-building sessions and events both at work and outside of work.
>
> ***Recommendation 6.3***: Build mentorship programs that focus on strengthening bonds and increasing mutual understanding between younger and more senior officers.
>
> ***Recommendation 6.4***. Review and strengthen policies regarding workplace gossip and social media activity.
>
> ***Recommendation 6.5***: Direct additional administrative and peer support resources toward officers targeted in online outlets.

Group-Specific Issues

Since considering and addressing the specific perceptions and needs of underrepresented groups is crucial for building a fair, just, and accepting police department, we explored the group-specific concerns discussed by the HPD officers interviewed. We considered the experiences of racial/ethnic minority officers, female officers, and LGBTQ+ officers.

Nonwhite officers largely felt accepted and respected by their peers. They enjoyed their work in the community but also sometimes felt that they were doubly marginalized—occasionally finding themselves outcast among their peers and occasionally finding themselves criticized by their racial/ethnic groups in the community. Two main internal concerns emerged among racial/ethnic minority officers. First, nonwhite officers described an occasional lack of cultural competency by their fellow officers. They noted that their peers sometimes made comments they perceived to be insensitive or disrespectful but felt that their intentions were rarely malicious. Instead, they felt that the department might benefit from efforts to increase cultural competency to that they understand why certain comments or jokes might cross the line and offend their peers.

Some nonwhite officers also expressed the need to consider particular divisions that would benefit from increased racial/ethnic minority representation. Specifically, some officers identified VIN, the training academy, and FTO positions as needing more diversity because of the internal and/or external impact and visibility those officers might have. A more diverse VIN unit, which tends to primarily police drug and disorder crimes in communities of color, might foster more community trust and improve police legitimacy. Increasing racial/ethnic minority representation in the training academy and FTO positions might increase perceptions of department-wide fairness and acceptance among new recruits and officers. These units and positions would likely benefit from more ambitious diversity goals that are beyond statistical proportionality.

Female officers also primarily expressed feeling accepted and respected by their peers and members of the community. During interviews with female officers, three internal areas of concern were discussed. First, women noted that improvements to the physical infrastructure were needed. They explained that the women's locker room was too small and couldn't accommodate all female officers. Women also wished the department made better accommodations for breastfeeding officers returning to work. Female officers explained that while the department always worked to provide the accommodations required by law as needed, there were no designated lactation rooms. While making sure officers are accommodated as needed is important, ensuring that the HPD has a designated lactation room and amenities communicates to female officers that they are welcomed, valued, and that their needs are considered.

Second, although the female officers interviewed did not feel that sexual or gender-based harassment behaviors were widespread, they did describe occasional occurrences of being subjected to sexist and/or vulgar jokes or comments. However, the women interviewed also explained that female officers made jokes and comments that they felt were just as crude, and they didn't feel that it was fair to focus on male officers alone. These feelings suggest that the HPD must focus efforts on bolstering professionalism and the recognition of appropriate conduct throughout the entire department. Interview participants also suggested that tensions from recent complaints and controversies may be having negative effects on interactions between female and male officers as officers seek to avoid becoming the subject of a complaint. Especially in the strongly bonded police culture, it's possible that officers subjected to harassment behaviors may become less willing to report problematic behavior as these tensions and frustrations grow because they are fearful of the social stigma associated with implicating a fellow officer. This unintended consequence highlights the need for the police department to incorporate and emphasize additional avenues for informal conflict resolution so that both men and women can safely address conflicts and misunderstandings before they rise to the level of formal discipline. Third, female officers described division among women themselves.

Finally, although very few survey or interview participants identified as a sexual orientation other than straight/heterosexual, existing research provides some insight into how LGBTQ+ officers might experience the police department. LGBTQ+ officers may be assessed or evaluated less positively than their peers, may be exposed to homophobic comments, and may feel that they are treated as outsiders. Promisingly, studies suggest that when a department creates a supportive environment promoting the positive treatment of LGBTQ+ officers, those actions can go a long way in making officers feel supported and accepted.

> ***Recommendation 6.6***: Implement cultural competency curricula to aid officers in identifying and/or addressing insensitive and offensive comments.
>
> ***Recommendation 6.7***: Charge the Diversity Task Force (see Section IV) with creating specific divisional/positional diversity goals in consideration of their roles, responsibilities, and impacts.
>
> ***Recommendation 6.8***: Offer support and seek ways to expand open communication channels with the Hartford Guardians and Hispanic Officers Association.

Recommendation 6.9: Continue working to address the infrastructure shortcomings that negatively impact the experiences of female officers.

Recommendation 6.10: Consistently review and revise sexual harassment policies to ensure they communicate intolerance and emphasize strong disciplinary responses, but implement such policies alongside informal channels for reporting harassment behaviors to reduce the risk that victim reporting will decrease as disciplinary severity increases.

Recommendation 6.11: Offer support to the newly developed POWER group as it seeks to increase connection among female officers.

VII. DISCIPLINE, MISCONDUCT, AND HARASSMENT

Introduction

This section presents findings related to discipline, misconduct, and harassment. Discipline and harassment, including sexual, race-based, sexual orientation-based, and general workplace harassment are assessed primarily using officer perceptions gathered via surveys and interview. Subsequently, we analyze IAD and EEO cases to identify the contributing factor(s) or root cause(s) of an incident, or in this case the occurrence of workplace conflict, discrimination, and/or harassment, and provide ways to address the cause. Rather than seeking to fault any individual in a case, the review process is structured to enable the identification of organizational and/or managerial weaknesses or errors and in turn, provide solutions at the organizational level to reduce the likelihood of a similar incident occurring in the future. Disentangling potential organizational weaknesses that contribute to cases of workplace discrimination and/or harassment is critical for assessing any organization's climate because such weakness and in turn, cases, have extensive implications from the individual victims in a case to financial costs for the organization and the erosion of officer and community trust in the police department. This section first presents analyses and results, followed by a discussion of conclusions and recommendations.

Findings

Discipline

To assess perceived fairness in the disciplinary process, survey respondents were asked: how fairly are the regulations defining officer misconduct applied in this department? A scale from 1 – 4 was used where 1 = extremely unfair and 4 = extremely fair. The mean response for the full sample was 2.5, suggesting that on average, respondents fall between somewhat unfair and somewhat fair on this question. Approximately 21% indicated that regulations defining officer misconduct were applied extremely unfairly, 25% indicated it was applied somewhat unfairly, 38% indicated it was applied somewhat fairly, and 16% thought it was applied extremely fairly. Taken together, respondents were split nearly in half with 47% of respondents indicating the disciplinary process was unfair (either somewhat or extremely) and 53% of respondents indicating the disciplinary process was fair (either somewhat or extremely).

Consistent with views on fairness in promotions and assignments presented in Section V: Transparency, Communication, and Fairness, male and female respondents did not significantly differ in their views on fairness related to discipline (male = 2.5 and female = 2.5). Moreover, no racial/ethnic group differences were detected in terms of views related to the application of discipline (mean response for White respondents = 2.5, Black respondents = 2.4, Hispanic respondents = 2.4, and other respondents = 2.8). Additionally, perceived fairness of the disciplinary process was consistent across education level and age. Findings from the officer survey suggest that respondents have neutral views (between somewhat unfair and somewhat fair) toward the application of regulations defining officer misconduct regardless of respondent demographic characteristics.

Although perceptions of fairness related to discipline were invariant across respondent demographic characteristics, the potential for variation across job-related characteristics such as division, length of service, and rank were assessed. No significant differences were detected across respondent rank, but significant variation in perceptions of fairness related to discipline were found across respondent division and length of service. Patrol officers (mean = 2.19) rated the disciplinary process as significantly less fair than officers in any other division or unit (mean = 2.73; $t = -2.88$, $p = 0.005$). Across the four length of service categories, a significant difference in perceived fairness related to discipline was detected between respondents with 6 to 10 years on the job (mean = 1.9) versus respondents with over 15 years on the job (mean = 2.84; diff = 0.91, $p = 0.04$). Differences between other length of service categories were not significant.

In the HPD, the Internal Affairs Division (IAD) investigates citizen complaints, internal administrative complaints, and criminal complaints against officers. In 2019, the HPD received 81 complaints, or about 0.2 complaints per officer. In other words, one officer receives about one citizen complaint every five years. This rate is similar to that of other city police departments in the Northeast.[61] Most officers interviewed felt that discipline in the department was fair. They felt that IAD investigated citizen and officer complaints objectively, and many said that officers in IAD in recent years were especially fair. Even when officers did not have personal interactions or experiences with IAD, they perceived disciplinary actions and outcomes as largely being reasonable and unbiased. Interview participants also noted that as police officers, they support officers being punished when blatant violations occur, and they would not want those who intentionally engage in misconduct to be protected.

However, at the same time that many officers felt the process was fair, many also gave contradictory statements and described feeling that outcomes were sometimes "mysterious." They felt that some officers seemed to get punished while others got a pass. Officers who mentioned these inconsistent outcomes also provided varying explanations for why they believed these differences occurred. Some perceived disciplinary outcomes to largely depend on personal and familial connections, with favored individuals receiving lighter discipline. Others suggested that the department was more fearful of meting out punishment to minority officers, so they often received lighter discipline. Regardless of their perceptions of the motivation leading to unfair outcomes, many officers acknowledged that they could not accurately assess fairness because they were not privy to the details of incidents or the reasons why certain punishments were given or not given.

Officers interviewed said that a change in the police administration in 2018 led to a focus on enforcing more internal officer accountability, and most welcomed this change. Many expressed feeling like too many people were previously "getting a pass" in the department and it was upsetting to see issues "get swept under the rug." In that way, they viewed the increased focus on officer accountability as a "breath of fresh air." Similar to their overall perceptions of

[61] Based on publicly available administrative data from the New York City Police Department, Boston Police Department, and New Haven Police Department.

disciplinary fairness, officers in the department also sometimes described mixed feelings toward this change.

Although they wanted to see more accountability, some officers cautioned that it can occasionally feel like they have gone "from one extreme to the next." They mentioned examples of when they thought that IAD and/or the police administration were searching and handing out punishments for very minor violations. Whether they assessed it positively or negatively, officers' feeling that discipline has increased is not unfounded. In terms of citizen complaint investigations alone, it does appear that a larger number of officers may have faced discipline as a result of sustained citizen complaints. In the FY 2018, the HPD sustained 13% (N = 9) of citizen complaints received, and in FY 2019, 17% (N = 21) were sustained. This is a substantial increase over the 3% sustained in FY 2017 and 1% sustained in FY 2016. It is possible that this shift relates to the administration change in 2018, and the rollout of body-worn cameras in early 2019 may have continued to amplify this effect as well.

Finally, officers noted frustrations with the level of media and political influence of officer discipline. They explained that if an event gets media attention, the department becomes pressured to do something harsh whereas the disciplinary outcome would have been more reasonable if there was no media or political attention to the case. The officers interviewed described some incidents receiving public attention that they felt deserved the harsh discipline they received and other incidents in the public eye for which officers received a punishment they felt was much too severe.

Examination of Workplace Harassment

Sexual & Gender-Based Harassment

This study utilizes a common characterization of sexual harassment as comprising three different types of behaviors: 1) unwanted sexual attention (e.g., unwanted advances, unwanted touching), 2) sexual coercion (e.g., bribes, threats for sexual activity), and 3) gender-based harassment (e.g., offensive, gender-based and/or sexist jokes and comments). Since singular direct inquiries regarding whether a respondent feels he/she has experienced sexual harassment yield much lower rates of reporting than questions regarding behavioral experiences,[62] this study used eight behaviorally descriptive items.

Establishing baselines and averages for the prevalence of sexual harassment across workplaces has remained difficult, but researchers have acknowledged that women working in male-dominated fields are at an increased risk for experiencing harassing behaviors.[63] A 2014 study found that a range of 30 – 41% of women working in university, court, and military settings experienced gender harassment behaviors, and about 15 – 33% of women working in university

[62] Remus Ilies et al., "Reported Incidence Rates of Work-Related Sexual Harassment in the United States: Using Meta-Analysis to Explain Reported Rate Disparities," *Personnel Pscyhology* 56, no. 3 (2003).
[63] Anne O'Leary-Kelly et al., "Sexual Harassment at Work: A Decade (Plus) of Progress," *Journal of Management* 35 (2009).

and court settings experienced some form of sexual attention harassment.[64] Additionally, a recent examination of harassment in academic settings found that more than 50% of female faculty and staff had encountered or experienced sexually harassing conduct.[65] Recent studies on sexual harassment in law enforcement are limited, but a 1992 personnel survey of females working in protective services (police officers and firefighters) in Los Angeles indicated that 48% of female police officers and firefighters experienced some form of sexual harassment at work. In comparison to all other categories of city employees, women in protective services experienced the highest rate of sexual harassment yet the lowest rate of formal complaints.[66] Similarly, an older study (1988) reported that 68% of female officers had experienced sexual harassment at work.[67] A more recent survey (2018) of both sworn and civilian female and male officers in Los Angeles indicated 17.7% had been sexually harassed at work and 15.2% had witnessed sexual harassment at work.[68]

Importantly, research has established that men also experience forms of sexual harassment in the workplace, and research suggests that this may often be related to criticisms of deviations from traditionally masculine expectations. In the above-referenced 2014 study, researchers also found that a range of 21 – 46% of men in university, court, and military settings experienced gender harassment while about 18 – 27% of men working in university and court settings experienced sexual attention harassment.[69]

Officer survey respondents were asked about sexual harassment with eight questions about victimization experiences during the prior year. Two statements pertained to sexual attention harassment, two questions pertained to sexual coercion harassment, and four statements pertained to gender harassment. Of note, legal definitions of workplace harassment often require such harassing behavior to occur repeatedly such that someone's continued actions would create an uncomfortable or hostile working environment. An offhand remark or joke occurring only once likely would not constitute workplace harassment. In exploring the presence of harassment behaviors in this survey, we capture the number of respondents who have experienced any of these behaviors at least once in the past year. Therefore, relative to legal boundaries, these are more liberal estimates of the presence of workplace harassment.

Approximately 3.7% (N = 4) of the sample reported experiencing one or more of the two sexual attention harassment behaviors at least once in the last year and 96% (N = 104) of the

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[64] Dana Kabat-Farr and Lilia Cortina, "Sex-Based Harassment in Employment: New Insights into Gender and Context," *Law and Human Behavior* 38, no. 1 (2014).

[65] National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, *Sexual Harassment of Women: Climate, Culture, and Consequences in Academic Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2018.

[66] Los Angeles Commission on the Status of Women. *"*Report on the City of Los Angeles 1992 Sexual Harassment Survey." Los Angeles, 1992.

[67] Samuel Janus, Cynthia Janus, Lesli Lord, and Thomas Power, "Women in Police Work-Annie Oakley or Little Orphan Annie*." Police Studies* 11, no. 3 (1988): 124-127.

[68] The Personnel Department of the City of Los Angeles. "Sexual Harassment Discrimination Complaint Procedure and Policy Update." Los Angeles, 2018.

[69] Kabat-Farr and Cortina, "Sex-Based Harassment in Employment: New Insights into Gender and Context."

Table 7.1. Sexual Harassment Incidents (Counts) by Sex and Race/Ethnicity

	Full Sample	Female	Male	White	Non-White
Make unwanted attempts to engage in sexual activities	3	2	1	2	1
Touch you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable	2	0	2	2	0
Make you feel like you were being bribed to engage in sexual behavior	0	–	–	–	–
Make you feel threatened for not being sexually cooperative	0	–	–	–	–

sample reported never experiencing any sexual attention harassment behaviors in the prior year. Out of the 4 respondents who experienced sexual attention harassment, 2 identified as male and 2 identified as female. In terms of race/ethnicity, 3 of the respondents who indicated they were sexually harassed identified as White and 1 identified as Hispanic. Item-level information is presented in Table 7.1.

No survey respondents indicated experiencing either of the two sexual coercion harassment behaviors in the past year. Sexual coercion items asked whether someone had made the respondent feel they were being bribed to engage in sexual behavior and whether someone had made the respondent feel threatened for not being sexually cooperative.

Approximately 17% (N = 18) of respondents reported experiencing one or more of the four forms of gender-based harassment at least once in the last year and 82% (N = 90)[70] of the sample reported never experiencing any form of gender-based harassment in the prior year. 35% (N = 7) of female respondents reported gender-based harassment and 9.8% (N = 8) of male respondents reported gender-based harassment within the last year. 14% (N = 9) of White respondents reported gender-based harassment and 21% of Black, Hispanic, or other race respondents reported gender-based harassment in the prior year. Item-level data is presented in Table 7.2.

Among female survey respondents, the most frequently cited gender harassment behaviors were others at work referring to people of their gender in insulting or offensive terms and others at work putting them down or acting in a condescending way because of their gender. 30% of women (N = 6) said that someone at work used terms that they found to be offensive or insulting at least once in the past year and 30% of women (N = 6) said that someone at work put them down or acted in a condescending way at least once in the past year. Among male survey respondents, the most frequently cited gender harassment behaviors were others at work repeatedly telling sexist stories or jokes and others at work referring to people of their gender in terms that they found to be insulting or offensive. 5% of men (N = 4) said someone at work told sexist jokes or stories at

[70] 2% of the sample was missing data (N=2)

Table 7.2. Gender-Based Harassment Incidents (Counts) by Sex and Race/Ethnicity					
	Full Sample	**Female**	**Male**	**White**	**Non-White**
Repeatedly tell sexist stories/jokes	8	2	4	3	4
Make offensive remarks about appearance, body, sexual activities	6	3	3	4	2
Refer to people of your gender in insulting or offensive terms	14	6	5	7	5
Put you down or act condescending because of your gender	8	6	2	6	2

least once in the past year and 4% of men (N = 3) heard offensive or insulting terms related to their gender at least once in the past year.

None of the female officers interviewed described sexual coercion or sexual attention harassment experiences, but some did mention experiencing isolated behaviors that would be considered gender harassment like jokes or sexist comments. Among those officers who described gender harassment experiences, many were described as having occurred in the past and none of these experiences were described as occurring continuously or persistently. Some female officers interviewed explained that more of these behaviors tended to occur with officers who have since retired—many of whom they said began their careers at a time when women experienced much less acceptance in policing and sexist treatment by male officers was tolerated much more. In general, the presence of offensive comments or jokes was not discussed as a frequent occurrence or significant stressor during interviews with female officers.

Race-Based Harassment

This study also examines the prevalence of race-based harassment in the police department. We utilize two behaviorally descriptive measures of physical harassment and two behaviorally descriptive measures of verbal harassment. All four measures specify that the behavior occurred based on racial grounds—that it would not have occurred but for the perceived race, ethnicity, or nationality of the victim.[71] As with sexual harassment behaviors, we rely on a broad estimate of the prevalence of race-based harassment and include any behaviors that have occurred at least once in the past year.

Respondents were asked how often in the past 12 months did someone at work victimize them based on their race/ethnicity. Approximately 11% (N = 12) of the sample reported at least

[71] Kimberly Schneider, Robert Hitland, and Phanikiran Radhakrishnan, "An Examination of the Nature and Correlates of Ethnic Harassment Experiences in Multiple Contexts," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 85, no. 1 (2000); Donna Chrobot-Mason, Belle Ragins, and Frank Linnehan, "Second Hand Smoke: Ambient Racial Harassment at Work," *Journal of Managerial Psychology* 28, no. 5 (2013).

one form of race/ethnicity-based harassment within the last year, while 86% (N = 95)[72] of the sample indicated that they never experienced any race/ethnicity-based harassment in the last year. 24% (N = 8) of respondents who identified as Black, Hispanic, or other (nonwhite) experienced one or more forms of race/ethnicity-based harassment at least one time in the last year whereas 5% (N = 3) of respondents who identified as White experienced one or more forms of race/ethnicity-based harassment in the last year. Out of 12 respondents who experienced at least one form of race/ethnicity-based harassment at least once in the prior year, 10 were male and 2 were female (12% of male respondents and 10% of female respondents). Item-level information is presented in Table 7.3.

Among the respondents who indicated experiencing at least one form of race-based harassment in the past year, the most frequently cited behaviors encompassed verbal harassment rather than physical harassment. 11% (N = 12) of survey respondents said that someone at work had made comments or remarks they found to be negative or offensive and 11% (N = 12) of survey respondents said that someone at work subjected them to jokes that they found to be offensive. Given the lack of quantitative data on race-based harassment within police departments, it is difficult to draw comparisons between these results and prior evidence on the same topic. Qualitative research on experiences of officers of color have consistently demonstrated challenges associated with navigating between their Black identity and their "blue" identity and that failing to fully adopt the latter identity often leads to race-based harassment within the workplace.[73]

Table 7.3. Race-Based Harassment Incidents (Counts) by Sex and Race/Ethnicity

	Full Sample	Female	Male	White	Non-White
Make negative or offensive comments regarding your race or ethnicity	12	2	10	3	8
Subject you to offensive jokes regarding your race or ethnicity	12	2	10	4	7
Touch you or make you feel uncomfortable because of your race or ethnicitv	1	0	1	1	0
Physically threaten or assault you because of your race or ethnicity	1	0	1	1	0

[72] Approximately 3% were missing data on these questions (N=3)

[73] Bolton and Feagin. *Black in Blue: African-American Police Officers and Racism*; Kenneth Bolton. "Shared Perceptions: Black Officers Discuss Continuing Barriers in Policing," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 26, no.3 (2003): 386-399.; Susan Ehrlich Martin, "'Outsider Within' the Station House: The Impact of Race and Gender on Black Women Police." *Social Problems* 41, no. 3 (1994).

Sexual Orientation-Based Harassment

Less literature, and therefore fewer validated measures, exist to quantitatively assess the prevalence of harassment behaviors based on sexual orientation. Most of the research regarding sexual orientation and workplace effects focus on discriminatory practices in hiring, firing, and promotions. Studies exploring the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals in the workplace suggests that employees are likely to experience discrimination, feel like outsiders, and be subjected to homophobic comments.[74] In a male-dominated and heteronormative environment like policing, there may be an increased likelihood for these types of isolating and/or offensive behaviors to occur.[75] Although data specific to law enforcement is scant, one study of officers who self-identified as gay or lesbian found specific attitudinal barriers to equality in the workplace. A survey of 66 gay and lesbian officers found that 67% of the sample experienced homophobic comments at work and 34% experienced repeated harassment at work.[76]

Measuring the occurrence of these behaviors is difficult because harassment based on gender and sexual activity has the potential to be conflated with harassment that would not have occurred but for the sexual orientation of the victim. We do ask one question falling under the category of gender harassment that specifies offensive comments based on sexual activity, and these comments might be experienced more by sexual minority officers if sexual orientation harassment is prevalent. Overall, 6% (N = 6) of the sample reported experiencing someone at work making offensive remarks about their appearance, body, or sexual activity. Of those, 3 respondents identified as male and 3 respondents identified as female. All 6 respondents identified as heterosexual, and no respondents identifying as gay or bisexual reported experiencing this behavior.

We did not ask interview participants to disclose their sexuality, and to maintain the confidentiality of our interview participants, we chose not to record or report the sexual orientation of officers interviewed who voluntarily self-identified their sexual orientation during the course of their interviews. Despite these disclosure limitations, harassment based on sexual orientation was not a prevalent theme or experience that emerged from our interviews with officers.

General Workplace Harassment

Overall, minority officers interviewed (e.g., gender, sexual, and racial/ethnic minorities) characterized offensive comments at work as occurring infrequently. When offensive jokes or comments occurred, most officers interviewed described them as occurring with a "lack of understanding on why somebody might be offended by something," as opposed to occurring with

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[74] Priola et al., "The Sound of Silence. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Discrimination in 'Inclusive Organizations'"

[75] Priola et al., "The Sound of Silence. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Discrimination in 'Inclusive Organizations'" Joshua Collins, "Stress and Safety for Gay Men at Work Within Masculinized Industries" *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services* 25 (2013).

[76] Colvin, "Shared perceptions among lesbian and gay police officers: Barriers and opportunities in the law enforcement work environment"

malicious or devious intentions. When referencing the prevalence of joking around, officers also often also explained that, "the girls do it, the guys do it" and "it's not intended to offend." If officers heard a comment that bothered them, most said that they were able to say something to address it. Furthermore, some officers felt more than willing to take the time to explain why something bothered them and gave examples of instances when that was productive. In these cases, officers felt like their police department was just like anywhere else with differing levels of exposure to cultural diversity and that some people just needed to be taught. Some officers were willing to take on that task themselves through informal conversation while others suggested that some level of cultural awareness training might be necessary.

While the sample of officers in this study who have multiple marginalities is too small to analyze meaningfully, it is important to note that women who are also sexual minorities and/or racial/ethnic minorities may experience a prevalence of harassment behaviors that is higher than other women.[77] That is, they may experience exclusion or harassment due to their gender while also experiencing exclusion or harassment due to their race/ethnicity. Considering the intersection of an individual's identity beyond a single demographic is critical. Organizations must be mindful of these experiences when developing practices and interventions aimed at detecting and addressing workplace harassment and take an intersectional approach.

IAD & EEO Case Review

As discussed in the Analytical Approach subsection of Section II, the full sentinel event review process was not completed as planned due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The amended process consisted of both researchers independently reviewing, coding, and assessing each of the 13[78] cases provided by the HPD (IAD cases) and City of Hartford HR (EEO cases). Cases were from 2015 – 2019 and focused on allegations related to creating a hostile workplace, disparaging comments, discrimination, and harassment. Only closed cases were examined. After independently reviewing each case, the researchers discussed their findings and generated an agreed upon list of contributing factors and recommendations for improvement related to each case. Lastly, the prevalence of contributing factors across the case set as a whole were assessed. Fourteen specific contributing factors within five broad contributing factor categories were gleaned from the data.

The following is a list of contributing factors that repeatedly appeared across the case set: a need for conflict resolution; a need for internal procedural justice; unprofessional communication; a need for supervisory training; a lack of employee accountability; a lack of supervision; inappropriate conduct; a need for clear and open policy development; a need for revised investigation procedures; a need for performance management systems; and delayed or inadequate reporting of misconduct. These contributing factors among others were then

[77] National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. *Sexual Harassment of Women: Climate, Culture, and Consequences in Academic Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine*.
[78] 14 cases were provided, but one case was dropped because the complainant withdrew their complaint.

categorized to determine key factor categories and recommended improvements to reduce the likelihood of similar issues arising in the future.

Findings from the case reviews indicated that the HPD and its employees would benefit from: 1) addressing needs related to internal procedural justice, accountability, and transparency; 2) increasing supervisory training and performance evaluation systems; 3) increasing conflict resolution training/counseling and developing more remedial/informal channels for dealing with conflicts; 4) early intervention when inappropriate conduct takes place and expeditious reporting; and 5) modifications to the investigation procedures to increase safety. It is important to note that some of these categories might overlap in important ways. For example, implementing performance evaluations also helps to improve internal procedural justice because such evaluations create transparency between supervisors and subordinates and increase fairness.

Results from the case review reiterate findings from officer surveys and interviews discussed throughout the report; however, a brief description of the five key factors that contributed to the negative workplace incidents/experiences that resulted in formal complaints and investigations is warranted and provided below.

1. Need for internal procedural justice, accountability, and transparency:

As indicated throughout this report, increasing internal procedural justice must be a priority of the department in order to improve the department overall. Case reviews demonstrated that many allegations/complaints resulted from a lack of internal procedural justice. A prevalent example was complainants not knowing why a decision was made that directly impacted them and in turn, perceiving the decision as retaliatory in nature.

To minimize similar situations from occurring in the future, the HPD must prioritize clear and transparent expectations from supervisors to subordinates. Beyond expectations (which can be discussed through a performance evaluation, see below), a process to notify and discuss transfers and any other decisions that directly impact an officer's work role must be developed. Officers deserve to know why a decision was made and should be given the opportunity to arrange a discussion with a supervisor if needed to gain clarity on the decision. The use of performance management systems can assist in building transparency and bolster the expectation that objective criteria is used for personnel decisions and reduce perceptions of favoritism and/or retaliation.

Additionally, the current policy for promotions was a common contributing factor due to a lack of transparency. The current policy only requires an explanation if more than two people from the eligible candidate list are skipped. Meaning, the two who are skipped do not need to be given a reason for promotion denial. The HPD should modify this policy to require written explanations for all candidates skipped regardless of the number skipped. This does not eliminate the administration's agency in the process, but it increases objectivity and candidates' perceptions of fairness.

2. Need for supervisory training and performance evaluation systems:

Nearly all of the cases involved a subordinate/supervisor relationship between the complainant and the accused. A common contributing factor within this category was a lack of supervision. Although it is important to recognize that increased workloads for some supervisors makes it challenging to supervise to the best of their ability, there were clear examples of inadequate supervision and unprofessional communication from supervisors toward subordinates that need to be addressed to reduce future complaints of a similar nature.

Broadly, any HPD employee working in a supervisory role should receive increased training focused on internal procedural justice. One particular focus that needs to be highlighted through supervisory training is appropriate communication and treatment of subordinates and peers. Supervisors set an example for others and therefore must always engage with subordinates in a productive and appropriate manner.

The HPD should implement 360 evaluations for all supervisors. This form of evaluation allows subordinates to provide feedback and ensures reviews take place at least annually. This should include FTOs to ensure that standards are being upheld and PPOs are gaining the experience and information they need to succeed.

The need for performance evaluations and feedback systems for officers was apparent throughout the cases. These will help enforce officer accountability, reduce ambiguity in terms of knowing where one is succeeding and where one needs to improve, and offer objective measures to reference when officers are seeking a promotion or assignment.

3. Need for conflict resolution training and remedial options:

The most widespread contributing factor found during the case reviews was a lack of conflict resolution. The HPD must prioritize personnel conflict resolution training and counseling to improve supervisors' and officers' conflict resolution skills in the workplace.

Additionally, remedial options for dealing with workplace conflict prior to formal complaint procedures are needed. There are instances where formal complaints might be needed immediately, but many cases revealed that earlier, informal intervention might have been a useful resolution strategy. The HPD should consider a mediation body or a police ombudsperson as an option for officers to seek out when they experience issues at work. Informal interventions are not always suitable, but mediation/ombudsperson gives officers a secondary option to come forward with an issue. An informal option can increase reporting and cultivate a culture of reporting that benefits the department overall.

4. Inappropriate conduct and delayed reporting of misconduct:

Regardless of whether an investigation resulted in a substantiated complaint or not, it was clear from the cases as well as other data sources (surveys and interviews), that instances of inappropriate conduct do take place in the workplace. An external review of the HPD's mandatory harassment training should take place to determine ways to improve. Additionally, participatory training sessions that focus on appropriate workplace behavior

should be implemented along with cultural competency and sensitivity training. Doing so will help create a culture where inappropriate conversations and comments are not tolerated and empower officers to address discomfort when such instances occur.

Misconduct should be reported by officers as quickly as possible regardless of whether informal or formal channels for resolution are sought. Case reviews revealed that some issues started years prior to a complaint being made. Not only is this detrimental for the integrity of the investigation, but it also means that the conduct resulting in the complaint likely continued to occur over a long period of time without being addressed. Unaddressed issues can indicate to other officers that such behavior is tolerated and acceptable. The HPD should both train officers and practice expedited reporting of misconduct.

5. Need for investigatory modifications to increase safety:

The case review process indicated that overall, both IAD and HR perform thorough and exhaustive investigations in a fairly timely manner. However, there were two contributing factors that exacerbated issues during the investigation process.

When a complaint is made, IAD should immediately assess the working relationship between the parties involved. This assessment should determine how to prioritize cases and instigate steps to potentially separate parties involved so that they do not have to continue to work together. Additionally, investigators should take care to separate the time and location of interviews to minimize the likelihood of deductive identification and contact between parties involved.

Summary & Recommendations

Any amount of workplace harassment, whether it be sexual, gender-, race/ethnicity-, or sexual orientation-based, is problematic and needs to be addressed. The goal of any workplace should be to eliminate instances of workplace harassment. Results from this study indicate that the HPD should continue to make promoting appropriate workplace conduct and eliminating workplace harassment a priority. Although, surveyed officers indicated that they had not experienced any sexual coercion behaviors and the sexual harassment behaviors experienced by respondents in the HPD were somewhat lower than the prevalence indicated in previous research in male-dominated fields, a continued focus on reducing sexual harassment is warranted. Similarly, the level of gender harassment behaviors experienced by officers in the HPD is similar to the prevalence indicated in previous research of male-dominated fields. Approximately 11% of respondents experienced race-based harassment at work.

When survey respondents indicated having experienced either sexual or race-based harassment, the most frequently cited behaviors were offensive or insulting jokes or terms. Officers felt that when they were subjected to offensive jokes or comments by their peers, it was often not intended to offend, and they felt that informally confronting these instances was productive. As indicated above, limited existing research makes it challenging to compare this finding with other

departments; but, as with sexual and gender-based harassment, any number of instances of race-based harassment above zero is too many.

These findings should not be taken to mean that efforts should be placed elsewhere, but rather a continued effort toward reducing workplace harassment is critical for improving the experience of all officers working in the department. Moreover, evidence from officer interviews and case reviews reiterate that occurrences of workplace harassment and discrimination do happen in the HPD. These sources also help clarify areas in need of improvement that if addressed, can potentially reduce workplace harassment and discrimination over time.

Survey and interview data suggested that most officers believe the disciplinary process in the department to be fair and appreciated the recent increased focus on accountability. However, officers did caution that it sometimes felt like they were being targeted for minor violations.

A review of IAD and EEO cases suggested that IA and HR conduct thorough and exhaustive investigations into allegations of a hostile workplace, disparaging comments, discrimination, harassment, and Equal Employment Opportunity violations. Despite significant variation across cases, five key contributing factors were found to be prevalent. In particular, needs related to: internal procedural justice, transparency, and accountability; supervisory training and performance evaluations; conflict resolution training and remedial options for addressing workplace conflict; inappropriate conduct and delayed reporting; and investigatory safety measures were repeatedly shown to contribute to incidents that resulted in formal complaints/allegations in the HPD.

> ***Recommendation 7.1:*** Performance evaluation systems are needed throughout the HPD. 360 evaluations will allow subordinates to provide feedback on their supervisors. All officers should be evaluated regularly to increase officer accountability, utilize objective criteria for personnel decisions, increase transparency, and build feedback systems.
>
> ***Recommendation 7.2:*** The HPD should consider modifications to the promotion policy to increase transparency for all candidates who are denied a promotion regardless of the number skipped.
>
> ***Recommendation 7.3:*** Supervisory training needs to be bolstered and an increased focus on internal procedural justice is critical.
>
> ***Recommendation 7.4:*** Conflict resolution training/counseling should be implemented and required for all HPD employees.
>
> ***Recommendation 7.5:*** Remedial options for addressing workplace conflict are needed in the HPD. A mediation body or police ombudsperson should be considered.
>
> ***Recommendation 7.6:*** An external review of the HPD's harassment training should be conducted to determine if any curricula deficits exist and then subsequently

addressed. Additionally, appropriate conduct learned during harassment training must be modeled and reinforced in practice across all areas of the department.

Recommendation 7.7: Participatory training sessions focusing on appropriate workplace behavior should take place annually, especially for those in supervisory roles who must set an example to others.

Recommendation 7.8: The HPD should increase cultural competency and sensitivity training for all officers.

Recommendation 7.9: In order to ensure a fair investigatory process, investigations into misconduct and disciplinary action resulting from an investigation should not be influenced by political pressure or media attention.

Recommendation 7.10: Misconduct reporting procedures should be reviewed and reiterated to all HPD employees. Expeditious reporting of misconduct is critical.

Recommendation 7.11: IAD should immediately assess the working relationship between the parties involved in a complaint and prioritize cases accordingly.

Recommendation 7.12: IAD investigators should take extra care to separate the time and location of interviews to minimize the likelihood of deductive identification and contact between parties involved.

Recommendation 7.13: The HPD should be mindful of how they can maintain the integrity of IAD. Efforts should be undertaken to increase IA separation to reduce the likelihood of becoming overly responsive and sympathetic to either management or line officers.

VIII. OFFICER WELLNESS

Introduction

Policing is a particularly stressful occupation.[79] The nature of police work means that officers are often responsible for the lives of others, deal with negative encounters with the public daily, face risky and dangerous situations, and operate under a strict, centrally managed, and hierarchical environment. Stressors have serious adverse effects on officers, including behavioral impacts (e.g., decreased job performance), psychological impacts (e.g., depression, burnout), and physiological impacts (e.g., increased risk of heart disease).[80] Although this organizational assessment does not evaluate the adverse consequences of stressors, it is critical to understand officers' worries and sources of stress to build an understanding of what it is like to work at the HPD.

One of the main goals of an organizational climate assessment is to examine organizational features that may set the stage for occurrences of negative and harmful treatment of officers by their peers or supervisors. Officer wellness is one such feature that will be examined via stress, job satisfaction, apprehension, motivation, and cynicism in the following section. Relatedly, how officers view their job and the people they serve will be assessed via apprehension, motivation, and cynicism. Analyses and results are presented first, followed by conclusions and recommendations.

Findings

Worries/Sources of Stress

One of the main contributors to overall officer wellness, or lack thereof, is stress. Stress occurs when the demand of stressors exceeds one's capacity to deal with such stressors.[81] Therefore when an officer is unable to control, address, or avoid a stressor (i.e., stimulus that causes stress), they are more likely to feel stress. The nature of the policing occupation and the organization itself makes it difficult to exercise control over sources of stress. For example, the militaristic and hierarchical management structure (e.g., chain of command) of police departments makes it particularly challenging for rank-and-file officers to influence or exercise control over stressors. Sources of stress within policing literature are often classified within four categories: 1) personal (e.g., family conflicts), 2) external (e.g., public perception), 3) operational (e.g., risky encounters with the public), and 4) organizational (e.g., lack of career advancement

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[79] Bruce Arrigo and Karyn Garsky. "Police Suicide: A Glimpse Behind the Badge." *Critical Issues in Policing: Contemporary Readings,* edited by R. Dunham and G. Alpert, 609-626. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1997.

[80] Jennifer Brown and Elizabeth A. Campbell. *Stress and policing: Sources and strategies*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 1994.; Chris Gibson, Marc Swatt, and Jason Jolicoeur. "Assessing the Generality of General Strain Theory: The Relationship Among Occupational Stress Experienced by Male Police Officers and Domestic Forms of Violence." *Journal of Crime and Justice* 24, no. 2 (2001): 29-57.

[81] Jeanne Stinchcomb, "Searching for Stress in All the Wrong Places: Combating Chronic Organizational Stressors in Policing." *Police Practice and Research* 5, no. 3 (2004): 259-277.

opportunities).[82] Although this is an organizational climate assessment, stressors from all four of these categories are examined.

Survey respondents were asked: Which of the following factors about a career in law enforcement worries you or causes you stress? They were instructed to "check all that apply" from a list of 16 items. Table 8.1 below lists all 16 items and indicates the percentage (and number) of respondents who selected yes, this factor about a career in law enforcement worries them or causes them stress. The most common worrisome or stress-causing job-related factor among the sample was "negative portrayal of law enforcement in the media" with 73% (N = 80) of the sample responding in the affirmative. The second, third, and fourth most common stressors were "insufficient health insurance benefits," "negative public criticism of law enforcement officers' actions," and "insufficient salary" respectively. Approximately 65 – 67% of respondents indicated these factors as stressors. The fifth most common stressor among officers was "possible favoritism within law enforcement agencies" with 49% (N = 54) responding in the affirmative.

Table 8.1 also indicates the top 5 stressors by respondent subgroup (i.e., biological sex and white v. nonwhite) and shows only slight variation. Nonwhite officers had the same top 5 concerns as the overall sample, but white officers more often indicated "difficulty meeting family obligations" as a stressor and "possible favoritism within law enforcement agencies" nor "threat of injury" were not in the top five most common stressors among white officers. Minimal variation across respondent sex in terms of stress-causing factors were found, but male respondents rated "difficulty meeting family obligations" within their top 5 stressors, while females did not. Female respondents rated "possible favoritism within law enforcement agencies" within their top 5 stressors, while males did not.

Surprisingly, none of the operational stressors, such as threat of injury, threat of death, long hours, or shift work, were ranked among the top 5 concerns. Rather two external stressors (negative portrayal of law enforcement in the media and negative public criticism of law enforcement officers' actions) and three organizational stressors (possible favoritism with law enforcement agencies, insufficient salary, and insufficient health insurance benefits) were among the top 5 concerns. Regardless of subgroup, the most common stressor was "negative portrayal of law enforcement in the media." This is a particularly challenging stressor to address because it is out of officers' control and minimally altered by the police administration (i.e., an external stressor). Concerns related to insufficient salary, insufficient health insurance benefits, and possible favoritism within the agency are key areas that the HPD should consider addressing to the extent possible. Financial restrictions are always difficult to navigate, but it is clear from the data that officers are concerned about their salary and benefits. Creative strategies at the city-level to mitigate these stressors are needed.

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[82] Maryam Kathrine Abdollahi, "The Effects of Organizational Stress on Line Staff Law Enforcement Officers." PhD diss., Alliant International University, 2001.; John Crank and Michael Caldero. "The Production of Occupational Stress in Medium-Sized Police Agencies: A Survey of Line Officers in Eight Municipal Departments." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 19, no. 4 (1991): 339-349.

Table 8.1. Descriptive Statistics for Worrisome or Stress-Causing Job-Related Factors

	Yes		Top 5 Ranked:				
	Frequency	Percent	Overall	Among White Officers	Among Non-White Officers	Among Male Officers	Among Female Officers
Insufficient salary	71	64.6%	4	3	3	4	4
Insufficient health insurance benefits	74	67.3%	2	2	4	2	1
Long hours	30	27.3%					
Shift work	20	18.2%					
Personal health or medical limitations	27	24.6%					
Difficulty meeting family obligations	52	47.3%		5		5	
Threat of injury	46	41.8%			5*		
Threat of death	45	40.9%					
Family members' negative views regarding LE	10	9.1%					
Friends' negative views regarding LE	11	10.0%					
Negative public criticism of LE officers' actions	73	66.4%	3	4	2	2	3
Negative portrayal of LE in the media	80	72.7%	1	1	1	1	1
Paramilitary environment	1	0.9%					
Possible corruption within LE agencies	19	17.3%					
Possible favoritism within LE agencies	54	49.1%	5		5*		5
Fear of discipline from supervisors or administrators	27	24.6%					

*tied/equal

Job Satisfaction

There is a strong body of evidence that officer stress impacts job satisfaction,[83] but job satisfaction is also often dependent on perceptions of fairness, peer cohesion, positive coworker relationships, and job variety.[84] Job satisfaction can be defined as "the fulfillment or gratification of certain needs that are associated with one's work,"[85] while others consider the disconnect between job expectations and the reality of the job as the key determinant of job satisfaction.[86] Understanding the correlates of job satisfaction are useful from a research and intervention perspective, but from an organizational perspective, it is critical to understand officers' job satisfaction to reduce turnover and increase retention. Additionally, low job satisfaction can reduce productivity and organizational commitment.[87] Beyond common correlates of officer job satisfaction such as demographics and job task characteristics, empirical evidence indicates that characteristics of the organizational environment also have a significant impact on officer job satisfaction.[88]

The current organizational assessment used a series of questions to examine officers' job satisfaction within the HPD. Respondents were asked to rate their level of satisfaction with the following seven factors from 1 (extremely unsatisfied) to 4 (extremely satisfied): 1) my decision to work in law enforcement, 2) my decision to work in this police department, 3) my level of job-related knowledge, 4) amount of support from the police administration, 5) amount of support from my immediate supervisors, 6) amount of support from my peers in the police department, and 7) amount of support from my friends/family. A summative scale with strong reliability (α = 0.78) yielded a mean of 21.5 on a scale of 7 to 28, suggesting that respondents are generally satisfied with their jobs (midpoint = 17.5). Figure 8.1 below shows the average survey response rating for each item. On average, respondents were least satisfied with the amount of support from the police administration and most satisfied with the amount of support from their family and friends.

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[83] Frederick Herzberg. "One More Time: How Do You Motivate Employees?" *Harvard Business Review* January, (2003): 87-96.; Saeed Siyal and Xiaobao Peng. "Does Leadership Lessen Turnover? The Moderated Mediation Effect of Leader–Member Exchange and Perspective Taking on Public Servants." *Journal of Public Affairs* 18, no. 4 (2018): e1830.

[84] Holly Miller, Scott Mire, and Bitna Kim. "Predictors of Job Satisfaction among Police Officers: Does Personality Matter?." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 37, no. 5 (2009): 419-426.; Scott E. Wolfe and Alex R. Piquero. "Organizational Justice and Police Misconduct." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 38, no. 4 (2011): 332-353.

[85] Anne Hopkins. *Work and Job Satisfaction in the Public Sector*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983.

[86] Edwin Locke. "The Nature and Causes of Job Satisfaction." *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, edited by M. Dunnette, 1297-1349. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1976.

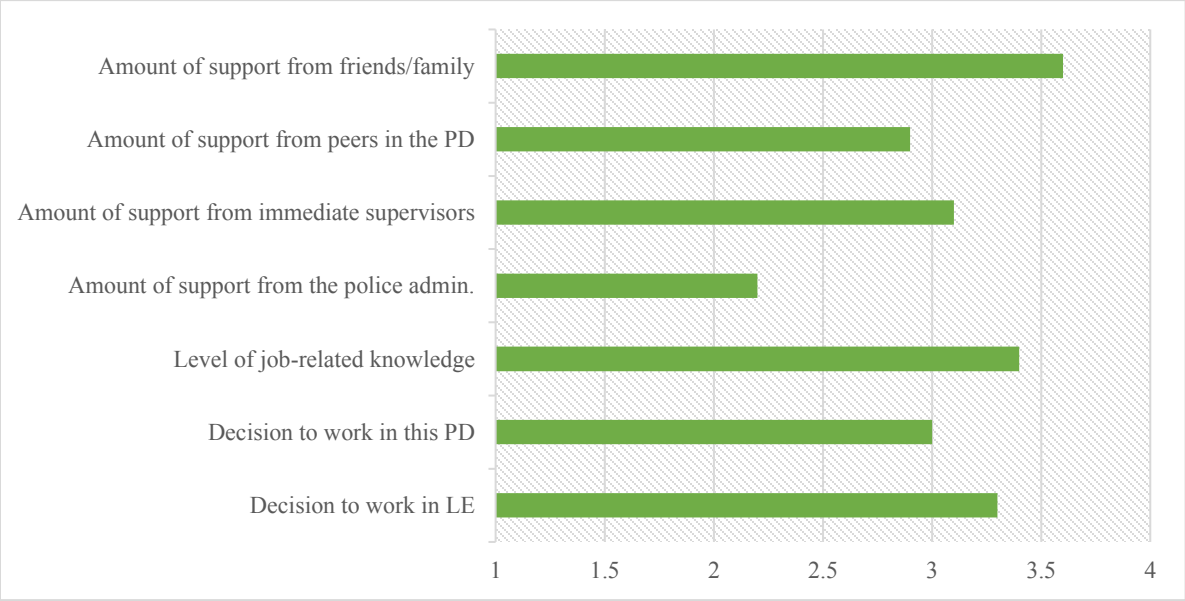
[87] Srinika Jayaratne. "The Antecedents, Consequences, and Correlates of Job Satisfaction." *Handbook of Organizational Behavior*, edited by R. Golembiewski, 111-140. New York, NY: Dekker, 1993.; Philip Podsakoff and Larry Williams. "The Relationship Between Job Performance and Job Satisfaction." In E. A. Locke (Ed.), *Generalizing from Laboratory to Field Settings,* edited by Edwin Locke, 207-253. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1986.

[88] Richard Johnson. "Police officer job satisfaction: A multidimensional analysis." *Police Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (2012): 157-176.

Mean comparison tests indicate no significant differences across the following respondent demographic characteristics: biological sex, racial/ethnic group, age, and education level. This is consistent with prior research on officer job satisfaction as evidence of variation across sex, race/ethnicity, and education has been mixed.[89]

Variation across job-related characteristics such as division, length of service, and rank were also assessed. Findings indicate significant variation in job satisfaction across respondent division (t = -2.75, p = .007). Specifically, officers in patrol (mean = 20.4) are significantly less satisfied with their job in comparison to officers in any other division or unit (mean = 22.5). Task variety has been shown to increase job satisfaction and patrol officers tend to have more variety in their work duties.[90] The findings from this assessment contradict this, but task variety is only one potential correlate of job satisfaction and respondents in patrol may be disproportionally exposed to other factors that negatively impact job satisfaction such as stress, negative citizen encounters, and reduced autonomy in comparison to other divisions and units. ANOVA testing also revealed significant variation in job satisfaction across respondent rank. Post hoc tests demonstrate that

Figure 8.1: Job Satisfaction Items
Average Survey Response Rating (n = 110)



[89] Eve Buzawa, Thomas Austin, and James Bannon. "The Role of Selected Socio-Demographic and Job-Specific Variables in Predicting Patrol Officer Job Satisfaction: A Reexamination Ten Years Later." *American Journal of Police* 13, (1994): 51-75.
[90] Brian Lawton, Matthew Hickman, Alex Piquero and Jack Greene. "Assessing the Interrelationships between Perceptions of Impact and Job Satisfaction: A Comparison of Traditional and Community-Oriented Policing Officers." *Justice Research and Policy* 2, (2000) 47-72.

officers (mean = 19.7) are significantly less satisfied with their job in comparison to detectives (mean = 22.5; diff = 2.74, $p = .02$) and to sergeants, lieutenants, captains or any above rank (mean = 22.3; diff = 2.57, $p = .03$). Job satisfaction did not significantly differ across respondent length of service. This is contradictory to a number of studies that have found officer length of service to be negatively associated with job satisfaction.[91]

Motivation

This study examined officer motivation in two ways. The first was motivations for pursuing a career in law enforcement. This assessment was presented in Section III: Recruitment and Selection. This section focuses on work motivation to perform the duties and responsibilities of the job. Work motivation is directly related to job satisfaction as officers who are less satisfied with their job are less likely to be motivated to perform the necessary tasks related to their job. Additionally, officers who are motivated to do their job may experience less stress. These constructs are interconnected with the overall organizational climate. For example, departments with a supportive internal climate that promotes and exemplifies procedural justice or fairness within, motivates individual officers to perform their jobs in a manner that aligns with the organization's philosophy.[92] Relatedly, negative media portrayals and perceptions of community cynicism toward police may reduce work motivation.[93] Therefore, from an organizational standpoint it is critical to have motivated officers because officer motivation can impact job performance, confidence in performing job-related tasks, de-policing, absenteeism, and retention.

To assess work motivation, respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement from 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree with the following four items: 1) It is difficult to be motivated at work, 2) I do not enjoy my career in law enforcement, 3) I want to quit this career and find another, 4) and I stop (traffic or pedestrian) as few people as possible while on duty. These items were reverse coded and combined to create a summative scale where higher values indicate a higher level of work motivation. The average on the work motivation scale was 11.6 on a scale from 4 – 16 ($\alpha = 0.81$), suggesting that respondents are moderately motivated to perform their job (midpoint = 10). The average survey response for each work motivation item is provided in Figure 8.2. Note that a reverse coding strategy enabled higher values to mean more motivated to do the job.

Mean comparisons across respondent demographic characteristics were assessed, but no significant differences across respondent biological sex, racial/ethnic group, age, or education level were found. Potential variation across job-related characteristics were also examined. A T-test indicated that patrol officers (mean = 10.8) scored significantly lower on the work motivation

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[91] Jihong Zhao, Quint Thurman, & Ni He. "Sources of Job Satisfaction Among Police Officers: A Test of Demographic and Work Environment Models." *Justice Quarterly* 16, (1999): 153-174.
[92] Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff. "Justice from Within: The Relations between a Procedurally Just Organizational Climate and Police Organizational Efficiency, Endorsement of Democratic Policing, and Officer Well-Being."
[93] Jose Torres. "Predicting Law Enforcement Confidence in Going 'Hands-On': The Impact of Martial Arts Training, Use-of-Force Self-Efficacy, Motivation, and Apprehensiveness." *Police Practice and Research* 21, no. 2 (2020): 187-203.

scale in comparison to officers in any other division or unit (mean = 12.2; t = -2.16, p = .03). This aligns with the findings presented previously related to job satisfaction. Respondents who work in patrol are significantly less satisfied with their job and significantly less motivated to perform their job in comparison to respondents in other divisions or units. No significant differences in work motivation across rank or length of service were found.

Apprehension

On any given day officers respond to an assortment of calls for service that may require different response tools and techniques. Beyond feeling capable of handling a call for service, officers' work environment should enable them to objectively act based on their training and policies and procedures, rather than respond based on tangential concerns (i.e., media portrayal, threat of punishment). If officers are apprehensive about performing their job duties correctly based on their training and the situation at hand, it can result in adverse consequences. Officer apprehensiveness broadly can result in officers avoiding interactions with the community, de-policing, and reduce police legitimacy.[94] Apprehension can have negative effects on officer willingness to engage in community partnership to solve problems, but this relationship can be ameliorated when officers perceive their organization to be fair and have confidence in their abilities to perform their job.[95]

This organizational climate assessment measured officer apprehension toward use of force. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with two statements related to apprehension toward use of force: 1) I am apprehensive about using force even though it may be necessary, and 2) I am fearful of losing my job in times I have to use force. Response options were 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree. Higher values indicate higher levels of apprehension about use of force. The average response for the first item was 2.4 and 2.5 for the second item. The average of both items was used to create a measure of apprehension with a mean of 2.5 (α = 0.82). Respondents fell in the middle of this scale which suggests some apprehension to use force. Mean comparison tests indicate that males are significantly more apprehensive toward using force (mean = 2.6) in comparison to female respondents (mean = 1.9; t = -2.55, p = .01). No significant differences across respondent race/ethnicity, age, or education level were found. Potential variation across job-related characteristics were also examined. No significant differences across division, rank, or length of service were detected.

Cynicism

Officer cynicism is often viewed as a result of negative interactions with the community, but officer cynicism is also greatly impacted by the organization's climate.[96] In particular, officers working within procedurally just departments are less likely to demonstrate cynical views or

[94] Torres. "Predicting Law Enforcement Confidence in Going 'Hands-On"

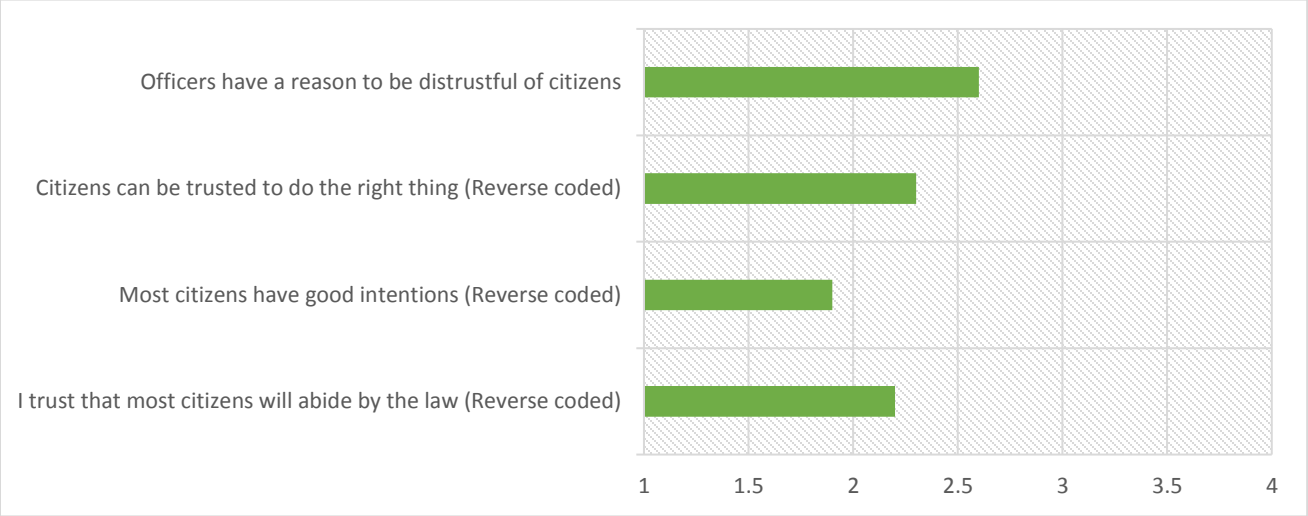
[95] Scott Wolfe and Justin Nix. "The Alleged "Ferguson Effect" and Police Willingness to Engage in Community Partnership." *Law and Human Behavior* 40, no. 1 (2016): 1.

[96] Ben Bradford and Paul Quinton. "Self-Legitimacy, Police Culture and Support for Democratic Policing in an English Constabulary." *British Journal of Criminology* 54, no. 6 (2014): 1023-1046.

apathetic feelings toward the people and communities they serve.[97] High levels of officer cynicism, toward either the public or their job, can result in increased levels of indifference, reduced job satisfaction, decreased retention, and weakened motivation.[98] Additionally, evidence indicates that cynical officers are more likely to be involved in hostile citizen interactions and less likely to engage in reformative changes.[99] In order to reduce the likelihood of adverse consequences resulting from officer cynicism, departments should assess and address cynical views within the workplace.

Respondent cynicism was measured using two scales: 1) cynicism toward citizens and 2) cynicism toward the job. Officer cynicism toward citizens was measured by asking respondents to rate their level of agreement with the four following statements from 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree: I trust that citizens will abide by the law, most citizens have good intentions, citizens can be trusted to do the right thing, and officers have a reason to be distrustful of citizens.[100] A summative scale where higher values indicate more cynicism toward the public was generated and the resulting scale had a mean of 9.7 on a scale from 4 – 16 ($\alpha = 0.81$). On average respondents

Figure 8.4: Cynicism Toward Citizens Items
Average Survey Response Rating (*n = 110*)



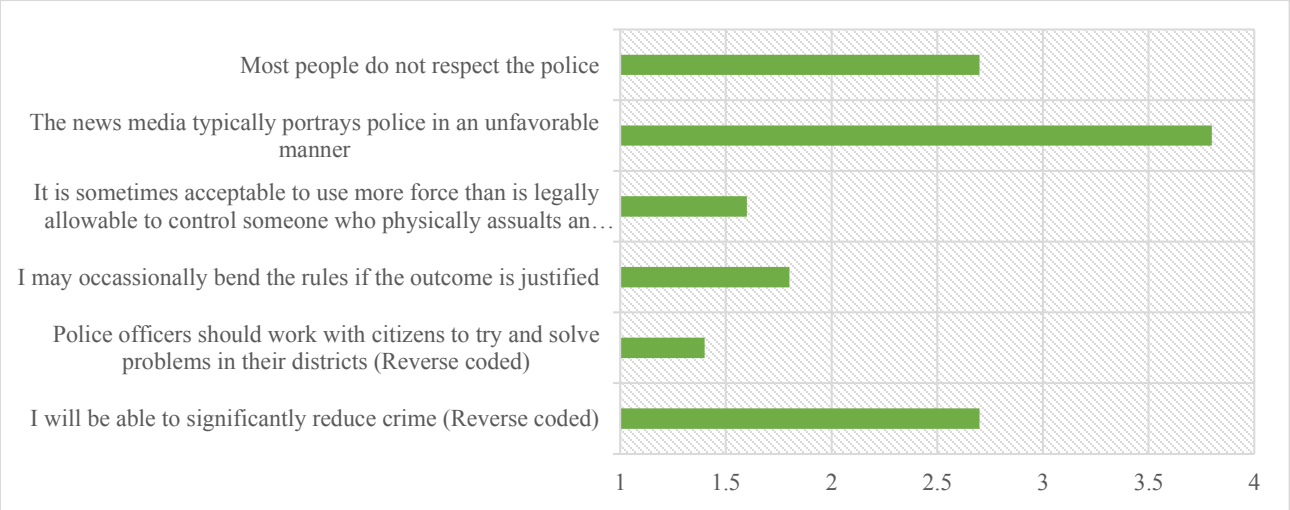
[97] Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff. "Justice from Within: The Relations between a Procedurally Just Organizational Climate and Police Organizational Efficiency, Endorsement of Democratic Policing, and Officer Well-Being."
[98] Monica Martinussen Astrid Richardsen, and Ronald Burke. "Job Demands, Job Resources, and Burnout Among Police Officers." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 35, no. 3 (2007): 239-249.
[99] Bethan Loftus. "Police Occupational Culture: Classic Themes, Altered Times." *Policing and Society* 20, no. 1 (2010): 1-20.
[100] The first three items were reverse coded so that higher values indicate more cynicism toward the public.

reported low to moderate levels of cynicism toward citizens. Figure 8.4 provides the average response to each of the four cynicism toward citizen items.

Mean comparison tests across race/ethnic group, biological sex, and education level indicated no significant variation in cynicism toward citizens. However, significant variation across age groups was found ($F = 4.18$, $p = .008$). Specifically, respondents 40 – 49 years old (mean = 7.7) scored significantly lower on the cynicism toward citizen scale in comparison to respondents 21 – 29 years old (mean = 10.1, diff = -2.42, $p = .02$) and respondents 30 – 39 years old (mean = 9.4, diff = -1.73, $p = .03$). In terms of job-related characteristics, mean comparison tests indicated similar scores on the cynicism toward citizen scale across division and rank, but significant variation across length of service was found ($F = 4.91$, $p = .003$). Post hoc tests indicate respondents with 15 or more years on the job (mean = 7.6) scored significantly lower on the cynicism toward citizen scale in comparison to respondents with less than 6 years on the job (mean = 10.1, diff = -2.54, $p = .004$) and respondents with 6 – 10 years on the job (mean = 9.9, diff = -2.26, $p = 0.045$).

To measure officer cynicism toward policing, respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with six items: as a police officer, I may occasionally bend the rules if the outcome is justified; it is sometimes acceptable to use more force than is legally allowable to control someone who physically assaults an officer; the news media typically portrays the police in an unfavorable manner; most people do not respect the police; as a police officer, I will be able to significantly reduce crime; and police officers should work with citizens to try and solve problems in their districts.[101] A summative scale with moderate reliability where higher values indicate more

Figure 8.5: Cynicism Toward Policing Items
Average Survey Response (*n = 110*)



[101] The last two items were reverse coded so that higher values indicate more cynicism toward policing.

cynicism toward the job of policing was generated with mean of 13.9 with a possible range of 6 – 24 ($\alpha = 0.41$). The mean falls just below the midpoint suggesting that respondents have low to moderate levels of cynicism toward policing. Figure 8.5 below provides the response averages for each item.

Mean comparison tests across different respondent demographic characteristics indicate similar levels of cynicism toward policing across biological sex, race/ethnic group, age, and education level. Although no significant differences in cynicism toward policing across division were detected, significant differences across length of service ($F = 5.10$, $p = .003$) and rank ($F = 8.84$, $p = .0003$) were found. Specifically, respondents with less than 6 years on the job (mean = 15.3) scored significantly higher on the cynicism toward policing scale in comparison to respondents with more than 15 years on the job (mean = 12.8, diff = -2.51, $p = .001$). In terms of rank, respondents who are sergeants, lieutenants, captains or anything above (mean = 12.7) scored significantly lower on the cynicism toward policing scale in comparison to detectives (mean = 14.2, diff = -1.47, $p = .04$) and officers (mean = 15.0, diff = -2.23, $p = .000$).

Summary & Recommendations

Worries/Sources of Stress

In response to 16 potential sources of stress within policing, the most common stress-causing factor among the HPD sample was the negative portrayal of law enforcement in the media. Insufficient health insurance benefits, negative public criticism of law enforcement officers' actions, insufficient salary, and possible favoritism within law enforcement agencies were the other top five stressors among respondents. Sources of stress were consistent across gender and racial/ethnic identity. Operational stressors including threat of injury, threat of death, long hours, or shift work were among the top concerns for respondents. Therefore, findings indicate that external stressors and organizational stressors are more concerning for officers than the risks associated with performing the functions of the job. Organizational stressors are within the department's purview and can in turn be addressed by the organization, unlike external stressors or unavoidable job-related stressors. However, financial restrictions at the city-level need to be considered and creative strategies involving the city are needed to address these key sources of officer stress.

Job Satisfaction

Findings suggest that officers in the HPD are generally satisfied with their jobs. In particular, officers were most satisfied with the amount of support they get from their family and friends, but least satisfied with the amount of support they received from the police administration. The level of job satisfaction was consistent across demographic characteristics; however, job satisfaction varied significantly across division and rank. For example, patrol officers report being significantly less satisfied with their job in comparison to officers in any other division or unit. Relatedly, officers are significantly less satisfied in comparison to detectives or those at the rank of sergeant or above.

Motivation & Apprehension

In terms of motivation to perform the duties and responsibilities required of the job, officers in the HPD are moderately motivated. Although there were no significant differences in work motivation across demographic characteristics and most job-related factors, patrol officers were significantly less motivated in comparison to respondents working in other divisions or units. Job motivation and apprehension toward performing critical functions are interconnected and both can have a significant impact on officers' willingness to engage community members, job performance, and police legitimacy. This organizational climate assessment examined apprehension toward use of force by asking officers about being apprehensive about using force even when it might be necessary and fear of being fired for using force. Findings indicate that overall officers fell directly on the midpoint of the apprehensiveness scale; however, male officers were significantly more apprehensive toward using force in comparison to female officers.

Cynicism

High levels of officer cynicism toward citizens or toward the job can result in adverse consequences. Findings indicated that officers within the HPD have low to moderate levels of cynicism toward citizens. Generally, officers had similar levels of cynicism toward citizens regardless of demographic characteristics or job-related factors, but older officers and officers with more years on the job were significantly less cynical toward citizens in comparison to younger officers and officers with fewer years on the job. Findings related to cynicism toward policing were similar and found to be low to moderate. And sergeants or any rank above scored significantly lower on the cynicism toward policing scale in comparison to detectives and officers.

Recommendation 8.1: Develop collaborative and creative long-term strategies to make officer salaries and benefits in the HPD competitive.

Recommendation 8.2: Although proactive strategies to reduce stressors are critical, not all stressors can be addressed. The HPD should make visible efforts to remove barriers to help-seeking and provide accessible and free counseling options to assist officers.

Recommendation 8.3: Although it is nearly impossible to control external stressors (i.e., negative media portrayal), internal gossip can be addressed through cultural shifts that focus on accountability and transparency. Recommendations throughout this report that aim to improve the organizational climate overall can help create a department that does not tolerate harmful internal gossip.

Recommendation 8.4: The HPD should develop strategies to bolster rapport between supervisors and subordinates, particularly in patrol, to identify and address areas of concern that impact job satisfaction.

Recommendation 8.5: A task force consisting of primarily patrol officers should be developed to seek officer input on challenges and solutions to increase job satisfaction, work motivation, and reduce cynicism.

IX. EQUIPMENT, RESOURCES, AND TRAINING

Introduction

For officers to fulfill work expectations and operate proficiently, they must be provided with the equipment, resources, and training needed to do their jobs to the best of their ability. Shortcomings in call response or community encounters can often be at least partially attributable to a department's lack of resources and personnel. Additionally, the provision of necessary equipment and desired training communicates to officers that their needs and career interests are valued. This section first reviews officers' evaluation of personnel and equipment resources. Then, it examines training in terms of officers' reported needs and as well as training opportunities suggested by officers' attitudes toward policing and the community. It is important to reiterate that this study did not do a separate evaluation of equipment, resources, and training, but rather focuses on officers' perceptions of the adequacy and availability of equipment, resources, and training.

Findings

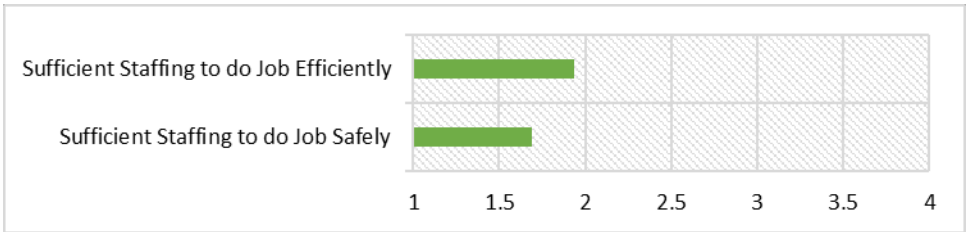
Equipment & Resources

Personnel Resources

Officers interviewed frequently mentioned feeling like the department as a whole was understaffed. They described being short-staffed both in patrol and throughout nearly every specialized division. Officers felt that there were numerous consequences resulting from a lack of necessary personnel in the department. They explained that there was less time to engage in community policing because fewer patrol officers were available and most spent their time going call-to-call. Because officers were responsible for taking on a higher call volume, they also described feeling overwhelmed by the amount of reports that they had to complete. Officers also expressed concern about officer wellness, saying that the department needed to work to ensure that "officers aren't jumping call-to-call and getting burned out because that's not good physically or mentally." Finally, officers felt that staffing levels impacted the quality of supervision in the department. With both officers and supervisors taking on additional calls and job-related tasks, they felt that it was easier for problems to go unnoticed or slip through the cracks.

These feelings also emerged in officer survey responses. Survey respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with the following statements: 1) There are enough officers on my shift or in my division for me to do my job efficiently and 2) There are enough officers on my shift to maintain officer safety. On a scale from 1 – 4 with 1 indicating strongly disagree that there are enough officers to perform the job efficiently to 4 indicating strongly agree that there are enough officers to perform the job efficiently, the mean score for the full sample was 1.7, suggesting that respondents do not feel there are enough officers to do their job efficiently (Figure 9.1). Approximately 54% (N = 59) of the sample strongly disagreed and 29% (N = 32) somewhat disagreed that there were enough officers on their shift or in their division to do their job efficiently. Only 10% (N = 11) somewhat agreed there was enough and 6% (N = 7) strongly agreed there was enough staff to do their job efficiently.

Figure 9.1. Efficiency and Safety of Staffing Levels: Average Survey Response Ratings (n = 110)



The second question in this section asked officers about having enough officers to perform their job safely. The mean response for the full sample was 1.9 on a scale from 1 – 4. Approximately 43% (N = 47) of the sample strongly disagreed and 28% (N = 31) somewhat disagreed that there were enough officers to do their job safely. 18% (N = 20) somewhat agreed and 9% (N = 10) strongly agreed that there were enough officers to do their job safely.

Lastly, respondents were asked how sufficient the minimum staffing level is on their shift or in their division. 71% (N = 78) of the sample indicated the minimum staffing level was not at all sufficient, 26% (N = 29) indicated it was sufficient, and 2% (N = 2) indicated that it was more than sufficient.

Notably, officers working in patrol, as opposed to specialized divisions, were significantly more likely to feel negatively about the department's staffing levels. About 69% of officers working in patrol, compared to 43% of officers working in specialized divisions, said they strongly disagreed that staffing was sufficient for them to do their jobs efficiently (z = -2.15, p = .031). Similarly, 88% of officers working in patrol, compared to 59% of officers working in specialized divisions, rated the department's minimum staffing level as not at all sufficient (z = -3.17, p = .002).

The officers interviewed were understanding of limited city resources to fund positions in recent years, and they also acknowledged that there were recent efforts to slowly increase department personnel. However, officers were concerned that a surge of retirements in the near future might undo these efforts to replenish their ranks. In addition to impacting officers' feelings of safety and their ability to do their jobs efficiently, these shortages were also described as impacting officers' ability to get time off, devote enough attention to residents they interact with, complete detailed reports, and take time to reset after experiencing particularly traumatic incidents.

Furthermore, officers interviewed felt that it would be extremely difficult to attract qualified candidates to the HPD given their current salary, benefits, and workload. Compared to the average starting salary for entry-level police officers in municipal police departments in Hartford County,[102] the HPD starting salary is about 20% lower, or almost $13,000 less. Said officers, "Nobody wants to come here to do more work for less pay. It doesn't make any sense."

[102] Starting salaries collected from publicly available job postings from 91% (N=21) of Hartford County municipal police departments 2018-2019.

Others said that newer officers were more likely to get hired by the HPD, complete their training and FTO process, spend their two required years in the department, and then laterally transfer to an agency with better pay and benefits. They explained that "there's nothing to keep people here." Officers were once again quite realistic about some of the financial limitations of the city but still felt that police officers could be paid a more reasonable salary with more reasonable benefits than they are currently given. They emphasized the "need to feel valued" and that fair compensation would "show appreciation" for their hard work and dedication to the city while increasing the department's ability to attract and retain qualified candidates.

Equipment & Operational Resources

Among officers interviewed, many praised the HPD's technological developments centered on crime analysis and investigation, such as the tools housed in the Capital City Command Center (C4). The City of Hartford has installed and/or integrated a network of cameras throughout the city that result in more efficient responses to and investigation of criminal activity. Only a select number of HPD supervisors, detectives, and C4 personnel have access to camera feeds, but they're able to forward information and video clips to officers for use in the field or follow-up investigations. Additionally, the C4 includes personnel and tools that assist with criminal intelligence and citywide crime analysis. These technological and analytical capabilities were described as playing a critical role in timely, informed call response, investigative effectiveness, and proactive policing strategies.

The City's technological investments in areas like the C4 were valued by officers, but they stand in contrast to a number of departmental deficiencies in basic equipment and daily operational necessities. In officer surveys, respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with the following statements on a scale of 1 – 4 with 1 indicating strongly disagree to 4 indicating strongly agree: 1) I have the resources and equipment that I need to do my job efficiently and 2) I have the resources and equipment that I need to do my job safely.

In terms of having the resources and equipment to do their job efficiently, the mean score for the full sample was 2.1, suggesting that overall respondents somewhat disagree with this statement (Figure 9.2). Approximately 60% (N = 66) of the sample either strongly disagreed or somewhat disagreed that they have the resources and equipment to do their job efficiently. In terms of having the resources and equipment needed to perform their job safely, 51% (N = 56) of the sample either strongly disagreed or somewhat disagreed. The mean response on this question was 2.3 on a scale from 1 – 4.

Figure 9.2. Efficiency and Safety of Equipment/Resources: Average Survey Response Ratings (*n* = 110)

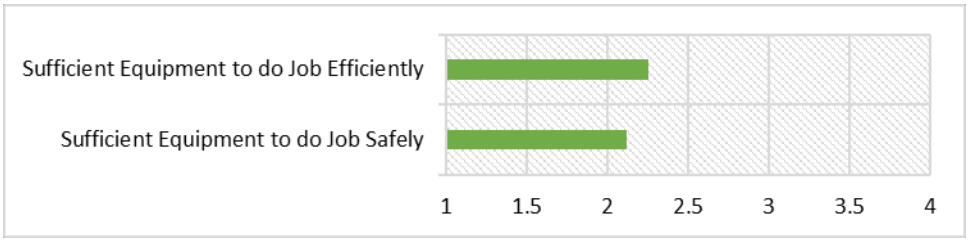


Table 9.1. Descriptive Statistics for Officer Ratings of Equipment-Related Priority Needs

	Mean Priority Rating (Scale 1-3)	**Top 5 Ranked:**				
		Patrol	Specialized Division	Officers	Detectives	Supervisors
Cruisers	2.84	1	3	1	4	2
Bulletproof Vests	2.88	2	1	2	1	1
Firearms	2.75	3	4	3	3	3*
Less-than-lethal weapons	2.59		5		5	4
Uniforms	2.36					
Flashlights	2.13					
Radios	2.75	5*	2		2	3*
Medical Kits	2.30					
Narcan	1.90					
Laptops	2.61	4		4		5
CAD/RMS	2.61	5*		5		3*

*tied/equal

As with personnel resources, officers working in patrol were significantly more likely to feel negatively about provision and upkeep of equipment. About 71% of officers working in patrol, compared to about 26% of officers in specialized divisions, strongly disagreed that they had the equipment necessary to do their jobs efficiently. We asked the officers surveyed to rate the level of priority they felt should be given to purchasing or maintaining a range of different equipment needs (Table 9.1), and interviews with officers provided more detail regarding what officers found to be the most severe shortcomings.

Vehicles

In interviews with officers, participants felt that updating the police department fleet was the highest priority. Of all the equipment and resources mentioned by respondents, this was identified as a need that should be addressed

by about 68% of officers interviewed (N = 30) and was identified as a high priority need by 84% (N = 92) of officers surveyed (Appendix D).

A review of department fleet data shows that most of the primary fleet (i.e., Chevrolet Caprice) is about five years old with an average mileage of 48,408. Most of the secondary fleet (i.e., Ford Crown Victoria) is about eight years old with an average mileage of 84,103. According to this data alone, the overall age and mileage of vehicles is relatively sufficient, meaning that most vehicles in the HPD are nearing or above general recommendations to replace police fleet vehicles every 5 – 6 years but are below recommendations to decommission police fleet vehicles after 100,000 - 135,000 miles.[103] However, it's important to consider that in reality, numerous factors like usage, condition, and maintenance, or lack thereof, will affect these general recommendations. Examining the optimal replacement cycles for the HPD fleet in particular would require an individualized life-cycle analysis and is beyond the scope of this report.

With those technical specifications aside, most officers were concerned with two central features of their department vehicles: 1) vehicle capabilities, and 2) vehicle maintenance. Regarding capabilities, officers interviewed felt that their vehicles lacked the ability to get around the city safely and efficiently in inclement weather. They recommended that new fleet vehicle purchases should be for four-wheel drive or all-wheel drive vehicles so that officers can better handle snow-covered roads. Currently, both Crown Victoria and Chevrolet Caprice police cruisers used by the department are rear-wheel drive, but the HPD has noted that all vehicles purchased in 2019 and 2020 have been all-wheel or four-wheel drive.

Regarding fleet maintenance, most officers interviewed said that vehicles deteriorated quickly and that getting repairs was a task that took much too long. Officers said that for simple repairs, vehicles would be "deadlined" for weeks or months at a time leaving them with shortages of cars for their shifts. They explained that this often led to officers ignoring problems or maintenance needs for as long as possible before sending it for service and they felt that this practice could cause more damage and degrade vehicles more quickly. Officers explained these shortcomings as involving several factors like officers not caring for their vehicles, poor internal lines of communication, poor internal fleet management, and a lack of police department resources. Because vehicle service and repair is not conducted by the HPD itself, officers also described some of these problems as likely resulting from difficulties, like decreased staffing levels, faced by other City of Hartford agencies.

[103] Recommendations published by the National Association of Fleet Administrators (2017) and Government Fleet, (2011).

Report Writing Resources & Records Management System (RMS)

Officers interviewed also described a glaring need for an integrated CAD/RMS system. They explained that the current system of typing and printing reports was inefficient and disorganized. They said that these practices utilize more time and personnel resources than necessary and can result in missing reports which then negatively impacts both officers and citizens. The HPD confirmed that an RMS system was purchased by the City of Hartford's Emergency Services & Telecommunications, but due to the time required to convert paperwork and existing Fire, Police, and ES&T systems, it was not scheduled to be fully operational until late 2020.

Officers also expressed a need for adequate report writing resources. Specifically, they explained that there were deficiencies in the equipment in cruisers (e.g., broken computers) and that they had limited locations at which they could sit down and type reports. Officers said that adding substations and/or ensuring that existing substations were adequately equipped and accessible could 1) be beneficial for local communities and 2) ensure that officers could type reports without having to leave their area and return to headquarters. Lastly, officers mentioned that the department often lacked basic supplies like paper and toner, and frustrations with such shortages of essential supplies and resources compounded quickly.

Uniforms & Allowances

Officers interviewed often described frustrations with their uniforms. They largely described them as being impractical and uncomfortable for their tasks and interactions while on patrol. Complaints centered on the feeling that while their uniforms "look nice," they are not functional for patrol. Officers wanted the option to wear less tailored uniforms structured for increased comfort and durability, and they stated that other local municipal and regional urban police departments offered patrol officers these options. Many police departments experience similar conflicting opinions regarding uniforms. Administrators often desire the clean, professional look of modified Class A or Class B uniforms, and patrol officers often desire the practicality and comfort of options with the practical features of BDUs. Since options that balance concerns regarding community perceptions with officer comfort are continuously developing, remaining open to input and exploring uniform options is key to ensuring that this doesn't become a stronger source of lowered morale.

Additionally, several officers mentioned that they are provided with new uniforms each year, whether they need them or not. Several officers mentioned having an excess number of uniforms at home that they didn't need, didn't wear (if working in a specialized division), or no longer fit. Officers suggested that providing them with an annual stipend/allowance equivalent to the cost of these

uniforms would be a much better use of funds. They explained that officers could use the allowance to purchase a new uniform if needed, and that they could otherwise get approval to use the allowance to purchase accessory supplies like belts, utility pouches, and boots.

Training

Training Area Needs

Adequate training and skill development are imperative to shaping and maintaining a qualified police force. We asked survey respondents to indicate which training areas they felt to be priority needs in the department. The training topics included on our list are required topics for initial POST (Police Officer Standards and Training) certification and/or ongoing recertification, but indicating an area as a high priority suggests that officers feel the need for expanded education and skill development in those areas. Of the 11 training topics included on the officer survey, the highest priorities indicated by officers were 1) firearms, 2) active shooter, and 3) defensive tactics. We also allowed officers to write in training needs. Several officers mentioned a need for additional training regarding cultural understanding, bias, and de-escalation. Officers also wrote in needs for wellness-oriented programs focused on peer support, mental health, team building, and the unique stressors of urban policing.

Officers surveyed were also asked to assess their personal level of confidence performing a number of different policing skills and engaging with different types of law enforcement problems (Table 9.2). Overall, officers felt especially confident communicating with and responding to the needs of racial/ethnic minorities, women, and victims of domestic violence. Officers also felt generally confident in their knowledge and abilities regarding the use of lethal or less-than-lethal force. Officers were less confident in their knowledge and ability to respond to people with physical/intellectual disabilities or mental illness, develop solutions to community problems, or control crowds and/or riots. Notably, amongst those surveyed, female respondents were significantly more confident in their knowledge and abilities responding to the policing needs of people with physical/intellectual disabilities, people with mental illness, women, and those involved in domestic disputes. Women further expressed significantly more confidence in their ability to use problem-solving techniques to analyze and solve crime problems.

In addition to asking officers for their direct input regarding training needs, we also explored officers' attitudes toward policing and procedural justice to assess the need for training programs that concentrate on community interactions. To assess officers' orientation toward procedurally just policing practices, respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with six items: explaining your decisions to the public is a waste of time;[104] it is important to explain to everyone why they are being stopped; in general, it is important for police officers to treat all community residents in the same way; it is important to show an interest in what community

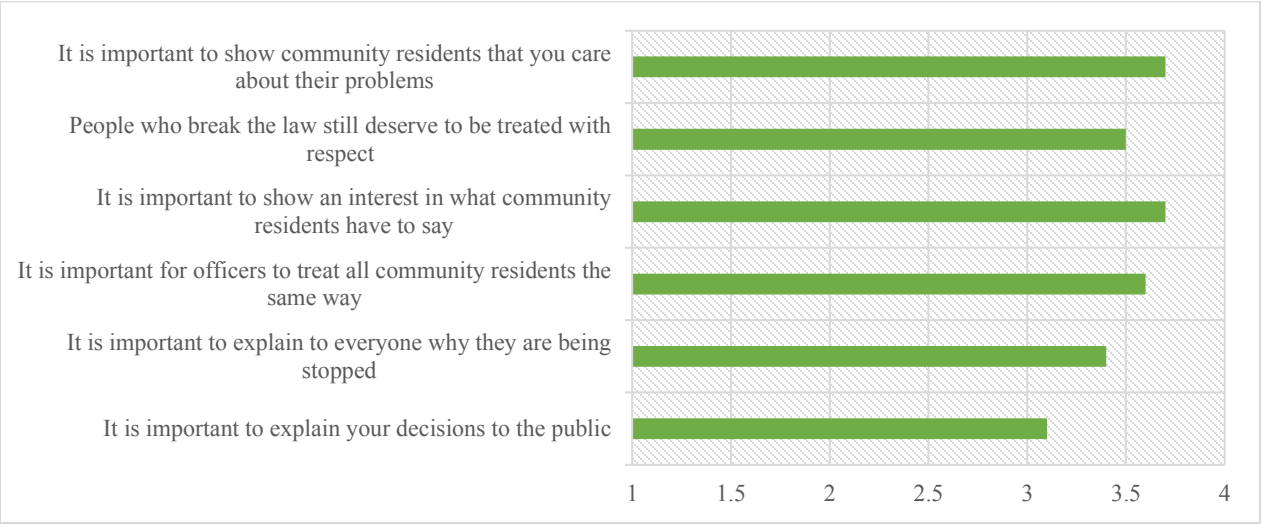
[104] This item was reverse coded so that higher values indicate stronger orientation toward procedurally just policing.

Table 9.2. Mean Level of Officer Confidence in Knowledge and Abilities (Scale 1-4)

	Overall	White	Non-White	Male	Female
Developing solutions to community problems	3.23	3.20	3.18	3.20	3.25
Communicating and working effectively with members of the community	3.45	3.42	3.41	3.39	3.70
Using problem-solving techniques to analyze and solve crime problems	3.48	3.50	3.41	3.38	3.85 *
Responding to the policing needs of people with physical and intellectual disabilities	3.22	3.23	3.24	3.07	3.70 *
Responding to the policing needs of people with mental illness	3.22	3.25	3.18	3.10	3.60 *
Responding to the policing needs of women	3.56	3.57	3.47	3.44	3.90 *
Responding to the policing needs of victims of sexual violence	3.45	3.50	3.38	3.37	3.70
Communicating effectively with people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds	3.60	3.59	3.56	3.55	3.80
Using less-than-lethal force	3.65	3.66	3.65	3.62	3.80
Using lethal force	3.51	3.52	3.53	3.49	3.56
Resolving domestic/family violence disputes	3.63	3.61	3.67	3.58	3.90 *
Crowd/riot control	3.21	3.16	3.32	3.16	3.45

*Statistically significant group-level mean difference; $p < .05$

Figure 9.3: Orientation Toward Procedural Justice Items
Average Survey Response (*n =110*)



residents have to say; people who break the law still deserve to be treated with respect; and it is important to show community residents that you care about their problems. A summative scale with a mean of 21.0 on a possible scale of 6 – 24 was generated (α = 0.76). This suggests that respondents have a strong orientation toward procedurally just policing practices.

Figure 9.3 above depicts the average response for each of the six procedural justice items. Mean comparison tests across respondent demographic characteristics indicate no significant differences across biological sex, racial/ethnic group, age, or education level. Although no significant differences in orientation toward procedural justice were found across division or length of service, significant variation across rank was detected (p = .000). Post hoc tests show that officers (mean = 19.6) score significantly lower on the procedurally just policing items in comparison to detectives (mean = 21.3, p = .02) and respondents with any higher rank (mean = 22.4, p = .000).

Training for Career Development

Several officers interviewed additionally explained that outside of mandated POST and/or departmental training requirements, difficulties existed for getting specialized training. If officers find a class they would like to attend, they are instructed to submit a request for training form to their supervisor to be approved through the chain of command. However, officers in specialized divisions have an easier time receiving approval while gaining approval is more difficult for those working in patrol. Granting time off to a patrol officer requires his/her position to be backfilled, incurring extra agency expenses.

Although officers explained that seeking and gaining approval for specialized training was more difficult in patrol, no other group-level differences emerged in either the interview or survey data. 50% of all officers surveyed indicated that they had at some point been denied a training

course they wanted to attend, and there were no statistically significant differences by either race/ethnicity or sex.

Summary & Recommendations

Equipment & Resources

The provision of sufficient resources, equipment, and training to officers can significantly affect their attitudes toward their work, the police administration, and their encounters within the community. We first explored officers' views toward personnel resources. Officers feel that staffing levels are too low, and this impacts their ability to do their job safely and efficiently. Officers are also concerned that the department will continue to struggle to hire and retain qualified officers so long as HPD salary and benefits remain so comparatively low.

Regarding equipment and operational resources, the needs communicated by officers centered on basic necessities. Officers, especially those working in patrol, expressed frustration toward the condition of their cruisers, a lack of report writing resources, and a lack of basic supplies like paper and toner at headquarters and substations. As discussed in Section IV, police departments often struggle to close the divide between 'street cops' and 'management cops,' but these issues allow that division to persist. While budgeting limitations may play a role in some of these shortcomings, they are more likely due to a breakdown of communication. In particular, either superiors aren't listening or officers aren't reporting. The department should seek an automated system for reporting equipment breakage and supply shortages. Shuffling papers through the chain of command is tedious, and in a large, busy department, it is probably low on the list of priorities for overtaxed officers and supervisors. A more efficient procedure and system will increase the ease of reporting and, in turn, help officers feel that their needs are important to supervisors and administrators.

Officers also complained about the practicality and functionality of their uniforms for patrol work. Administrators and officers in the HPD seem to hold persistently divergent opinions toward uniform appearance, and little research exists to resolve these arguments and reach a consensus regarding whether police uniforms have any consistent measurable effect on public attitudes. However, conversation is crucial. The HPD police administration should remain open to receiving input and continuously exploring uniform options. If it declines to make changes suggested, these decisions should be explained transparently to officers so they understand the decisions made and feel that their input was considered. In addition to appearance, several officers also suggested the need to amend current annual uniform provision procedures so that officers who weren't in need of new uniforms could allocate those funds toward the purchase of other necessary personal equipment.

> ***Recommendation 9.1***: Explore deployment schedules and staffing needs to reduce task overload, especially in patrol.
>
> ***Recommendation 9.2***: Given officers' concerns regarding how retirements may affect staffing levels, ensure that recruitment and staffing plans are revised annually to plan for years at risk for significant agency turnover.

Recommendation 9.3: Collaboratively engage the HPD, City of Hartford, and the Hartford Police Union to develop and adopt comparative salary and benefits packages to improve officer hiring, retention, and job satisfaction.

Recommendation 9.4: Conduct a comprehensive life-cycle analysis of the HPD fleet and solicit officer input regarding operational and maintenance shortcomings. Make the report of this examination available to officers.

Recommendation 9.5: Collaborate with internal fleet management and the City of Hartford to improve procedures for reporting, tracking, and resolving cruiser maintenance issues.

Recommendation 9.6: Solicit officer input regarding the models and features of future fleet purchases.

Recommendation 9.7: Ensure that an RMS system is fully operational and deployed department-wide as soon as possible to minimize officer frustration and task overload.

Recommendation 9.8: Make procedures for reporting issues like broken computers and supply shortages more efficient. Enforce a timeline for response and resolution by administrative personnel.

Recommendation 9.9: Consider additional opportunities for the Uniform Committee to solicit and review line officer feedback, explore uniform options, trial new equipment options, and provide recommendations to the administration. Ensure that reports of recommendations and trials are made available to officers for review.

Recommendation 9.10: Collaboratively engage the HPD, City of Hartford, and the Hartford Police Union to explore reasonable amendments to the uniform allocation/allowance procedures.

Training

Regarding training topic needs, survey data first suggests that officers desire more instruction regarding their responses to high-stakes situations. Both active shooter and crowd/riot control were suggested to be areas in need of attention according to survey responses. Existing research tends to suggest that more experienced and well-trained officers are more likely to emphasize verbal de-escalation, utilize force mitigation techniques, and make appropriate decisions regarding the deployment of force when compared to less experienced or novice officers.[105] These findings indicate that both the department and community can benefit from

[105] Laura Mangels, Joel Suss, and Brian Lande, "Police Expertise and Use of Force: Using a Mixed-Methods Approach to Model Expert and Novice Use-of-Force Decision-Making." *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, (2020): 1-10.; Joel Suss and Paul Ward, "Revealing Perceptual-Cognitive Expertise in Law Enforcement: An Iterative Approach Using Verbal-Report, Temporal-Occlusion, and Option-Generation Methods." *Cognition, Technology, and Work* 20,

ensuring that officers feel equipped with the knowledge and training background to confidently and rationally approach such scenarios.

Officer surveys also suggested several other topics about which they desired additional training. Overall, officers were less confident about their knowledge and ability to respond to people with physical/intellectual disabilities, respond to people with mental illness, or to develop solutions to community problems. In their open-ended responses, officers surveyed furthermore expressed a need for training and education regarding cultural understanding, bias, de-escalation, and officer wellness. Although officers generally had a strong orientation toward procedurally just policing behaviors, the department should still continue to emphasize these values and behaviors through annual or biannual training curricula.

Finally, several officers interviewed explained that it was difficult to gain approval for specialized training. This especially affected officers working in patrol, who also have a significant amount to gain through training opportunities in terms of both knowledge and career advancement opportunities.

> ***Recommendation 9.11***: Officers desire more training in high-stakes law enforcement situations. Increase training in areas like active shooter response and crowd/riot control so that officers will be more likely to deploy measured, rational, and informed responses to potential use-of-force encounters.
>
> ***Recommendation 9.12***: Develop and implement training in response to officer feedback regarding the need for more education in cultural understanding, bias, and de-escalation actions. Seek the involvement of both police practitioners and area experts to collaborate in deploying these training sessions.
>
> ***Recommendation 9.13***: Develop additional training curricula to enhance officer confidence in responding to people with physical/intellectual disabilities and people with mental illness. Seek the involvement of both police practitioners and area experts to collaborate in deploying these training sessions.
>
> ***Recommendation 9.14***: Emphasize opportunities for officers to become involved with programs that collaboratively engage the police as partners in developing community solutions to crime and welfare issues.
>
> ***Recommendation 9.15***: Continue to emphasize the values and behaviors of procedurally just policing through annual or biannual training curricula.
>
> ***Recommendation 9.16***: Review training request and time-off procedures collaboratively among the HPD, City of Hartford, and the Hartford Police Union. Explore opportunities to reduce barriers to training and expand career development for officers.

(2018) 585-596.; Paul Ward et al., "Skill-Based Differences in Option Generation in a Complex Task: A Verbal Protocol Analysis." *Cognitive Processing* 12, (2011): 289-300.

X. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

In many ways, the organizational shortcomings present in the HPD reflect challenges likely to be found in most workplaces and, especially, many police departments. Outside of the numerous difficulties and complexities of police work, several features of law enforcement agencies make them particularly susceptible to organizational problems. Among those, the strict hierarchical structure embedded in police agencies can make positive organizational practices, like maintaining sufficient communication and transparency, difficult to achieve. Incrementally distanced relationships at the extreme ends of this hierarchical structure often lead to severe fractures between the rank-and-file and the police administration which negatively impact workplace perceptions and employee satisfaction. Additionally, police administrators in urban police departments often serve relatively short tenures which can make it easier to maintain the status quo rather than address organizational weaknesses and alter internal management practices. In the tightly bonded police workgroup, ignoring problematic practices leads to frustration and negativity that spreads quickly throughout the organization. However, the shortcomings identified by this study are manageable and many are under the control of the police administration. The following subsections encompass the key priority areas of improvement suggested by the findings of this organizational assessment.

Address Intra-Organizational Friction

While friction is often present throughout the police hierarchy and between units, the HPD experiences a strong fracture between the administration and the rank-and-file. If these dynamics persist, it will be corrosive to organizational cooperation and morale. Findings from interviews and surveys of officers indicate that the HPD administration has long struggled to achieve the level of communication, transparency, and support that officers would like to see from their leadership. It has long been established in policing research that the relationship between police administrators and line officers is frequently distant and strained.[106] Much of this is likely due to divergent job responsibilities: officers focus on maintaining officer safety and dealing directly with crime while administrators are concerned with managing liability and protecting the reputation of the agency as a whole.[107] This can be framed as a struggle between "street cops" and "management cops."

Addressing this internal tension is difficult but emphasizing the creation of a culture focused on organizational justice can be a critical first step in helping close this divide. Organizational justice encompasses those characteristics associated with both internal procedural justice and transformational leadership, and it is crucial for both officers and the community they serve. These organizational qualities include giving employees a chance to voice their views and concerns; demonstrating consistency and impartialness in decision-making; treating employees with dignity and respect; ensuring transparency in policies and procedures; communicating clearly;

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[106] James Q. Wilson. *Varieties of Police Behavior: The management of law and order in eight communities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.
[107] Wilson. *Varieties of Police Behavior: The management of law and order in eight communities*; Peter Manning. *Police Work*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977.

and showing that leaders make decisions in good faith and with sincerity.[108] These internal characteristics lead officers to view their workplace and leaders as fair and legitimate. As perceived fairness increases, officers' acceptance of leadership decisions and compliance with leadership directives also increases.[109] Furthermore, research has demonstrated that there may also be benefits to the community. Officers who work in organizationally just agencies also appear to be more likely to behave in a procedurally just manner in their interactions with the public.[110]

Facilitating the development of mutual trust, respect, and support between line officers and the police administration is also critical to reducing internal friction and achieving the beneficial effects of internally just policies and practices.[111] Officers would like to see a greater visible presence and would like to feel more support from police administrators. Actions like visiting roll calls and specialized units, initiating informal conversations with officers, and seeking to learn more about officers' daily work and challenges can substantially improve officer morale and commitment to the organization.[112] These actions and conversations should be a prioritized perpetual responsibility of those in the police administration. Administrators and immediate supervisors should also consider ways in which they can both formally and informally recognize the positive efforts and accomplishments of officers throughout the department.

Strengthen Transparency & Communication

In tandem with addressing internal friction, the findings of this report suggest that the HPD administration must dedicate special attention to ensuring clear communication of expectations and departmental plans. Officers often felt that they lacked explanations regarding administration decisions and actions, and they said that their input was rarely solicited. The police administration should emphasize transparency in its plans and decision-making. Soliciting input and feedback from officers on department plans and otherwise involving officers in planning processes can also help increase employee investment, commitment to the organization, and acceptance of eventual programs and directives. As an extension, electronic communications, though often used to create an audit trail, run the risk of misinterpretation and can lead to animosity among officers toward the administration.[113] On a case-by-case basis, administrators should consider these risks and

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[108] Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff. "Justice from Within: The Relations between a Procedurally Just Organizational Climate and Police Organizational Efficiency, Endorsement of Democratic Policing, and Officer Well-Being."; Tom Tyler and Jeffrey Fagan. "Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why Do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities?," *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 6, (2008).

[109] Greenberg. "Using Socially Fair Treatment to Promote Acceptance of a Work Site Smoking Ban."; Lind et al. "Individual and Corporate Dispute Resolution."

[110] National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. *Proactive Policing: Effects on Crime and Communities*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2018.

[111] Jason Colquitt et al. "Justice at the Millenium, a Decade Later: A Meta-Analytic Test of Social Exchange and Affect-Based Perspectives," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 98, no. 2 (2013).

[112] Richard Johnson. "Police Organizational Commitment: The Influence of Supervisor Feedback and Support."

[113] Andrew James Clements at al. "Identifying Well-Being Challenges and Solutions in the Police Service: A World Café Approach," *The Police Journal: Theory, Practice, and Principles,* (2020).

assess whether face-to-face communication with department personnel may be more appropriate at times.

In the HPD, officers frequently described feeling that the police administration failed to support or offer consideration to its officers, either internally or externally in the public sphere. The administration must be steadfast in fighting for what is best for the community, police officers, and public safety. Media and political pressure can sometimes hasten organizational actions that deserve careful planning, consideration, and consultation. Decision-making that is seen as rushed can frustrate officers and reduce confidence in organizational leadership. Additionally, officers are less-likely to buy-in to new programs and policies if they feel that they are politicized, misinformed, or ill-considered actions. Consequently, those programs and policies are less likely to succeed. The police administration must be open and proactive in seeking continual, progressive change, but officer interviews suggest that these changes must occur alongside meaningful internal and external dialogue.

Improve Performance Management & Career Development

The lack of performance management systems within the HPD creates a number of difficulties for managing personnel, monitoring achievements, and addressing problematic behavior. Officers deserve clear communication about standards and expectations, and they appreciate feedback regarding their performance. Personnel management systems and approaches within the HPD must be developed and/or redesigned. Officers and supervisors should be fairly evaluated at least annually. The HPD should seek to utilize 360 evaluations, which offer more fair, objective, and realistic assessments of employees, and importantly, allow subordinates to provide feedback on the quality of their supervision as well.

Our findings relatedly suggest a need to employ more fair and objective standards in officers' promotion and assignment opportunities. There is a need for improvement in the clarity and consistency of personnel-related policies and practices, especially for job-related opportunities. Officers seem to be more satisfied with promotional procedures, but providing detailed explanations of any scoring changes, alongside more opportunities for representatives like the Hartford Police Union to clarify and understand such changes, may help avoid officer suspicion. For positions in specialized units, officers would like to see a more consistent process in both posting procedures and interview practices. Offering more consistency in division positions may help legitimize the process while still maintaining commanders' agency in making decisions that are best for their units. Implementing performance evaluations and incorporating them into these assessment procedures may add a layer of objectivity to the selection process.

The HPD should also expand specialized training and exposure to department opportunities. Specifically, the findings of this study suggest that the HPD should more widely implement initiatives like the detective trainee program. Officers felt like this program helped them showcase their skills and abilities and aided supervisors in making more well-informed assignment decisions. Additionally, rotational trainee programs or rotational cross-training initiatives can help achieve more widespread diversity throughout the department in a manner that may feel more legitimate to officers. Research regarding female and racial/ethnic minority officers suggests that

many mobility and advancement limitations develop because these officers lack informal networking opportunities. These programs can especially help minority officers build relationships, seek mentors, and become integrated into more networks in the police department.

Manage Personnel Behavior & Conflicts

Our findings suggest that harassment based on sex, gender, race, or sexual orientation is not widespread in the HPD, but occurrences do exist. Every workplace should continuously work to reduce instances of harassment, and arguably, any number of occurrences above zero is too much. This assessment indicates that increased cultural competency and sensitivity training would be beneficial to officers and the agency. However, these ideas must be reinforced in practice in the department. These training sessions can shift attitudes, but they're less capable of altering actual behaviors. If these trainings are framed as another routine, mandatory exercise, they are even less likely to be effective. Administrators and supervisors in the HPD must carefully plan how they will reinforce training sessions in daily management of their peers and subordinates. They should also seek opportunities to frame these behaviors as harmful to the profession, rather than just harmful to individuals or police management. Police officers—including those in the HPD—care very deeply about the integrity of the law enforcement profession. The ideas of these training sessions may be more impactful when officers are led to consider how these instances delegitimize policing and harm their profession.

For both harassment behaviors and other interpersonal conflicts, the HPD should improve its structures for both formal and informal discipline. All harassment, conflict-oriented, and code of conduct policies should be reviewed and revised annually. When discipline is warranted, it should be fair and objective, and the outcomes should be transparent. The HPD should also be mindful of how they can maintain the integrity of the Internal Affairs Division. Without adequate separation and independence, IA bureaus may become overly responsive and sympathetic to either management or line officers. In the HPD's case, many officers felt that the former sometimes occurred. These perceptions mute fair and objective oversight, and they increase distrust toward the disciplinary system. Police agencies should undertake efforts to increase IA separation in terms of minimizing conflicts of interest as well as reducing physical proximity to the administration. Policies should also empower the police administration or IA (in the case that an administrator is the subject) to assign cases to an outside agency for investigation.

It is worth noting that most officers reported having generally positive relationships with their peers, and they feel confident and comfortable addressing interpersonal conflicts directly as a first resort. In police departments, while strong policies and practices to deal with conflict are necessary, they should also be realistic of the exceedingly close bond of the police officer workgroup. Strict disciplinary policies are important for communicating organizational values and punishing ongoing misconduct, but police agencies should also ensure that there are a number of informal channels on which officers can rely to address interpersonal conflicts. Discipline can have significant consequences in the careers of police officers, and in a culture that so highly values peer camaraderie and solidarity, officers may be reluctant to report conflicts or harassment and implicate a fellow officer when there are such severe penalties. This is not to say that those consequences would be undeserved, but rather, that the threat of those serious consequences for a

fellow officer might lead victimized officers to tolerate rather than report problem behaviors. To avoid these potential unintended effects, the HPD should ensure that there are sufficient informal avenues for officers to address problems with their coworkers (e.g., police ombudsman, mediation). This offers victims increased flexibility and control in how they would like to see a conflict handled.[114]

Outside of organizational policies and procedures to address misconduct like harassment, taking actionable steps to increase communication, transparency, support, and fairness may decrease the likelihood of problem employee behaviors. Research indicates that the organizational climate is an important predictor of the prevalence of sexual harassment and that when the organization focuses on fairness and internal procedural justice, these features help deter harassment.[115] Scholars have suggested that because a just climate focuses on fairness for all employees regardless of demographic qualifications, it promotes a focus on organizational standards for achievement and diminishes power differentials that are associated with harassment behaviors.[116] Furthermore, officers become less likely to protect others engaging in misconduct.[117] For organizations with gender imbalances, this focus on organizational justice becomes especially important.

Engage in Culture Management

Interviews with officers suggested that intergroup divisions exist, albeit minor. Off-color jokes and remarks occasionally create misunderstandings and tensions between gender or racial/ethnic groups. Department knowledge of harassment or discrimination complaints occasionally cools interactions between gender or racial/ethnic groups and increases divisions and feelings of mutual distrust.

Within every organization, informal organizations or cultures will emerge whether based on common characteristics or common values, and the HPD must work to manage these relationships and interests. Several groups exist within the HPD that protect officer interests and create bonds based on common characteristics like sex, race, ethnicity, and/or nationality. These groups seem to function positively within the HPD, but the administration should be proactive in seeking feedback from the leaders of these organizations. Group leaders hold valuable information about the special needs, frustrations, and concerns of their members. If these frustrations are allowed to fester, these informal organizations may become more distant and autonomous. Therefore, maintaining a shared vision and inclusive police organization requires that administrators proactively develop productive and reciprocal communication channels with all informal organizations.

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[114] Nicole Buchanan et al. "A Review of Organizational Strategies for Reducing Sexual Harassment: Insights from the U.S. Military." *Journal of Social Issues* 70, no. 4 (2014).
[115] Cristina Rubino et al. "And justice for all: How organizational justice climate deters sexual harassment." *Personnel Psychology* 71, (2018).
[116] Cristina Rubino et al. "And justice for all: How organizational justice climate deters sexual harassment."
[117] Scott Wolfe and Alex Piquero. "Organizational Justice and Police Misconduct."

Reduce Task Overload, Resource Limitation, & Officer Stress

Our findings suggest that officers are stressed by a shortage of both personnel and equipment resources within the police department. Police officers are subjected to an increasing number of demands both by their department and by the public, and insufficient resources to meet these demands can be a powerful organizational stressor that decreases officer performance and service delivery.[118] Staffing shortages can further impact job performance and reduce officers' willingness and ability to engage in effective proactive police work.[119] While citywide resource limitations exist, the police department should assess whether internal personnel resources can be reallocated to increase effectiveness and efficiency while decreasing workloads for individual officers. The department should also consider ways by which they can solicit officer input regarding priority purchasing and budgeting needs. Lastly, the department should work collaboratively with relevant parties to ensure that officers are compensated fairly and comparatively to reduce staffing shortages and increase job satisfaction.

Even with changes and improvements to these resources, some deficiencies will remain and officers are likely to continue experiencing stress as a result of a number of other internal and external stressors. Our findings indicate that officers are especially affected by external stressors like public criticism and the negative portrayal of law enforcement in the media. Other internal stressors like insufficient salary and insurance benefits and perceived favoritism in the department also concerned officers. The HPD's officers are resilient in that despite these stressors, they reported low to moderate levels of potential consequential negative attitudes like cynicism and apprehension. Still, many officers in both interviews and surveys expressed the need for more services and education focused on officer wellness. Addressing stress and mental health in policing has been difficult because of the stigma associated with asking for help, but in recent years, agencies have worked to dismantle this stigma and design programs that proactively reduce stress, build officer resilience, and remove barriers to help-seeking. The HPD should seek additional ways to normalize discussions around mental health and offer free, accessible, and confidential counseling options to assist officers.

Champion Officers in Patrol

Our findings suggest that officers working in patrol in the HPD feel the negative effects of a range of organizational, operational, and external factors much more harshly. Officers working in patrol felt less supported by the police administration, reported less job satisfaction and less work motivation, and appear to be more closely impacted by staffing, equipment, and training deficiencies of the HPD. In interviews, both patrol officers *and* officers in specialized divisions voiced a need to focus more resources and support toward the patrol division. Overall, these officers reported feeling underappreciated, overworked, and that their opinions and experiences weren't valued.

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[118] Jon Shane "Organizational Stressors and Police Performance." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 38, no. 4 (2010).
[119] Jonathan Houdmont and Mary Elliott-Davies. *Police Federation of England and Wales 2016 Officer Demand, Capacity, and Welfare Survey Initial Report – Descriptive Results*. Police Federation of England and Wales, 2016.

Patrol suffers from staffing shortages, so officers find it difficult to get time off or attend specialized training. Officers were frequently frustrated by the shortages or quality of patrol cruisers. They also felt that communication up and down the chain of command was lacking, and there was an absence of either visible or verbal support from the police administration. Officers further felt that their expertise wasn't acknowledged or respected. They mentioned the development of policies that directly affected their daily work and that seemed oblivious to the realities of their tasks and responsibilities because they weren't consulted. Lastly, it is important to consider that because of their distance from the police administration, these officers are also more vulnerable to experiencing and tolerating problematic behaviors by supervisors and/or peers because they may build fewer connections with those in high-ranking positions and may feel less empowered to report their concerns.

Overwhelmingly, officers in patrol seemed to want leaders and administrators to seek their feedback, express concern regarding their needs and frustrations, resolve equipment and supply deficiencies, and appreciate their work and experiential expertise. Our findings and recommendations harp on much-needed improvements to communication, transparency, respect, and support throughout the department, and special attention should be given to each of these areas in the HPD administration's relationship with patrol.

Expand Deliberate Recruitment & Retention Activity

Finally, in order to continue its current and future forward progress, the HPD must carefully plan and develop new efforts to improve the recruitment of new officers and the retention of incumbent officers. Officers and administrators acknowledged that, like most police departments, the HPD faces difficulties attracting and hiring qualified recruits, especially from diverse backgrounds. The HPD should expand recruitment planning and activities to continuously develop new strategies to meaningfully engage with the community and potential applicants to build openness and interest toward the law enforcement profession. The department should also explore how it can amend internal policies and practices to improve work-life balance for both current and future officers. This is especially important for women and slightly older potential applicants who are more likely to feel that their familial responsibilities will conflict with the structure and schedule of policing.

Our findings also indicate that the HPD should broaden practices that seek to retain officers throughout the selection process, police academy and field training, and the early years of their careers. The HPD loses a number of applicants during the selection process through voluntary withdrawal, and it also loses a substantial proportion of newly hired officers within the first three years of their careers. Whenever possible, the HPD should conduct both exit and 'stay' interviews with these individuals, and it should be proactive in tracking and addressing the reasons why individuals choose to step away from opportunities or positions in the department. These actions are vital to minimizing staffing shortages, reducing officer stress associated with those shortages, and retaining the valuable experience and knowledge of existing HPD officers.

Conclusion

This report details organizational shortcomings resulting predominantly from long-term practices that have existed within the HPD. The recommendations resulting from this report may seem overwhelming, but they need not be. The HPD contains numerous officers and leaders invested in the well-being of their agency, their fellow officers, and the community they serve. Just as frustration and negativity can spread quickly throughout police organizations, so too can the positive attitudes connected to organizational investment, engagement, and participation. Engagement at all levels will be required to address these areas in a deliberate and thoughtful way, but all of these goals are attainable.

While this study is structured to examine systemic weaknesses and avenues for organizational improvements, it is important to note that there are a number of positive features of the HPD. In particular, officers described very positive relationships with their peers and felt that their work groups were like family. Officers also exemplified dedication to both their department and the community they serve, often stating that they wouldn't want to work anywhere else and that they valued the opportunity to make a difference in citizens' lives. Though they were sometimes disheartened by the negative public and/or media attention toward the police, many of the officers with whom we spoke remained dedicated to continuing to have open dialogue and build trusting relationships with citizens. This indicates that the culture of the department elevates these values and encourages its officers to adopt a mentality in which they are partners with the community.

Internally, most officers felt that in recent years, the department has been moving in a better direction and is focused on continual improvement. As a result, even in light of some of the department's shortcomings, the recent gradual changes and moves toward positive practices were viewed as encouraging. The motivation to solicit this study is also encouraging for the HPD and indicates a desire to improve based on a comprehensive understanding of the workplace as it currently operates. The findings in this report can assist the HPD in formulating strategic plans to improve. Organizations that seek criticism and assess their shortcomings honestly can develop solutions that have significantly positive effects on the workplace experiences of their officers, and these proactive strategies can better position their agency for long-term success.

INDEX OF RECOMMENDATIONS

For ease of reference, this index lists the recommendations provided throughout the final report.

Recruitment & Selection

Recommendation 3.13: Carefully examine surrounding salary and benefits packages. Work with the City to ensure fair compensation relative to surrounding and similar departments. Communicate the consequences for failing to offer comparable benefits.

Diversity in Promotions and Assignments

Recommendation 4.1: Explore and implement job rotation and/or job shadowing programs to expose officers to more opportunities and social networks.

Recommendation 4.2: Ensure that the most highly desired units (e.g., Major Crimes, VIN) are a focus of job rotation and other career development opportunities.

Recommendation 4.3: Solicit interest for the creation of a mentor network. Pair mentors with early career officers based on skills and interests.

Recommendation 4.4: Maintain databases of applicants and outcomes for all internal positions. Assess reasons for position/promotion denial annually to develop new plans for career development.

Recommendation 4.5: Form an HPD Diversity Task Force composed of officers invested in improving departmental diversity through fair, transparent, and just methods. Charge this task force with soliciting officer input, overseeing new initiatives, and monitoring diversity progress.

Transparency, Communication, and Fairness

Recommendation 5.1: Command staff should seek input on potential orders and changes to policies from officers at all ranks in the HPD. Feedback should be solicited through multiple manners (e.g., forums, email) to ensure officers have the ability to offer input on changes prior to them being finalized.

Recommendation 5.2: Modifications to policies and procedures should be disseminated to officers with thorough explanations as to why such changes are being made. Additionally, the expected benefits of any change should be included to create buy-in and reduce punitive tone.

Recommendation 5.3: Command staff should consider the means of delivering updates to employees. E-mails are useful and create a paper trail, but face-to-face interactions can provide more detailed information, relay rationale, and facilitate input/feedback.

Recommendation 5.4: Command staff should develop a strategy to increase their visits to roll calls and build authentic rapport and relationships with rank-and-file officers. Such a strategy should be long-term and adaptive to needs.

Recommendation 5.5: Utilize formal annual award ceremonies and regular informal acknowledgements via email or recognition during roll call to highlight officers' positive actions and good work.

Recommendation 5.6: Increase supervisor training to include/expand curricula focused on how to become a more effective leader and mentor.

Recommendation 5.7: Implement a performance evaluation management system for all personnel. This should be inclusive of periodic reviews, clear communication about expectations, progress monitoring, and conversations regarding feedback.

Recommendation 5.8: Design and implement consistent posting and application procedures for positions and assignments.

Recommendation 5.9: Offer interviews to all candidates who meet basic qualifications for a position or assignment. If the number of applicants exceeds interview capabilities, make the criteria for interview invitation clear and transparent.

Recommendation 5.10: Continue the use of assessment center testing processes for supervisory promotions.

Recommendation 5.11: Continue and consider expanding the use of the detective trainee program.

Workplace Environment

Recommendation 6.1: Increase training and programs for methods of informal conflict resolution.

Recommendation 6.2: Explore semi-annual opportunities for team-building sessions and events both at work and outside of work.

Recommendation 6.3: Build mentorship programs that focus on strengthening bonds and increasing mutual understanding between younger and more senior officers.

Recommendation 6.4. Review and strengthen policies regarding workplace gossip and social media activity.

Recommendation 6.5: Direct additional administrative and peer support resources toward officers targeted in online outlets.

Recommendation 6.6: Implement cultural competency curricula to aid officers in identifying and/or addressing insensitive and offensive comments.

Recommendation 6.7: Charge the Diversity Task Force (see Section IV) with creating specific divisional/positional diversity goals in consideration of their roles, responsibilities, and impacts.

Recommendation 6.8: Offer support and seek ways to expand open communication channels with the Hartford Guardians and Hispanic Officers Association.

Recommendation 6.9: Continue working to address the infrastructure shortcomings that negatively impact the experiences of female officers.

Recommendation 6.10: Consistently review and revise sexual harassment policies to ensure they communicate intolerance and emphasize strong disciplinary responses, but implement such policies alongside informal channels for reporting harassment behaviors to reduce the risk that victim reporting will decrease as disciplinary severity increases.

Recommendation 6.11: Offer support to the newly developed POWER group as it seeks to increase connection among female officers.

Discipline, Misconduct, and Harassment

Recommendation 7.1: Performance evaluation systems are needed throughout the HPD. 360 evaluations will allow subordinates to provide feedback on their supervisors. All officers should be evaluated regularly to increase officer accountability, utilize objective criteria for personnel decisions, increase transparency, and build feedback systems.

Recommendation 7.2: The HPD should consider modifications to the promotion policy to increase transparency for all candidates who are denied a promotion regardless of the number skipped.

Recommendation 7.3: Supervisory training needs to be bolstered and an increased focus on internal procedural justice is critical.

Recommendation 7.4: Conflict resolution training/counseling should be implemented and required for all HPD employees.

Recommendation 7.5: Remedial options for addressing workplace conflict are needed in the HPD. A mediation body or police ombudsperson should be considered.

Recommendation 7.6: An external review of the HPD's harassment training should be conducted to determine if any curricula deficits exist and then subsequently addressed. Additionally, appropriate conduct learned during harassment training must be modeled and reinforced in practice across all areas of the department.

Recommendation 7.7: Participatory training sessions focusing on appropriate workplace behavior should take place annually, especially for those in supervisory roles who must set an example to others.

Recommendation 7.8: The HPD should increase cultural competency and sensitivity training for all officers.

Recommendation 7.9: In order to ensure a fair investigatory process, investigations into misconduct and disciplinary action resulting from an investigation should not be influenced by political pressure or media attention.

Recommendation 7.10: Misconduct reporting procedures should be reviewed and reiterated to all HPD employees. Expeditious reporting of misconduct is critical.

Recommendation 7.11: IAD should immediately assess the working relationship between the parties involved in a complaint and prioritize cases accordingly.

Recommendation 7.12: IAD investigators should take extra care to separate the time and location of interviews to minimize the likelihood of deductive identification and contact between parties involved.

Recommendation 7.13: The HPD should be mindful of how they can maintain the integrity of IAD. Efforts should be undertaken to increase IA separation to reduce the likelihood of becoming overly responsive and sympathetic to either management or line officers.

Officer Wellness

Recommendation 8.1: Develop collaborative and creative long-term strategies to make officer salaries and benefits in the HPD competitive.

Recommendation 8.2: Although proactive strategies to reduce stressors are critical, not all stressors can be addressed. The HPD should make visible efforts to remove barriers to help-seeking and provide accessible and free counseling options to assist officers.

Recommendation 8.3: Although it is nearly impossible to control external stressors (e.g., negative media portrayal), internal gossip can be addressed through cultural shifts that focus on accountability and transparency. Recommendations throughout this report that aim to improve the organizational climate overall can help create a department that does not tolerate harmful internal gossip.

Recommendation 8.4: The HPD should develop strategies to bolster rapport between supervisors and subordinates, particularly in patrol, to identify and address areas of concern that impact job satisfaction.

Recommendation 8.5: A task force consisting of primarily patrol officers should be developed to seek officer input on challenges and solutions to increase job satisfaction, work motivation, and reduce cynicism.

Equipment, Resources, and Training

Recommendation 9.1: Explore deployment schedules and staffing needs to reduce task overload, especially in patrol.

Recommendation 9.2: Given officers' concerns regarding how retirements may affect staffing levels, ensure that recruitment and staffing plans are revised annually to plan for years at risk for significant agency turnover.

Recommendation 9.3: Collaboratively engage the HPD, City of Hartford, and the Hartford Police Union to develop and adopt comparative salary and benefits packages to improve officer hiring, retention, and job satisfaction.

Recommendation 9.4: Conduct a comprehensive life-cycle analysis of the HPD fleet and solicit officer input regarding operational and maintenance shortcomings. Make the report of this examination available to officers.

Recommendation 9.5: Collaborate with internal fleet management and the City of Hartford to improve procedures for reporting, tracking, and resolving cruiser maintenance issues.

Recommendation 9.6: Solicit officer input regarding the models and features of future fleet purchases.

Recommendation 9.7: Ensure that an RMS system is fully operational and deployed department-wide as soon as possible to minimize officer frustration and task overload.

Recommendation 9.8: Make procedures for reporting issues like broken computers and supply shortages more efficient. Enforce a timeline for response and resolution by administrative personnel.

Recommendation 9.9: Consider additional opportunities for the Uniform Committee to solicit and review line officer feedback, explore uniform options, trial new equipment options, and provide recommendations to the administration. Ensure that reports of recommendations and trials are made available to officers for review.

Recommendation 9.10: Collaboratively engage the HPD, City of Hartford, and the Hartford Police Union to explore reasonable amendments to the uniform allocation/allowance procedures.

Recommendation 9.11: Officers desire more training in high-stakes law enforcement situations. Increase training in areas like active shooter response and crowd/riot control so that officers will be more likely to deploy measured, rational, and informed responses to potential use-of-force encounters.

Recommendation 9.12: Develop and implement training in response to officer feedback regarding the need for more education in cultural understanding, bias, and de-escalation actions. Seek the involvement of both police practitioners and area experts to collaborate in deploying these training sessions.

Recommendation 9.13: Develop additional training curricula to enhance officer confidence in responding to people with physical/intellectual disabilities and people with mental illness. Seek the involvement of both police practitioners and area experts to collaborate in deploying these training sessions.

Recommendation 9.14: Emphasize opportunities for officers to become involved with programs that collaboratively engage the police as partners in developing community solutions to crime and welfare issues.

Recommendation 9.15: Continue to emphasize the values and behaviors of procedurally just policing through annual or biannual training curricula.

Recommendation 9.16: Review training request and time-off procedures collaboratively among the HPD, City of Hartford, and the Hartford Police Union. Explore opportunities to reduce barriers to training and expand career development for officers.

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APPENDIX A

Table A1. Officer Survey Pay Security Motivation Subscale

	Mean	SD	*t*	*p*
Race/Ethnicity (*n* =98)				
Nonwhite	17.24	0.80	-0.679	0.499
White	17.64	0.22		
Sex (*n* =100)				
Female	17.30	0.64	-0.350	0.727
Male	17.53	0.28		

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table A2. Ordinal Logistic Regression of Pay Security Motivation Subscale (n =91)

	Coef.	SE	*z*	*p*
Female	-0.234	0.473	-0.50	0.620
Nonwhite	0.325	0.515	0.63	0.528
Age	-0.827	0.225	-3.68	0.000 ***
Education	-0.286	0.152	-1.88	0.061

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table A3. Officer Survey Service/Helping Motivation Subscale

	Mean	SD	*t*	*p*
Race/Ethnicity (*n* =98)				
Nonwhite	14.04	0.38	1.670	0.098
White	13.21	0.25		
Sex (*n* =102)				
Female	13.80	0.58	1.008	0.316
Male	13.27	0.22		

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table A4. Ordinal Logistic Regression of Service/Helping Motivation Subscale (n =93)

	Coef.	SE	*z*	*p*
Female	0.691	0.465	1.49	0.137
Nonwhite	0.665	0.437	1.52	0.128
Age	-0.172	0.205	-0.84	0.403
Education	-0.154	0.148	-1.04	0.296

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table A5. Officer Survey Power/Status Motivation Subscale				
	Mean	SD	*t*	*p*
Race/Ethnicity (*n* =98)				
Nonwhite	10.30	0.56	-0.112	0.911
White	10.37	0.29		
Sex (*n* =102)				
Female	10.25	0.67	-0.047	0.963
Male	10.28	0.28		

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Table A6. Ordinal Logistic Regression of Power/Status Motivation Subscale (*n* =93)				
	Coef.	SE	*z*	*p*
Female	-0.085	0.472	-0.18	0.857
Nonwhite	-0.131	0.445	-0.29	0.768
Age	-0.338	0.205	-1.65	0.099
Education	-0.030	0.146	-0.21	0.835

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

APPENDIX B

Table B1. Ordinal Logistic Regression Predicting Officer Perception of the Police Administration's Transformational Leadership

	Coef.	SE	*z*	*p*	
Years on the job	0.31	0.24	1.27	0.20	
Division (0=patrol, 1=c	1.02	0.44	2.31	0.02	*
Age	-0.17	0.28	-0.62	0.54	
Sex (0=female, 1=male	-0.26	0.53	-0.49	0.63	
Race/ethnicity	0.07	0.21	0.33	0.74	
Education	-0.19	0.42	-0.46	0.65	

*p <.05; **p <.01

Table B2[120]: Full Sample, Sex-Specific, and Race/Ethnicity-Specific Means and Mean Comparison Tests for General Perceptions of Fairness and Fairness in Opportunities

Panel A: I believe that this agency treats its employees the same regardless of:

	Full Sample	White	Black	Hispanic	Other	ANOVA Results[121]	Male	Female	T-test Results
Race or ethnicity	2.3	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.2	NS	2.4	2.3	NS
Gender	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.5	NS	2.5	2.1	NS
Sexual orientation	2.9	2.9	2.6	3.2	2.5	NS	3.0	2.9	NS
Overall	7.7	7.5	7.7	8.3	7.2	NS	7.8	7.3	NS

Panel B: In this agency:

[120] Mean comparisons between heterosexual respondents and gay/bisexual respondents were not examined due to insufficient power due to small sample size of gay/bisexual respondents.
[121] White vs. Non-White means were compared using t-tests as well. Results were also non-significant.

White officers receive more opportunities than nonwhite officers	1.9	1.5	3.1	2.5	2.3	***	1.8	2.2	NS
Nonwhite officers receive more opportunities than White officers	2.7	2.9	1.9	2.5	2.5	*	2.8	2.6	NS
Females receive more opportunities than males	2.6	2.7	2.2	2.4	2.0	NS	2.7	2.2	*
Males receive more opportunities than females	2.1	2.1	2.4	1.9	2.7	NS	2.0	2.6	**

APPENDIX C
Workplace Environment Tables

Table C1. Sexual Harassment and Gender-Based Harassment Incidents (Counts are presented in parentheses)

	Full Sample					Male					Female				
In the past 12 months, how often did someone at work:	Never	Once	1x/mo or less	2-3/mo	1x/wk or more	Never	Once	1x/mo or less	2-3/mo	1x/wk or more	Never	Once	1x/mo or less	2-3/mo	1x/wk or more
Make unwanted attempts to engage in sexual activities	97.2% (105)	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	0.9% (1)	0	98.8% (81)	1.2% (1)	0	0	0	90% (18)	0	5% (1)	5% (1)	0
Make you feel like you were being bribed to engage in sexual behavior.	100% (108)	0	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0
Make you feel threatened for not being sexually cooperative	100% (108)	0	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0
Touch you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable	98.2% (106)	0.9% (1)	0	0.9% (1)	0	97.6% (80)	1.2% (1)	0	1.2% (1)	0	100%	0	0	0	0
Repeatedly tell sexist stories/jokes	93.6% (100)	1.9% (2)	0.9% (1)	0	4.6% (5)	95.1% (78)	1.2% (1)	1.2% (1)	0	2.4% (2)	90% (18)	0	0	0	10% (2)
Make offensive remarks about appearance, body, sexual activities	94.4% (102)	2.8% (3)	0.9% (1)	0	1.9% (2)	96.3% (79)	2.4% (2)	0	0	1.2% (1)	85% (17)	5% (1)	5% (1)	0	5% (1)
Refer to people of you gender in insulting or offensive terms	87.0% (94)	4.6% (5)	3.7% (4)	1.9% (2)	2.8% (3)	93.9% (77)	2.4% (2)	2.4% (2)	1.2% (1)	0	70% (14)	5% (1)	10% (2)	5% (1)	10% (2)
Put you down or act condescending	93% (100)	2.8% (3)	3.7% (4)	0	0.9% (1)	97.6% (80)	1.2% (1)	1.2% (1)	0	0	70% (14)	10% (2)	15% (3)	0	5% (1)

because of your gender															

Table C2. Race/Ethnicity-Based Harassment Incidents (Counts are presented in parentheses)

	Full Sample					White					Nonwhite				
In the past 12 months, how often did someone at work:	Never	Once	1x/mo or less	2-3/mo	1x/wk or more	Never	Once	1x/mo or less	2-3/mo	1x/wk or more	Never	Once	1x/mo or less	2-3/mo	1x/wk or more
Make negative or offensive comments re: your race or ethnicity	88.8% (95)	3.7% (4)	6.5% (7)	0% (0)	0.9% (1)	93% (69)	1.4% (1)	5.4% (4)	0	0	73.9% (17)	13.0% (3)	13.0% (3)	0	0
Subject you to offensive jokes regarding your race or ethnicity	88.9% (96)	4.6% (5)	4.6% (5)	0% (0)	1.9% (2)	92% (69)	2.7% (2)	5.3% (4)	0	0	78.3% (18)	13.0% (3)	4.4% (1)	0	4.4% (1)
Touch you & made you feel uncomfortable because of your race or ethnicity	99.1% (107)	0	0.9% (1)	0	0	98.7% (74)	0	1.3% (1)	0	0	100% (23)	0	0	0	0
Physically threaten or assault you because of your race or ethnicity	99.1% (107)	0	0.9% (1)	0	0	98.7% (74)	0	1.3% (1)	0	0	100% (23)	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX D

Equipment & Resources

Table D1. Proportion of respondents who rated each form of equipment as low, moderate, and high priority (Counts)

	Low Priority	Moderate Priority	High Priority	Rank
Cruisers	0% (0)	16% (18)	84% (92)	2
Bulletproof vests	2% (2)	8% (9)	90% (99)	1
Firearms	5% (5)	16% (18)	79% (87)	4
Less-than-lethal weapons	4% (4)	34% (37)	63% (69)	7
Uniforms	9% (10)	45% (50)	45% (50)	9
Flashlights	25% (27)	38% (42)	37% (41)	10
Radios	5% (5)	15% (17)	80% (88)	3
Medical kits	17% (19)	35% (39)	47% (52)	8
Narcan	36% (39)	39% (42)	26% (28)	11
Laptops	4% (4)	32% (35)	65% (71)	5
CAD/RMS	3% (3)	33% (36)	64% (70)	6