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THE RCMP IN SMALL COMMUNITIES: A QUESTION OF POLICING STYLE

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The RCMP in small communities: A question of policing style" submitted by Marianne Nielsen in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Date : 2 April 1979

ABSTRACT

There is a serious lack of information on the R.C.M.P., especially on their policing activities in small towns and rural communities. This is a detriment when attempts are made to improve the police and to evaluate these improvements. This exploratory case-study of a small community in Northern Alberta contributes some descriptive knowledge to help fill this gap. R.C.M.P. policing style is compared to the three policing styles outlined by J.Q. Wilson in "Varieties of Police Behavior" (1968). In order to discover what mode of policing predominates in small Canadian communities the characteristics of Robertson policing are compared to five indicators of style as proposed by Wilson. It is concluded that the policing style in "Robertson" most closely resembles the service style, although enough variation exists to warrant an expansion of Wilson's typology to include "adaptive policing".

An attempt is also made to discover which of three variables - community expectations, police organization and experience, and population characteristics - is the most influential in the local R.C.M.P. detachment's following of the service style. It was discovered that police organization and experience was the most influential. The quasi-military nature of the R.C.M.P. seemed to be a part of this. Community expectations seemed to have a slight influence; population characteristics, from what little information could be compared, seemed to have almost none.

Adaptive policing is discussed in terms of an evolutionary process beginning with a watchman type of policing style leading to a professional model of policing and then to a social services model. It is suggested that each style is unable to solve the basic problems the police face such as continuing crime, public dissatisfaction and political influences. New models are sought as the ones in use prove unsatisfactory. The social services style is the one currently in fashion and is the one to which the R.C.M.P. is adapting in Robertson. Adaptive policing as found in "Robertson" is proposed as an intermediary stage between the professional and the social services model. Speculations are made whether or not there is an adaptive stage between the watchman and the professional stages, whether there will be a new model superceding the social services model, and whether or not this process is truly evolutionary.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

When investigating the organization and activities of any police force it is not enough to simply record *what* the police do - *how* they do what they do is equally crucial. The central focus of this thesis is this idea of "policing style", especially as it is found in small Canadian communities, and especially as it is practiced by the R.C.M.P. As used in this paper, "policing style" refers to "the distinctive philosophy and characteristics of policing" (Kuykendall, 1974:229). Policing style encompasses a wide spectrum of characteristics and attitudes. A few that we will come across in our discussion include for example, police interaction with citizens, in particular the choice between formal and informal resolutions, relations with minority group members, relations with juveniles, frequency of police-citizen interaction. Also included will be such characteristics as department emphasis on particular police activities - for example, traffic quotas, the handling of minor offences, and the use of discretionary powers.

This paper is not concerned only with a description of policing style in one community but also with determining the major influences on the development of that style. To this end the organization and experience of the police force, the expectations of the community members, and population characteristics of the case-study community are analysed.

What will be gained from an analysis of R.C.M.P. policing style? The major gain is of course, information. Studies on Canadian

police forces - R.C.M.P., provincial, city or municipal - have been few and far between. In the past social scientists and policy-makers have had to rely heavily on American and British data. In addition, very few attempts to study rural or small town policing have been made. Since a large proportion of policing in Canada is done in 'rural' areas similar to our case-study community "Robertson"[1] this also presents a serious lack of information.

Secondly, public dissatisfaction with the increasing crime rate in Canada has grown dramatically in recent years. Cries for change and reform now come daily from the general public, from politicians, and from within the police forces themselves — yet these groups have only limited understanding of crime and/or police attempts to combat it. In order to increase public knowledge and to aid police with their difficult task more basic information concerning the nature of both crime and the police must be made available. Studies such as this one can serve as a beginning point from which to describe what is really happening within a police force as compared to what various groups think should, or could, be happening.

Once, or if, changes in the police force are implemented it will be necessary to make judgements on the effectiveness and desirability of the new set-up. In order to accomplish this it is necessary for some type of comparison baseline to already have been established. Again, that is a function of this type of study.

Besides the intrinsic academic value of this study, the writer had two, more personal reasons for wishing to undertake the project. One reason is the challenge presented by trying to do social research on the R.C.M.P. British and American police forces have been

the targets of increased social research since the early 1950's. Provincial and city police forces in Canada have been allowing journalists and students to tour in police cars for almost as long. The reticence of the R.C.M.P. to permit this activity has been a source of frustration to Canadian social researchers for years.

Once it became clear that the R.C.M.P. were reconsidering their attitude toward social research, no time was wasted in taking advantage of the change.

A great deal of speculation surrounds the motivation behind the federal government and top ranking R.C.M.P. officials "opening-up" the R.C.M.P. for research scrutiny. Several reasons come immediately to mind: this new openness may be a consequence of the trend toward "de-bureaucratization" (Eisenstadt, 1959) that has been gaining strength in many government agencies. Or it may be a reaction to the increasingly negative media coverage the R.C.M.P. and its activities have been receiving in the last four or five years. Whatever the reason, the opportunity was too good to ignore.

It would however be misleading to give the impression that social researchers are now welcomed unreservedly by the R.C.M.P. The R.C.M.P. insist on retaining some control over the research. All researchers, for example, must pass a security clearance. Degree of access to police files depends on the level of clearance received. Conditions for research may be laid out: anonymity for the detachment and its members, confidentiality of data taken from police files, no extended tours of duty (two days or more) for female researchers and so on.

However, once conditions were clearly spelled out and a final approval was received from headquarters, co-operation from officers and men usually turned out to be very good.

The second reason why this writer became interested in an R.C.M.P. study stems from previous research experience in small Canadian towns. The idea of a possible difference in policing styles related to community size was first presented to the writer by a rather querulous high school student who had taken part in a survey of soft-drug use in his school. He, and his friends, were very sure that the local R.C.M.P. members "discriminated against" local young people whom they didn't like or whose families they knew. They were sure nothing like this happened in the city. Upon questioning they also admitted one or two of the local policemen were "O.K."; they knew this because they regularly played hockey with the policemen. Apparently, a number of factors were involved in the local policing process: 1) the police had a great deal of knowledge of the townspeople on an individual basis, and 2) because of activities such as team sports, the townspeople had personal knowledge of the police members. What is most interesting is that these factors, according to the young people, seemed to have had an influence on the local policing practices. A desire to learn more about this type of situation led eventually to this thesis topic.

Because of the lack of information available on "rural" and R.C.M.P. policing, it was necessary to use an exploratory research design. As Wilson (1967:13) comments concerning his own exploratory research on the police:

> To answer the question of *what* is to be measured, or whether anything *can* be measured, is one reason for doing an exploratory study in the first place.

Because there is so little information available on the R.C.M.P., there was insufficient theoretical background upon which to base interview or survey design questions. It was also for this reason that it was necessary to rely primarily on observational techniques of data-gathering. This technique allows a researcher to absorb a wide range of data which can later be focussed on specific topics and can serve as the basis for more statistically-oriented, quantitative research.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Sociological interest in policing styles didn't gain impetus until the early 1960's. A 1964 study by Michael Banton provided the foundation for much of the later work in the field. Banton divided policing into two styles with the differentiation based on orientation toward fulfillment of duties. These were the "peace officer" and the "law officer". As he explains it:

> A division is becoming apparent between specialist departments within police forces (detectives, traffic officers, vice and fraud squads, etc.) and the ordinary policeman. The former are "law officers" whose contacts with the public tend to be of a punitive or inquisitory character, whereas the patrolmen are principally "peace officers" operating within the moral concensus of the community. Whereas the former have occasion to speak chiefly to offenders or to persons who can supply information about an offence, the patrolmen interact with all sorts of people and more of their contacts centre upon assisting citizens than upon offences. (1964:6-7)

In his comprehensive description and comparison of an urban Scottish police force and several "above-average"[2] American police forces, one of the secondary conclusions Banton came to and a point of interest for this study, was that in order to properly understand the police one must also understand their organization and the community within which they exist. (1964:86-124, 263)

Eventually, other social researchers picked up Banton's typology and expanded its scope. For example, Bittner (1967) provides an excellent illustration of the relationship between Banton's "peace-

keeping" style and a specific type of community, that is, skidrow. His study points out the benefits that may be gained from employing a peace keeping rather than a law enforcement style in a community in which the majority of transient inhabitants have few expectations and desires for full, or even attempted law enforcement. Petty theft, minor assaults, vagrancy and so on are the essentials of a transient, deviant lifestyle. Whether or not the law is enforced in these circumstances may depend less on legal factors than on situational factors. For example, a man may be arrested because the police are afraid he will be "rolled" or mugged or simply because he has no place to sleep, or because he is ill, but seldom because he has broken one specifc law (although it should be noted that committing minor offenses is often a regular part of his daily routine). Gambling and prostitution and other "illegal establishments" are tolerated by the police in exchange for information. The principal function of the police on skidrow is to maintain order - they can actually accomplish little else.

The "peacekeeping" orientation has been well described by Grosman (1975), who sees it as encompassing a wide range of activities:

> Policemen spend most of their time in what are primarily peacekeeping and service activities. The enforcement of law takes up only a small percentage of their time. Policemen mediate private disputes, decide what to do with juveniles hanging around street corners, break up fights and intervene in matrimonial disputes, answer complaints about noise and rowdiness, settle disputes between neighbours and engage in a variety of other service activities, particularly between the hours of 6:00 P.M. and 9:00 A.M. when alternative service facilities are unavailable. (1975:85)

Grosman's comments on peacekeeping are of particular interest to us because he bases much of his theory on data obtained from Canadian police forces.

Reiss (1971:63) also considers many of the activities of the police to extend beyond either a peacekeeping or law enforcement role. In his 1971 empirical study, he describes the police role in this manner:

> Many citizens consider the function of the police in every day life to extend beyond their law-enforcement and peace-keeping roles. The lower classes, in particular, call upon the police to perform a variety of services. They depend upon police assistance in times of trouble, crises, and indecision. To whom does one turn when a family member is missing? Who answers the questions of strangers, citizens, or businessmen in need of information? Who respond to accidents and emergencies? Often the police. Such roles of assistance are as much a police function as are coercive roles of authority. Service is inextricably bound up with public order and law enforcement. The police, in fact, receive more calls requesting assistance in noncriminal matters or reporting a crime that has already occured than calls requiring immediate intervention to save victims of crimes. (1971:63-64)

Wilson (1967), whose study served as the guideline for this project, took Banton's dichotomous framework and expanded it to include three categories - the watchman, the service and the legalistic styles. These styles are classified on the basis of the amount and type of involvement that the police force sustains with the public, with particular emphasis on police officer response to police-citizen encounters. (Kuykendall, 1974:230).

Information was gathered in eight urban American cities (one is actually a county although it is densely populated): Albany, Amsterdam, Brighton, Nassau (County), Newburgh, Syracuse (all in New York State), Highland Park (Illinois) and Oakland (California). These communities were chosen on the basis "of their differences, not their similarities" (1967:13). As found in these cities, the three styles do not comprise mutually exclusive categories. Some overlap

does occur. Nevertheless, Wilson has differentiated the predominant characteristics of each category of policing style.

The Watchman style is characterized by the phrase "don't rock the boat". According to Wilson "the police handle the problem of an adversary relationship with the public by withdrawing from as many such relationships as possible." (1967:144) This is not to say that this type of department ignores serious crime. Rather, the more "privatized and uncomplicated the police can make the situation the happier they are. They are less likely to provoke community criticisms and comments in this way. This type of police department is very sensitive to local power groups. Different groups — for example, upper class families, blacks, and teenagers — are thought to have different standards of behavior. Informal procedures, for example, telling the offender to "go home" or "leave town", are relied upon whenever possible. This orientation, then, emphasizes avoiding involvement and keeping the peace informally, rather than strictly enforcing the law.

The Legalistic style department differs quite noticeably from the watchman style department. Here the emphasis is on "professionalism" and "technical efficiency". This type of department, as found in Oakland, Highland Park and Syracuse, is more inclined "to handle commonplace situations as if they were matters of law enforcement rather than order maintenance". (1967:172) This includes juvenile cases. In fact, the policemen themselves carefully observe the laws. Senior officers (or the administrator) discourage the use of discretionary powers wherever it is possible to use formal procedures.

The Service style department, as found in Nassau County and

Brighton, is characterized well by the phrase "having regard for the opinion of the community". Most police forces share this concern but do not view it as a primary initiator of police policy. In the service style departments, this concern exists to the extent that the department develops "various control procedures that make service a major concern to officers at every rank". Their policy is to intervene frequently, unlike the watchman style. Activity is concentrated in managing traffic, regulating juveniles and providing services. (1967:200)

It is possible that some confusion could arise because of the similarities between the legalistic and service styles. The styles can be differentiated by several essential points: the service style department does not have as intensive a traffic enforcement practice as the legalistic, nor are they are punitive and formal in their treatment of juveniles; they do not arrest drunks on sight and have been known to neglect some laws on the grounds they they are "trivial" which would rarely happen in a legalistic department. (1967:202)

As the explanatory basis for his description of the three policing styles, Wilson uses the following variables: 1) police department organization and experience; 2) population characteristics of the "policed" community; and 3) expectations of the policed community. It is quite likely that these variables do not play independant roles. A combination of two or three variables will predominate as Wilson found they did in the city of Brighton where expectations of the community combined with the community population characteristics to develop a service style.

The first variable, *department organization and experience*, shows distinct characteristics for each policing style category. The

three *Watchman departments*, Albany, Amsterdam and Newburgh, display a fair number of similarities with respect to this factor. They have very few men assigend to "staff" positions (i.e. managerial or bureaucratic); there are almost no civilian employees. There is little task specialization and record keeping is almost haphazard. The recruits are local, their training is minimal and educational requirements are very low, as is the pay. Transfers occur infrequently, because there are almost no positions to transfer to.

Departmental organization and experience, Wilson found, was correlated with certain police behaviors observed in interactions between citizens and police. In the Watchman department, Wilson found that the police he observed were less likely to be impersonal or deferential; because of departmental policy they had little incentive to be either. Maintaining self-respect and "not taking any lip" were mentioned by the policemen as the primary motivation for this behavior. Some minority groups, especially Negroes, became antagonized by this attitude. Whether such a police response is directed toward Native Canadians will be discussed later.

Organizationally, the *Legalistic department* is "quasi-military", or operates with a "visible martial atmosphere", according to Trojanowicz and Dixon's (1974:124) review of Wilson's study. The strength of these departments lies in "formal hierarchial authority" rather than in informal authority. (1967:184) For promotional purposes, for example, each police member is under constant evaluation based on his "vigor in imposing rules and efficiency in completing reports about incidents". (1967:184) Every policeman, not just those assigned to traffic are pressured to "produce" tickets. Records are fastidiously

kept. Specialized units proliferate, college-educated recruits are sought after, often on a nation-wide basis. Special research and planning sections may exist but they mainly compile statistics and keep social researchers happy.[3]

Opportunities for promotion abound and special bodies are created to investigate police misconduct. As a result of all these factors, the image that is broadcast both within and without the department is that of "professional police work", aimed at serving the middle class consumer of police work. (Wilson, 1967:183-188)

Again the consequences of departmental organization can be seen "on the street". It "encourages them to take as their standard of justice one which assumes that the function of the law is to punish on the basis of individual culpability those who depart from the behavior required by the law". (1967:188) Citizens must be judged on the attributes of their behavior, not their personal characteristics. Of course such an ideal standard will seldom survive intact when faced with a practical situation. However, this type of department is still noteworthy for its high rates of arrest for juvenile offences, traffic offences and minor offences, such as drunkenness.

Civil liberty leaders frequently voiced complaints about the treatment members of the black community received at the hands of legalistic departments. Despite the initiation of a variety of programmes to alleviate the situation, accusations were still made that the police, for example, "weren't trying hard enough". (1967:197)

The organization of the *Service style department* differs markedly from the legalistic style. Service departments are kept small, preferring to decentralize rather than be centralized and become

out of touch with the community. In fact, many posts are manned by "beat" policemen on foot. Specialized units are created in response to, often in anticipation of community demands. For example, Nassau County has two specially equipped "assistance vehicles" operating on the Long Island Expressway. Public education is of top priority. Conferences are regularly scheduled between the police and community leaders to discuss problems. The police are praised for "maintaining the best and shiniest of buildings and equipment". College educated recruits are preferred and higher education is encouraged for those who don't have it.

The consequences of these factors are exemplified by the standard treatment of juveniles:

> ...unlike watchman-style departments, the police do not overlook violations of the law but, unlike legalistic departments, they are less likely to handle those infractions by taking the person to court. (Wilson, 1967:210)

Often juveniles are turned over to the Juvenile Aid Bureau. In other words, informal, non-arrest procedures are preferred:

> In these places, the police see their chief responsibility as protecting a common definition of public order against the minor and occasional threats posed by unruly teenagers and "outsiders" (tramps, derelicts, visiting college boys). (1967:200)

The second variable suggested by Wilson as having an effect on police orientation is the *population characteristics of the policed community*. He contends that like-classified cities have certain relevant demographic similarities.

As can be seen from Table 1, the eight cities exhibit a wide variety of demographic variables. However, some generalizations can be drawn. The larger cities seem to have legalistic departments; and

TABLE I: A STATISTICAL PROFILE OF WILSON'S EIGHT COMMUNITIES*

Community Characteristics	FOUR HIGH-CRIME CITIES				FOUR LOW-CRIME CITIES			
	Watchman Albany	Watchman Newburgh	Legalistic Oakland	Legalistic Syracuse	Watchman Amsterdam	Service Brighton	Legalistic Highland Park	Service Nassau County
1960 Population	129,726	30,979	367,548	216,038	28,772	27,849	25,532	1,300,171
Per cent Negro, 1960	8.5	16.6	22.8	5.7	0.6	0.2	2.2	3.2
Estimated 1965 Negro population (as per cent of estimated 1965 total population	11.7	25.0	30.2	8.3	insignificant	insignificant	insignificant	4.0
Per cent foreign stock	27.9	30.1	28.2	32.4	48.8	31.0	34.9	39.0
Median family income, 1959	5,778	5,363	6,303	6,247	5,501	11,109	13,007	8,500
Per cent under $3,000	17.5	19.7	17.3	13.9	18.0	4.3	4.3	5.5
Per cent $10,000 and over	15.9	11.8	19.7	18.0	10.0	54.3	62.6	37.6
Median school years completed, 1960	10.9	9.4	11.4	11.1	9.1	13.2	13.0	12.2
Per cent employed in manufacturing jobs	14.3	37.3	20.5	31.3	48.2	31.5	19.8	24.9
Per cent employed in white collar jobs	51.3	34.9	45.0	48.9	39.1	39.4	66.7	58.7
Population change 1950-1960	-3.9	-3.1	-4.5	-2.1	-10.8	54.4	51.9	93.3
Number of uniformed, full-time police officers, 1960	241	60	647	369	42	30	37	1,952
Police officers per 1,000 population, 1960	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.5
Police Expenditures, 1961	1,524,211	412,675	6,510,818	2,786,599	230,723	221,987	277,172	17,366,321
Police Expenditures per capita, 1961	11.72	13.51	17.71	12.90	7.95	8.22	10.85	13.35

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1962; International City Managers' Association, The Municipal Year Book, 1961 and 1962. 1965 total and Negro population based on estimates by local planning agencies.

*from p. 91 James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behaviour. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1968.

it is plain that service style departments exist, at least here, only in what Wilson terms "low crime" communities, communities that seem to have low crime rates as indicated by the frequency of murder and auto theft. Percentage of Negro and foreign stock seems to have little correlation with policing style.

Median family income indicates very little, although the columns "percent under $3000" and "percent $10,000 or over" seem to show a tendency for cities with a high percentage of lower income families to have watchman style departments. They less often have legalistic style departments. Cities with higher income families seem to have service style departments (with the exception of Highland Park on this variable, as well as several others). Watchman and legalistic styles exist mainly in the cities with a lower median number of school years completed (again Highland Park is excepted). Neither percent employed in manufacturing or in white collar jobs strongly support the categorization.

Population change over a 10 year period does give some evidence for differentiation: the watchman departments are all found in cities that have experienced population decreases, as are two of the legalistic departments (Highland Park has a 51.9% increase). The two areas with service style departments had both experienced huge increases in population.

The next factors in the Table deal with departmental characteristics. The service style departments seem to have fewer police officers per 1,000 population than the other departments. The watchman style tended to have the largest number. Police expenditure per capita showed little variation.

The third and final variable that Wilson suggests can affect police style is *community expectations and demands.*[4]

In cities served by *watchman departments* "Whether or not a city is 'wide open' with respect to vice and gambling depends as much on what the political leadership will allow as what the police are willing to ignore". (1967:143) All of the watchman style cities had at one time been "gaudier" and now were becoming quieter although they still showed a fair amount of life.

> But all have become, at least publically, more decorous, and this was accomplished without any significant change in the police - it was simply understood that the politicians and the community and church leaders wanted things a bit quieter... (1967:144)

Cities with *legalistic departments* had at one time all been very critical of their police departments. Accusations were made in one city "of tolerating gambling, conniving with insurance companies and rolling drunks in city jail". and "of consorting with, and accepting favours from gamblers". (1967:180-181) Or more mildly, the department had been accused of being "sloppy" and "ineffective" and of "looking out for themselves and their friends". (1967:181) Many of these departments had been rife with "corruption" before the community or some members of it refused to tolerate it any longer. In response to these accusations, the police administration adopted a legalistic orientation:

> Police departments are judged by the public to a greater extent in terms of appearances and rumours; the best way to stifle rumours of corruption or favoritism is to make sure that everybody gets a traffic ticket, every bookie is put out of business, and every glue-sniffing teenager is hauled in for questioning. (1967:181)

It has already been mentioned how responsive the *service style*

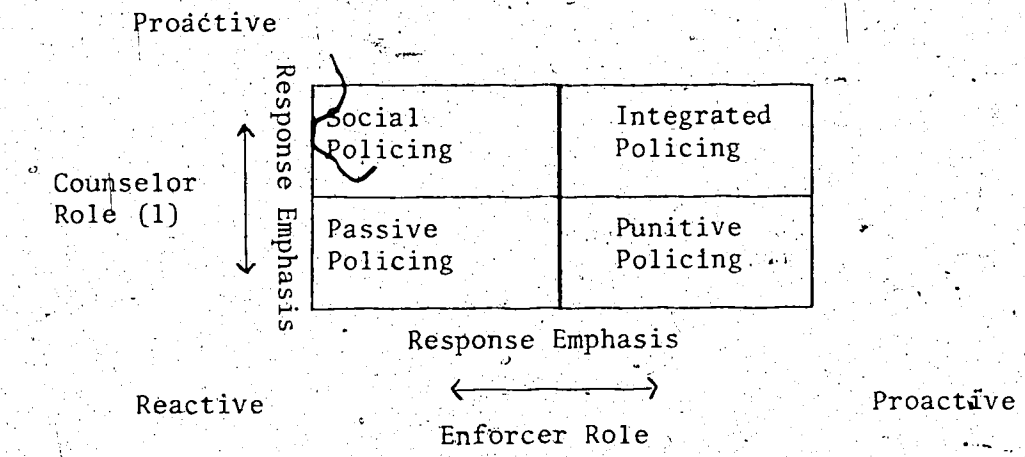
departments are to community demands. As Wilson points out, this type of department exists usually "in homogenous, middle-class communities in which there is a high level of apparent agreement among citizens on the need for and definition of public order but in which there is no administrative demand for legalistic style". (1967:200) Public opinion does not tolerate "illegal enterprises" or even radically deviant behavior. The police therefore concern themselves not only with criminal matters but maintain order and suppress overt deviance. Matters which would probably be ignored in any other community are acted upon by the police in a service style department. In addition, the community expects its police officers to "display the same qualities as its department store salesmen, local merchants, and public officials — courtesy, a neat appearance, and a deferential manner". (1967:201)

Despite Wilson detailing a complex and descriptive frame work for classifying police styles, as well as outlining a number of influencing variables, social researchers are continuing to suggest modifications and alternatives to existing police typologies. Wilson's typology is by no means ideal. For example, his conclusions are based strictly on data from urban communities; his inter-city comparisons are limited and incomplete in describing several variables; his choice of the number of categories is arbitrary; he has not tested the adaptability and flexibility of his framework by confronting it with possibly contradictory data.

Preliminary analysis of data from Robertson made clear the need for an extension of Wilson typology. Kuykendall (1974), Rubin (1972) and Taft and England (1964) are the primary sources of suggestions for modifications.

Kuykendall (1974) builds upon Wilson's three-style typology. In his opinion, it is not accurate to base a police typology solely on amount of police involvement in the community and the formality or informality of police procedures. He believes it is necessary to take into account the response emphasis of the police, that is whether it is proactive or reactive (1974:232). The resulting typology is as follows:

Figure 1: The Counselor-enforcer model of policing styles*



*adapted from p. 237 Jack L. Kuykendall "Styles of Community Policing" Criminology 12/2 1974.

(1) *Counselor* uses education, referral and diversion. *Enforcer* uses deterence, community saturation and apprehension. *Proactive* responses are initiated to prevent problems, *reactive* responses occur after a problem has appeared.

Passive policing closely resembles Wilson's watchman style; for example, violations may be ignored or crime problems avoided. A punitive department is a passive department that has come under public, usually political pressure to "do something" about crime: the police may then overract in an aggressive and punitive fashion. Eventually,

this overreaction develops community resistance and pressure will be applied to have the police return to their passive orientation. This passive-punitive cycle is not uncommon in cities suffering from rising crime rates and with larger police departments feeling considerable political pressure. (1974:236-238) The social policing style (somewhat similar to the service style in its emphasis on the counselor role and prevention) exists in small communities or in precincts where the police and citizens have extensive knowledge of each other. The police officer's decisions are based on an informal evaluation of the person and the problem rather than on the problem alone. This usage of discretionary powers can unfortunately lead to policing that is not at all objective, and the development of "favorite" groups, usually coinciding with the community's power groups. (1974:238)

The integrated policing style is a balance between the enforcer and counselor roles with a "tendency and willingness to use both proactively...". (1974:239) This is a "professional" approach with its focus on efficient and effective methods of accomplishing organizational goals (i.e. controlling crime and maintaining community support). The "social policing" style is particularly relevant for the present study because Kuykendall believes it most prevalent in small communities (or precincts). All of Wilson's sample communities had populations over 25,000.[5]

Rubin (1972:23-27) also offers a more varied typology than Wilson. This framework, based on police funtions, has six categories:[6]

(1) peacekeeping - for the preservation of the peace, maintaining public safety (1972:23)

(2) crimefighting - from "preparing stakeouts to arresting suspects"

(1972:24)

(3) community service - social service functions, emergency services (1972:24)

(4) paramilitary service - "to function as a part of a well-disciplined team" (1972:33)

(5) quasi-judicial service - functioning in a discretionary role (1972:36)

(6) establishment protection - protection of the established order (1972:37)

Rubin is concerned more with role conflict than roles or policing style and does not go into descriptive detail about this typology. However, he does provide an alternative framework that can be utilized and expanded if necessary.

Another alternative, with a more detailed framework is offered by Taft and England (1964). Their classification, based on size of community and amount of remuneration received by the police has three categories: time servers, law enforcers and conciliators. This classification is quite useful in describing the type of municipal policing found in Robertson before the advent of the R.C.M.P. The "old town police" from the descriptions of local citizens were "time servers".

According to Taft and England in small communities, with a population under 10,000, policing is done by the *time servers*, to whom policing is pretty much like any other job. They complete their tours of duty with a minimum expenditure of energy (perhaps to complement their minimum salary), and have little desire to improve their police skills. These men typically have many duties that have little to do

with law enforcement, such as chauffering the mayor. They are quite responsive to pressure from local power groups. In somewhat larger communities, with better pay scales, there are found, along with time servers, the *law enforcers*. These men are impressed by the authority of their office, and with their uniforms, clubs, guns and "presumed public image as upholders of law and order". (1964:321)

Conciliators are found in the largest police departments, in addition to law enforcers and time servers. They are better-educated, articulate, well-paid men "for whom the courteous settling of disputes between citizens and police is a main criterion of good police work. Like the law enforcers, they seek to improve their skills, but in addition, lean towards scientific police work, legal training and the use of manipulation rather than authority in enforcing the law." (1964:321) The contrast between the old Robertson police as "time servers" and the R.C.M.P. as "conciliators" is of special interest to this study.

These three studies have been included in response to a need for modifications to Wilson's original typology. The need for these modifications is the direct result of confounding variables rooted in differences between Canadian and American geography and political organization. In Canada, the three variables of police organization and experience, community expectations, and population characteristics take on an added dimension that may affect their influence on policing style. These extra factors must be considered if we are to successfully apply a modification of Wilson's framework to Canadian rural policing.

The first factor that must be considered is the departmental organization and experience of the R.C.M.P. Wilson's police forces

were, in general, locally recruited and trained for urban policing. In 1975, Canada had a police force that was national in scope, centralized in organization, recruited country-wide, and assigned its members as standard policy out of their home provinces.[7]

The most profound difference between Wilson's eight police forces and the R.C.M.P. is that the R.C.M.P. was originally, and to a certain extent still is organized along military lines. The literature and the R.C.M.P. leadership both feel that 'military' is an apt description of the R.C.M.P. (see for example Marin, 1976). However, the exact definition of 'military' has proved a problem.

The military sociology literature is vague in pinning down a definition of the term 'military'. It seems often a term defined by description, and several major works have been dedicated to this end (see for example: Janowitz and Little, 1974; Janowitz, 1960).

The unique organizational and social characteristics of military organizations derive from a basis of "military mission". Janowitz and Little (1974:36-38) outline a number of such military characteristics, though the list is by no means complete:

(1) military organization is based on the maintenance of combat ready formations. Basic concepts of military authority derive from this;

(2) the "military mind" is based on "the inevitability of hostilities";

(3) the ideal image is the "strategic commander" motivated by national patriotism and capable of organizing the talents of a large variety of specialists in an infinite variety of situations;

(4) the military establishment is oriented toward duty and honour as opposed to free enterprise and profit motivation;

(5) self concepts are encouraged to be of the warrior type or of the

"heroic leader".

The R.C.M.P. organization, training, and general practices seem to reflect many of these indicators. R.C.M.P. members wear uniforms, carry guns, have standardized rules of behavior, undergo intensive, basic training, and are subject to discipline from their supervisors — much like any branch of the armed forces, or any police force that matter. The R.C.M.P. differ, however, from most other Canadian and American police forces on several important points that, combined, serve to emphasize the more military nature of the R.C.M.P.

R.C.M.P. basic training is centralized at "Depot" Division, Regina. Here recruits live in barracks under close to 24 hour supervision. While human relations, criminology and law are not neglected, there is a heavy emphasis on physical training, foot drill and weapons training (58% of class work). City police recruits take classes eight hours a day, often at a local community college and return home each night. Physical training and foot drill, especially, are of comparatively less importance (this may average about 30% of class work in a city police department). R.C.M.P. advertise nationally for recruits and get men and women from all over Canada. A city police force may advertise in neighbouring provinces, but usually finds that most of its recruits come from within the province and usually from within the city. R.C.M.P. basic training includes six months of supervised in-the-field training. An 'average' urban Canadian force many have 10-15 weeks of classroom training and six weeks of in-the-field training.[8]

In general, discipline and interpersonal interactions are handled on a more informal basis in city police departments. For example, officers may and do, exercise their privilege not to wear uniforms

while on duty in the office, and nicknames and first names are frequently bandied about between the ranks. R.C.M.P. officers are almost never found in the office in street clothes or 'civvies' while on duty, and specific regulations exist that outline officially approved nicknames, such as "staff" for staff sergeants or "corp" for corporals.

Other police forces have been described as "military". Unfortunately but not unexpectedly, most of the social researchers offering such a description have been less than precise in defining their usage of the term. This makes comparison difficult. Wilson describes the legalistic departments as "quasi-military", but only in reference to their riot control organization and policy. "...it was the tight administrative control and extended training of the police that in this instance (a 1967 riot) enabled them to function in an effective quasi-military manner". (1967:193) (writer's insert)

Fink and Sealy (1974) also describe a number of urban American police forces as having a "semi-military aura" and being "maintained on the model of a standing army". (1974:144) They point at a "semi-militaristic bureaucracy" and the policy being geared to respond to any emergency (despite the little emergency work they actually perform). In addition, their training and equipment is appropriate for an army, as is their "authoritarian presence" which, according to the authors, comprises much of their police identity. (1974:144)

Bittner (1970:48-62) on a more philosophical note, criticizes the role of policemen as "soldier-bureaucrats":

> ...American police forces have broader responsibilities than the civilian police forces of France, Spain, or Italy. In an apparent effort to meet these responsibilities, our police are more generally militarized than is the case elsewhere. This causes profound organizational problems. On the one hand, the military model does seem to furnish

> a form of control and supervision that helps to overcome laxness and corruption where it exists. On the other hand, the core of the police mandate is profoundly incompatible with the military posture. On balance, the military-bureaucratic organization of the police is a serious handicap. (1970:51)

Bittner offers some comparison of the military and the police, and a possible explanation for the adoption of the military model by police forces:

> ...the military model is immensely attractive to police planners, and not without reason. In the first place, there exists some apparent analogies between the military and the police and it does not seem to be wholly unwarranted to expect methods of internal organization that work in one context to work also in the other. Both institutions are instruments of force and for both institutions the occasions for using force are unpredictably distributed. Thus, the personnel in each must be kept in a highly disciplined state of alert preparedness. The formalism that characterizes military organization, the insistence on rules and regulations, on spit and polish, on obedience to superiors, and so on, constitute a permanent rehearsal for "the real thing". What sorts of rules and regulations exist in such a setting are in some ways less important than that there be plenty of them and the personnel be continually aware that they can be harshly called to account for disobeying them. Second, American police departments have been, for the greater part of their history, the football of local politics, and became tainted with sloth and corruption at least partly for this reason. Police reform was literally forced to resort to formidable means of internal discipline to dislodge undesirable attitudes and influences and the military model seemed to serve such purposes admirably. (1970:52-53)

Our study is not geared to support or deny Bittner's philosophical criticisms of the "military-bureaucratic" model, at this point we only note his description.

'Military' in this report is defined in terms of length and contents of training, formality of supervision and interaction, and type of recruitment program. According to these standards, the departments described by Wilson and Fink and Sealy appear several degrees less militarily-oriented than the R.C.M.P.

When first organized in 1873 the force was envisioned as the "Mounted Rifles", a group of 200 men, preferably ex-military men, trained as a cavalry troupe, and organized in the pattern of the Royal Irish Constabulary, using a military rank structure, uniforms, weapons and a military code of discipline.

Both discipline and interpersonal interaction were dictated by military procedures, as were rank and hierarchy. The original commanding officers of the R.C.M.P. were recruited from the British Army and the Canadian militia, and not too surprisingly, had a preference for military titles, appearance, discipline and organization.

The military influence on the original R.C.M.P. is exemplified by the following late 19th century discussion of desertion taken from Commissioner Herchner's Annual Report (1888):

> Over the whole of this enormous country the force is scattered, being divided into ten divisions, and each division, having many outposts, at which the men do duty in twos and threes. Some of these outposts are 150 miles and many are over 100 miles from the nearest officer, and with, generally, no railway communication. Up to date the men have had no future to look forward to, and have really only the discipline instilled into them and their own high character to keep them straight; they are under enormous temptation to misbehave and shield whisky offenders, and are constantly in danger of getting into trouble by exceeding their duties. There are less punishments inflicted in the Police than in any force I know of, and remarkably few cases of over zeal. Discipline is impartially maintained, and although very strict indeed, but few cases, beyond slight indiscretions, have arisen during the year. The force is well drilled, but from the numerous different avocations in which the men are employed, although individually drilled men they naturally require some days together before they are in a condition to do justice to themselves on parade. As the general public is unaware of our multifarous duties, and, as when we make mistakes as Police proper they make no allowance for our other qualifications, I may be allowed to name a few of the different things we do for ourselves, outside ordinary Police duties and patrols. We

> are trained soldiers, both mounted and dismounted, and squads in nearly every division thoroughly understand gun drill; we do our own carpenter work, painting, alterations of clothing, black-smithing, most of our freighting and teaming, plough when required, put out prairie fires, act as Customs and quarantine officers, do most of our own wagon repairing and tinsmithing, mend all and make a great deal of saddlery and harness, act as gaolers and keepers of the insane sometimes for weeks, and there is not a division in the force that can not go into any country and put up a complete barracks, either of logs or frame. (Marin, 1976:19)

These police members were not subject to the traditional military regulations, rather they were bound by civil contract; that is, they did not serve under the articles of war, as did the Canadian militia. (Marin 1976:17)

This military tradition continues to a great extent today, despite changes that have been incorporated throughout the system. Blacksmithing and ploughing are no longer part of basic training; human relations, psychology and criminology have been substituted. As the R.C.M.P. expanded to include federal, provincial and municipal policing, their number of necessity, increased (from 150 to 10,480 in 1973). Technological advances have been adopted, such as sensitive laboratory equipment and computer systems.

In addition, disciplinary policy has become more "humanistic". For example, men with families are transferred less frequently than single men; members may now be assigned to their home province; recruits may be married when they apply (until recently, a member had to wait 5 years after recruitment before marrying).

However, much of the military "aura" still remains. Brown and Brown (1973) summarize, somewhat subjectively, the military tradition in the R.C.M.P., as found in its contemporary form:

An examination of the R.C.M.P. Act and its regulations demonstrates that the Force continues to be very much a military organization today. Under the authority of the act, the commissioner is given the power to "make rules, to be known as standing orders, for the organization, training, discipline, efficiency, administration and good government of the Force." Though in theory the authority of the commissioner is subject to the approval of the minister responsible for the R.C.M.P., in practice the minister has no channel of communication with members of the Force other than through the commissioner. The commissioner thus has at least as much authority over his officers and men as a general in the armed forces, if not more.

Like regular military organizations, the R.C.M.P. has an elaborate system of rank which is enforced by a rigid obedience to authority. Part II of the act, relating to discipline within the force, indicates that it is a major service offence for a member to "disobey or refuse to obey the lawful command of ...any other member who is his superior in rank or is in authority over him." All offences against regulations are handled as internal matters not subject to civilian courts. Members found guilty of a major service offence before an internal tribunal can be sentenced to significant terms of imprisonment. In fact the act gives the commissioner the authority to imprison R.C.M.P. members for up to 30 days without trial and before the matter is brought to the attention of the minister.

Other aspects of the R.C.M.P. also reveal its military character. Members who enlist are required to sign up for five years and are not allowed to leave until their term expires except under very special circumstances. A member who deserts the Force is subject to the disciplincary provisions of the R.C.M.P. Act "for a further period of two years after the expiration of his period of engagement, or, if he left Canada after the desertion and within either of those periods for a period of two years after his return to Canada." The training is military in nature; recruits are housed in barracks and shut off from all normal contact with the public for a period of six months. Members are forbidden to belong to anything resembling a union and grievances can be taken up only by individuals with superior officers and without appeal to any outside authority. Anyone who attempted to take complaints over the head of his commanding officer would quickly find life intolerable, and Part II, Section 25, Sub-section (j) of the R.C.M.P. Act stipulates that it is a major service offence for a member to make "an anonymous complaint to the Commissioner or to the Government of Canada or any province or any department thereof, or to any Minister of the Crown or member of Parliament or a provincial legislature." Only recently has a very ineffective grievance procedure been initiated by Commissioner W.L. Higgitt in response to pressure resulting from ex-corporal Jack Ramsey's expose of the R.C.M.P. in

MacLean's in July 1972.

> The R.C.M.P. is also secretive in its operations and takes precautions to see that only officially authorized information about the internal workings of the Force reaches the public. Commissioner's Standing Order No. 1156 (34) states that:
>
> > A member shall not: (34) give information of any kind concerning the work or administration of the Force, or any department of the federal or provincial government to the public, by radio, television, an address to a gathering, or by any other medium of communication, without the permission of the Commanding Officer or Officer Commanding; the application for such permission to be accompanied by a short summary of remarks to be made. (1973:4-5)

In an empirical study focussed primarily on attitude differences between university graduated and non-graduated R.C.M.P. members, Dalley (1975), and ex-R.C.M.P. officer and a member of the R.C.M.P. Directorate of Planning and Research, describes the working personality of R.C.M.P. members as being authoritarian, conservative and traditional. (1975:467) His survey of 143 recruits and senior officers was aimed specifically at determining attitudinal differences as a result of educational disparity. (In 1974, the R.C.M.P. implemented a policy encouraging educational upgrading for its members.) Three attitudinal scales were used by Dalley: Adorno's Authoritarian Scale (a modified Levenson scale), Kerlinger's Social Attitude Scale, and a Role Interpretation Scale (1975:974). Mean scores on these scales led Dalley to describe his sample, with the exception of work experienced graduate officers, as authoritarian, conservative and traditional.

Skolnick (1966:11) suggests that the military nature of a police force may effect the policeman's working personality:

> To the degree that police are organized on a military model, there is also likely to be generated a martial conception of order. Internal regulations based on martial principles suggest external cognitions based on

> similar principles. The presence of an explicit hierarchy with an associated chain of command and a strong sense of obedience, is therefore likely to induce an attachment to social uniformity and routine and a somewhat rigid conception of order.

As a result of this Skolnick believes the police will generate conflict with various groups within the community and as a result:

> ...lean toward the arbitrary invocation of authority to achieve what they perceive to be the aims of the substantive criminal law. Along with these effects is an elevation of crime control to a position where it is valued more than the principle of accountability to the rule of the law. (1966:11)

Both Dalley and Skolnick's studies suggest that the R.C.M.P. and any other military-oriented police force function in a style that contains elements of both the legalistic and the watchman. The legalistic style elements enter because of the emphasis placed on discipline; conformity to a set standard (not necessarily a legal code); and obedience, and hence lack of discretion in applying the set standard. The military model however, also carries traces of the watchman style. Both the military and the watchman style emphasize order above all else, even the letter of the law. Because many legal codes are very ambiguous, it is possible that the laws may be interpreted to suit the police departments' standard of order. However, a note of caution is in order before attempting to associate the military model with any one style of policing. Trojanowicz and Dixon (1974) caution against making too ready assumptions concerning style based on the observation of military characteristics: "many different styles of enforcement can emanate from a paramilitary model". (1974:120)

But these studies, while not encouraging any definite conclusions, point to one distinct trend: military influenced police forces do not have a service style orientation.

However — and it is here our second confounding variable enters — most studies done outside of Canada on rural policing/rural community expectations, suggest that the service style predominates in rural areas, such as Robertson, and much of the area policed by the R.C.M.P. The watchman and legalistic style are rarely mentioned in these studies. In addition, the service style according to most reports, is correlated primarily with community expectations, not departmental organization and experience, as predominates in military oriented forces.

Cain (1973) describes the rural police of Britain as functioning within a service style. These policement see their primary role as "keepers of the peace" and their primary function to be of service to their community:

> A country policeman must be a jack of all trades, but also a master of many. He has to deal first with any eventuality on his beat from a stray dog, through outbreaks of fowl pest or swine fever, to traffic offences, crime, natural disasters, sudden death, murder and suicide. Moreover, he is used as an all-purpose public service agency by his parishioners and is expected by them not only to be constantly on duty but also to have an intuitive knowledge of their personal lives. (1973:29)

Cain lays the responsibility for this orientation mainly on the community expectations variable:

> The members of the community defined for him (the rural policeman) what was trivial and what was important what was real police work and what was not...(1973:32) (writer's insert)

According to Cain's study, departmental organization was also responsible to a certain degree for the service orientation because of the manner in which the patrolmen were supervised. Each man has a "one-man beat" which he patrolled and controlled in the manner he saw fit. He was required to phone the section station once a day to report

his activities but was rarely under active supervision.

Population characteristics — the fact that the population was scattered rather thickly by Canadian standards, in small villages and on farms around the district — would also encourage a service style. The close proximity of the community to the policeman would encourage calling on his assistance, as would his availability as one of the few Crown representatives in the area.

However, community expectations exerted the greatest influence. Cain traces this ability to the community to affect the rural policeman's style to five factors:

(1) the majority of the policemen come from within the district or from a similar type of community

(2) the policemen and their families are dependent for social interaction on the community

(3) fellow policemen seldom live or work in close proximity thereby retarding the growth of an exclusive police culture as is often found in urban areas

(4) the policemen are dependent on the community occupationally e.g. for witnesses, for emergency help, for co-operation and for "their hospitality and friendliness to make work congenial" (1973:225), and

(5) supervision by senior officers is minimal and therefore police expectations of behavior are seldom enforced.

Cain's study is especially relevant for a study of Canadian policing for several reasons: it investigates a rural police force; it illustrates the operation of a police force which has been consolidated until it is nearly national in scope (Quinney 1970:109);

and it illustrates the role of Wilson's three variables.

While some of her conclusions can be generalized to a Canadian force, there are serious differences as, for example, found in departmental organization. The R.C.M.P. is deployed through a system of local detachments which act as centers for large policing districts. No one man is responsible for one district. Police officers are therefore in close enough proximity for a possible police culture to form. They are also under frequent supervision. Nor are they necessarily from similar backgrounds to those of the population they are policing. However, they and their families are socially dependent on the community, and they are occupationally dependent upon the community as well.

One additional note of interest from Cain: she suggests that small town police may be less sensitive to community demands than rural police because the town forces practice frequent transfers of personnel. She does not answer what becomes an obvious question: would the rural police also be less sensitive if they were transferred frequently? Since the R.C.M.P. until very recently did have such a transfer policy, the policemen are just now learning to live as more or less permanent residents of their communities. Single men, however can still expect frequent transfers at a few months (or weeks) notice.

The few existing studies of policing in rural United States lend a limited, and sometimes inconclusive support for Cain's comments on policing style. Taft and England (1964) make special reference to rural community policing (i.e. in American communities under 10,000) when they discuss the "time-servers". These are policemen whose duties are of a non-law enforcement nature; for example, "being present when banks open or close; distributing mail to town offices; ...putting

out brush fires; ...reading water meters; ...directing traffic on shopping centre parking lost; ...catching stray animals...". (1964:322) Because of the almost complete lack of funds and law enforcement duties, these policemen must adopt a more-or-less service style if they wish to continue their occupational existence.

The "Central State Police" observed by Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) are also a group responsible for rural policing as well as traffic supervision. This group also had characteristics that imply a service orientation. For example, the police were very preoccupied with public relations even to the extent of overlooking minor infractions if doing so achieved good will and possible co-operation at a later date. They were encouraged to "visit" while on duty, to speak at meetings, to get involved in extra-curricular activities and to assist in charity drives. (1966:25)

The details of Galliher et al.'s (1975) study of midwestern rural communities are too scarce to lead to any definite pinpointing of police style. However, from the characteristics given it is possible to designate these departments as either watchman or service oriented but not legalistic. The police in these communities rely heavily on informal social controls. They base their discretionary decisions on the roles played by each citizen in the community. Their main duties are seldom directed toward law enforcement; rather they emphasize traffic control, supervising juveniles, and protecting the property of local merchants. In general, Galliher et al. conclude that the smaller the community, the more services are offered by the police[9] and the greater is the emphasis on order maintenance. (1975:23,26)

Brakel and South (1969) examine the rural criminal justice

system in "downstate" Illinois. They conclude that the preferred method of dealing with offenders is diversion from the system.

> In an urban setting the formal criminal law processes play a much larger role in 'problem solving'. Arrest and charging for an offence is the required 'first step' in dealing with most problems. Arrest not only regularizes intervention by the police but, more importantly, commands the attention of other elements of the system in the move toward an appropriate disposition. In a rural setting the system functions on an informal and largely concensual basis. (1969:124)

In this community juveniles were rarely charged; drunks were taken to their homes; people exhibiting possible signs of mental health problems were diverted to mental health facilities. Control agents explained that "this is the way things are done here". The methods were "understood". This description of police (and other agencies) orientation strongly suggests the service style.

Dinitz (1973) found similar results in a small Ohio town, especially in the methods used to deal with juveniles. The police in this community prefer to put the "fear of God" in the juveniles and if this informal method proves inadequate, they are eventually, though reluctantly taken to court where likely as not the judge will hand out a lenient sentence. (1973:18)

On a dissenting note, a final American rural police study we reviewed, conducted by Esselstyn in 1953, strongly suggests a police force operating with a watchman orientation. The county sheriff of "Star County" walks a fine rope between keeping himself elected to office and fulfilling the demands of the more vociferous local social groups. "Where the sheriff fails to take cognizance of their activities, he risks his strength." (1953:129) The sheriff is usually a local merchant or farmer, popular and trusted. His deputies and other

employees usually have little formal training and experience. Expertise is gained through trial and error. (1953:182)

This situation encourages the sheriff to only enforce the law when necessary, to remain as uninvolved as possible with citizens but to pay heed to outside pressures. As a result the police may be criticized for using their powers for the benefits of certain groups. In addition, the author reports: "a whole host of offenses associated with agriculture are eliminated from the sheriff's function by custom". (1953:184) This is because of the community's influence based on their tolerance of these crimes. (1953:182)

Relevant to a discussion of Esselstyn's study is a comment by Taylor and Jones (1964) that the role of country sheriff is in a "precarious" position due to the combined threats of mass communication, mass transportation and the relative success of state police forces. They predict a possible phasing out of the sheriff's role. (1964:441)

Despite its somewhat dated information, Esselstyn's work is valuable on two points. First, it served as an impetus for other researchers to study rural policing and secondly, it highlighted the role of community expectations in affecting policing orientation. Generalizing from Esselstyn's study, Quinney (1970) states:

> A community organized on informal relations resorts to official sanctions only when other means are exhausted or inappropriate. In rural communities, wherever possible, informal controls tend to be used in place of law enforcement, or law enforcement in rural communities takes place with a maximum of discretion. (1970:117)

His conclusion is that "no matter how the community is organized, the police have to work within the context of their community". (1970:117)

The majority of these reports, whether British or American, point to a service style of policing in rural communities. In laying the groundwork for their arguments, some of the authors emphasized police activities and duties; other commented on departmental policies; still other emphasized community demands. These are all factors relevant for our analysis. The literature available on rural policing suggests a service orientation for rural police forces although some legalistic elements do appear.

The third confounding factor that must be considered if we are to apply Wilson's typology to rural Canadian policing is the heterogeneity of Robertson's population, specifically the Metis element. Heterogeneity is a fundamental component of Wilson's analysis of population characteristics. However, his heterogeneous populations are composed of Caucasians, Negroes, Spanish-Americans and "foreign stock". Native people are not mentioned anywhere in his data or analysis. A substantial Metis group resides within the Robertson community, as well as in its close vicinity, using the town as a service and recreation centre. Census figures for 1971 reported less than 1% of the Robertson population having a "Native language" as a mother tongue. This is, however, a misleading statistic: most Metis have either French or English as their mother tongue. No figures based on "race" were available. Town residents and officials have no definite figures on how many Metis live in and/or use the town; estimates ranged from 200 to 1000.

According to Quinney (1970:115-116) whether a population is hetergeneous is a significant variable in analyzing law enforcement. Homogeneity refers to similarities in terms of "cultural values, social

class, race and occupation". (1970:115) In a homogeneous community the policeman is able to enforce the law by more informal means because he is supported by positive community opinion on the appropriateness of his actions. In a heterogeneous community this unified kind of community expectation does not exist and as a result, the police officer must resort to more formal means of law enforcement and maintaining order. (Quinney, 1970:115-116)

Robertson is not a homogeneous community, and if Quinney's statements are correct, the policing style in Robertson should tend towards the formal. However, whether or not this generalization can be made of a heterogeneous population with a strong Metis element is a question to be explored in this thesis.

Summary

What began as a rather simple research problem: "What style of policing predominates in rural Canadian communities?" — has now taken on a new dimension of complexity.

After a rather exhaustive review of past studies in related areas we are forced to extend our problem into a number of research questions:

(1) What mode of policing predominates in small town Canadian communities?

(2) Is it possible to determine the main influence on style of policing in a small community?

a) What effect, if any, do the expectations of the small town community have on the style of policing?

b) What effect, if any, does the organization and experience of the local police force have on the style of policing?

c) What effect, if any, do the population characteristics of the community have on the style of policing?

(3) What effect, if any, does the quasi-military organization of the R.C.M.P. have on the style of policing they use?

In order to investigate our research questions, we relied on a framework of three determinants drawn from previous related research:

1) departmental organization and experience
2) population characteristics of the 'policed' community, and
3) the expectations of the 'policed' community.

In addition, three "confounding" variables were also included:

1) the R.C.M.P's military organization and history
2) the possibly unique nature of rural community expectations
3) the presence of the Metis minority in the make-up of community heterogeneity.

Analysis of these variables falls basically into two phases:

1) determining policing style in the community
2) determining the cause of that policing style.

Because of conclusions reached by related studies and because of the unique circumstances inherent in the Canadian scene, it was expected that either the organization and experience of the police or community expectations, or more likely, a combination of the two, would result in a combined legalistic/service style.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Due to the exploratory nature of this project, it was decided that the most appropriate methodology would be a form of "naturalistic investigation" which Blumer (1969:40) defines as the "direct naturalistic examination of the empirical social world".

He lays out the following guidelines for exploratory research:

> The aim of exploratory research is to develop and fill out as comprehensive and accurate a picture of the area of study as conditions allow. The picture should enable the scholar to feel at home in the area, to talk from a basis of fact and not from speculation. The picture provides the scholar with a secure bearing so that he knows that the questions he asks of the empirical area are meaningful and relevant to it, that the problem he poses is not artificial, that the kind of data he seeks are significant in terms of the empirical workd, and that the leads he follows are faithful to its nature. (1969:42)

Style of Policing

In order to study the police "in action" to discover what their police style is like "on the street", it was decided that observation would be the primary investigative tool. Observation of the police is not an untried method. Skolnick (1966) used observation to collect data on public defenders, district attorneys and the police in "Westville" and "Eastville" (U.S.A.); Reiss, Jr. (1971) used observation in a study of police - community relations in Boston, Chicago and Washington, D.C.; Rubin (1972) used observational techniques in his study of the Miami police; and Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) also

relied on observation. In all of the studies, observation was accomplished by riding or walking with the police officers as they followed their rounds and while they went on calls. Activities in the police station were also observed.

This observation of police activities provided the data needed to categorize the style of policing in "Robertson". Some of the general indicators suggested by Wilson for categorizing police style include: departmental policy towards minor infractions, drunkenness arrests and juvenile offences; degree of emphasis on traffic quotas; and a tendency toward formal or informal solutions to police-citizen encounters.

For example, for the *watchman* style, some of the possible characteristics that Wilson suggested could be observed are: the ignoring of minor offences; a toleration of a certain amount of gambling and vice; a low emphasis on traffic quotas; the existence of police myths reinforcing a double standard of justice for minority groups and a tendency to ignore family disputes — in general, all characteristics of what Wilson terms the "privatization" of the law.

Possible characteristics of a *legalistic* orientation that we could have observed are: high rates of traffic tickets and juvenile arrests; vigorous action against illegal activities; large numbers of misdemeanour arrests; formal solutions to police-citizen encounters whenever possible; and lastly, the policemen from such a department will carefully obey the laws themselves.

Possible characteristics of a *service* orientation include: an emphasis on "managing traffic, regulating juveniles and providing services" (1967:200); arrests for minor infractions are avoided, juveniles

are seldom treated formally; active community participation by police members is encouraged; public relations and education work is emphasized and illegal activities are quickly suppressed.

It is unfortunate that Wilson is not more consistent in his use of these indicators. Police attitude toward juvenile arrests, for example, is outlined for the legalistic and service styles but is not mentioned for the watchman style. Attitude toward family disputes, another example, is described for the watchman style but is not directly mentioned for either the legalistic or service styles.

Wilson did not treat all his indicators in this manner, however, and comparisons on a number of factors are possible. The remainder of the indicators are compared as far as possible.

Community Expectations

Although the data obtained by observation techniques were abundant, they were not sufficient to answer all our research questions, in particular those dealing with the community.

Because observation was accomplished primarily in the company of police members, it was difficult to obtain critical or at least open opinions from community members in the presence of R.C.M.P. members. Interviews with 44 community members were set up and carried out in their place of business or residence. Interviewing selected members of the community provided some information on community expectations and demands for the police function. Grosman (1975:6), in his study of Canadian police chiefs, suggests for interviews "local crime reporters, criminal defence lawyers, the Director of Public Prosecution or Attorney General; the members of the Board of Police

Commissioners, student leaders, social workers, academics, civil libertarians, Crown Prosecutors and judges...". Because of its small population and its rural setting not all of these roles could be found in "Robertson". Of the two provincial court judges serving in the town, only one was a resident. The "circuit" judge had little knowledge of the community. The R.C.M.P. themselves had until recently acted as the Crown Prosecutor, now these representatives travel in from larger centres. Student leaders and "academics" had disbanded for the summer holidays at the time of the study. In addition, there were no "Boards" in the community to supervise the police.

Substitutions had to be made and other roles added to the list. Hospital personnel were interviewed, as were a coroner, an undertaker, the mayor, councilmen, several ethnic minority leaders, a dog catcher, and numerous "ordinary" citizens.

Some characteristics of community expectations, as suggested by Wilson, that were of interest are: satisfaction with police programmes and activities in the past and the present; occupational and social encounters with the police; and public reactions to local "cases". (See Appendix A for the interview schedule).

Some examples of community expectations can be drawn from Wilson. In the watchman style communities the public was rather tolerent of vice and other illegal activities. However, the town leaders wanted to establish an image of order. This was communicated to the police who acted accordingly. In legalistic departments the senior officers were very sensitive to public criticism, usually because of past accusations of corruption and/or inefficiency. The public's expectations of better policing led to the development of the legalistic style. In

communities having service style departments the public expected the police to behave more like"department store salesmen"; that is, to be deferential, courteous and neat. Because of a strong public consensus the police were expected to strictly enforce the law — but mainly against "outsiders". They were also expected to be "of service" in ways usually considered to be beyond the legal duties of the police.

It was hoped that an analysis of incoming calls to the police station could be used as an additional indicator of community expectations and demands. Reiss (1971) and Cumming, Cumming and Edell (1964) used this technique for gathering information on their police forces. Unfortunately, this method did not yield as much data as expected. Because of legal considerations and the disruption of staff functioning it was impossible for the researcher to record the calls directly. Instead, the filing and recording system of the station personnel had to be relied upon. This system, while adequate and functional for police purposes, was too uninformative for sociological analysis. Some rough numerical indicators of categories of community occurrences were the most useful results.

Population Characteristics

Better luck was had with census data. Some population statistics were available for the community up to the year 1975. Not all variables of interest could be obtained. Statistics on mother tongue, income level, population size, school years completed, percent employed in manufacturing and white collar jobs, population change, number of police officers, and police officers per 1000 population were available. Data on Metis/white distribution for example, could not be obtained;

neither could data on percentage of foreign stock, income under $3,000 and over $10,000, police expenditures, and police expenditures per capita. It was also not possible to get all the data consistently for one year. Data range from 1971 to 1976.

Police Organization and Experience

Police files also caused problems. While they were voluminous, they were also difficult to obtain information from. Each incident requiring police involvement to any degree was assigned a number and filed under the legal heading it most closely fit. The "public assistance" file gives an excellent example of what difficulties can arise from this filing system. It was over 700 cases in length, covered a duration of six months, and included everything from requests for information to family disputes. Most importantly, no information was given on age, race, occupation and sometimes even sex of the persons involved. It proved nearly impossible to track down the details of each case by questioning the R.C.M.P. member who investigated it and filed the report. In addition, under each legal category heading there were filed "reported incidents", whether they involved a single telephone call by an R.C.M.P. member, or a full scale investigation leading to an eventual jail sentence. This increased the difficulty of data gathering — it was very time-consuming and occasionally impossible to ascertain whether the contents of each file should be classified "report", a "completed case", an "open case", or some other statistical category.

As a result of these difficulties, numerical estimates of policing incidents were again the only data that could be gathered. More information on police organization was gathered by observation and

direct questioning than from police files.

Indicators we looked for on police organization included hierarchy within the detachment, characteristics of training and recruitment, pay scale, emphasis on centralization and specialization, and care taken in record keeping.

Police experience was indicated by such factors as origins of R.C.M.P. policing in the community; trends in number of men assigned; transfer policy, duties assumed in the court system, trends in types of cases handled, and so on.

Information on the national organization of the R.C.M.P. is relatively easy to obtain. It is possible, even probable, that this information does not accurately report the organization of each local detachment. The unique characteristics of "Robertson's" local detachment were obtained by observation.

Organizational characteristics correlated with watchman, legalistic and service styles were sought in Robertson. For the watchman style: low educational standards; few civilian employees; low salaries; little formal or on-the-job training; few specialized squads; "sloppy" record keeping; and little opportunity for promotion.

Possible characteristics defining a legalistic department would include: detailed, fastidious record keeping; centralized authority and supervision; reliance on a formal hierarchy for authority; a proliferation of specialized units; good opportunities for promotion; emphasis on modern equipment and a modern appearance; and high educational standards.

A service style department shares many of the organizational characteristics of the legalistic style. However, there is a strong

emphasis on precinct-style deployment rather than centralization. Also, many of the specialized units work on an informal basis — for example, the juvenile squads. Men are assigned to "public information" as a regular part of their duties. These were all characteristics to which we were alert.

It was expected that this form of methodology, which does not rely upon only one technique would provide a wide but indepth view of policing in our chosen community of Robertson.

Actual data collection was facilitated by the use of a tape recorder for recording conversations with R.C.M.P. members and members of the community. Coding sheets were used to record numerical data, both for ease of storage and to protect the offenders' anonymity. Copies or clippings of local newspapers were obtained from the years 1970 to 1977. As well, a day to day field journal was kept.

A comparison of characteristics and determinants as described by Wilson and data gathered by this researcher reveals information sufficient to answer several of the research questions. Community population figures are presented in this report in chart form, while other data are presented descriptively and in table form.

"Robertson" as mentioned previously, is of course not the real name of the case-study community. Neither the community members nor the R.C.M.P. thought this type of publicity a good thing. Robertson is a Northern Alberta beauty spot, surrounded by forest, rivers and hills. There is some beef and grain farming around the area, but much of the land is still virgin. The town was originally a "jumping-off" point for settlers to the more Northern areas of Alberta. Coal provided Robertson with its main industry for many years in the past, and is

showing signs of again becoming a major industry in the near future. At the present, Robertson has two larger sized industries — a grocery concern and an oil and gas refinery. Both are major employers in the town. A large proportion of the town's people are involved in retail sales. Robertson services a good-sized hinterland and is accessible by rail, air and a main highway which is both a truck route and a bus route. The town contains a library, a hospital, a recreational complex (pool and arena), a radio station, 10 churches, 3 bars, and a pool hall. As well there are 7 service clubs. The population is just over 4,000.

Except for the heavy traffic on the main highway that goes through town and the sporadic offences that make the newspaper, the town appears peaceful and quiet. One community member described it as "a good town to raise kids in".

Robertson was chosen as our case study on the basis of the range of duties assigned to the local detachment, as well as the characteristics of the community. A detachment responsible for both hinterland and municipal policing was considered most desirable because of the broader perspective available. The community was selected on the basis of its population size, heterogeneity, and its proximity. A population of under 6,000 is necessary in order to maintain the rural nature of the study, and an ethnic mixture was desirable in order to observe the widest possible range of citizen-police encounters, especially those involving Natives. Wilson believes that some policing styles present more difficulties for minority groups than others. Whether this is the case for Native Canadians was investigated as a minor consideration, under characteristics of police style.

Approximately two months were spent in the field gathering data. For an exploratory study of a descriptive nature this is a relatively short period. Unfortunately, lack of time and financial support prevented a longer data collection period. That the researcher took up residence in the community, and often spent up to 12 hours at a time observing police members while they were on patrol, somewhat alleviated this time problem.

Several problems were anticipated as possibly interfering with data collection. Some of these materialized, others did not.

Many control agencies, and the police are not exception, are doubtful of the benefits of co-operating with social researchers and may be suspicious of the motives behind the research. The R.C.M.P. have traditionally had the reputation of being off limits for social research. Despite expectations of polite refusal, they were nevertheless approached. They proved themselves quite approachable. After the researcher applied for, and received, a security clearance (needed for access to R.C.M.P. files) and was interviewd by a high-ranking R.C.M.P. officer, the go-ahead was given. The researcher was even asked to provide a written evaluation report on policing in the target area.

Local R.C.M.P. expressed surprise to find themselves hosts to a social researcher, but took it well in stride after an initial 'testing' period on both sides, and provided enthusiastic co-operation. "Suggestions" were made to the researcher; for example, extended (2 days or more) patrols were not recommended, nor was being present at potentially violent scenes. That the members gave the researcher a fair amount of acceptance is evident by at least three incidents in which the researcher was asked to operate the car radio when the patrolman was

occupied elsewhere.

Anonymity for the individual police officers as well as the town itself was also guaranteed by the researcher. In addition, anonymity is required by the R.C.M.P. (and other police forces) for any data taken from their files, as a matter of course.

A second anticipated problem was that working closely with the police would inhibit responses from other information sources such as juveniles, ex-offenders and marginally "deviant" elements in the community. As it turned out, the true nature of the problem was not inhibition but contacting and talking to those individuals. Those individuals who could be contacted proved refreshingly candid in their comments on the police and community.

It was feared that if few of these community members could be contacted the study would contain a "police bias". This may still be the case, to a limited extent, although it was found that all interviewed community members had both praise and criticism for the local police. This should be reflected in the report.

The problem of observer effects also had to be considered. The first possible factor was that respondents, especially while being observed on patrol, would over-indulge in, or refrain from, certain behaviors in order to make a "good impression". Based on previous studies of the police, it was expected that this effect would be minimal. Reiss (1968) for example, was astounded to see policemen use harassment and violence in the presence of the observers. His explanation for this seemingly illogical action is that:

> Many policemen, given their strong feelings against citizens, fail to see that their own behavior is equally open to observation. Furthermore, our observers are

> trained to fit into a role of trust — one that is genuine, since most observers are actually sympathetic to the plight of the policemen, if not his behavior. (1968:15)

Most improtant of all, he explains that "people cannot change their behavior in the presence of others as easily as many think". (1968:6) This proved to be the case in "Robertson" as well. After the initial period where comments such as "Excuse my French" and "I don't usually do things like that" predominated, the members settled back more-or-less into their old routine and treated the researcher perhaps as a source of amusement, but not as a stranger or interloper.

The researcher found that her presence did affect the routine of the men and the station to some extent. A small office, usually intermittently occupied by town police members, was temporarily set aside for the researcher's use. Men were occasionally called in from patrol to pick up the researcher. Some patrols to areas of special interest to the researcher were made on days not usually reserved for those areas. Introductions were made to potentially informative individuals (and potentially apprehensive police wives). In general, the police members were so accommodating that the researcher often did not realize a switch in routine had occurred until days later.

There was also some apprehension on both sides that the presence of a female rider in police cars would cause "gossip" problems for the police. This never materialized. Among the members, the possible community reaction became an often-shared joke — and the useful aspects, particularly in the unmarked cars, were not overlooked. It was suggested by police members that knowledge of female police officers in neighbouring communities may have prevented much of any public discussion.

Another problem that caused apprehension on the part of the reseracher was the projection of a proper researcher image. Youthful appearance, "under-thirty" argot, and a university education have been known to alienate police forces in the past. After the opening hesitant but polite inquiries about research redentials, age and general motivation, this problem seemed to unobtrusively fall by the wayside.

The final problem that had to be tackled was the most serious. The backbone to this methodology is the observation of police behavior, especially in relation to community members. The number of actual observed events were very low. On some shifts the police member might have only one or two calls to investigate and a minimal number of contacts with the public. On several occasions members were observed almost looking for excuses to talk to someone, anyone, for any reason. "Formal", that is, crime-oriented police-citizen contacts were limited, most contacts were of a social or information-gathering nature. As a result of this problem, generalizations are made on the basis of a rather limited number of observed incidents.

Summary

The aim of our research was to gather data on the indicators suggested by Wilson to characterize policing style, and determinants of policing style.

Research was accomplished by a variety of methods, although observation was the main technique. Also used were interview techniques and the use of secondary data, specifically, police files, newspaper files, census statistics, and records of incoming calls.

A number of methodological problems arose (anticipated and unanticipated), and were dealt with. These included:

(1) police co-operation

(2) inhibited response from "marginal" community members

(3) observer effects

(4) community reaction to a female researcher

(5) researcher image

(6) low frequency of police-citizen contacts

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH QUESTION #1

WHAT MODE OF POLICING PREDOMINATES IN SMALL CANADIAN COMMUNITIES?

Before it was possible to begin analysis of R.C.M.P. style of policing, it was essential to gain an understanding of the day to day activities of the municipal R.C.M.P. detachment in Robertson.[10] An example of a "typical" early morning patrol is described below. This day was chosen specifically to illustrate the lack of "real police work" and restrictions put on the police by the Juvenile Delinquency Act. It should be noted that events occuring on this day are not completely unique occurrences.[11]

Day Shift, Robertson, Summer 1975:

Municipal patrol has two overlapping morning shifts, one beginning at 7:00 a.m., the other at 9:00 a.m. This Sunday morning, I rode with a constable on the 9:00 a.m. patrol. He, as did most members, arrived at the station house a few minutes before his shift began.

The first activity of the morning is to check the "nightboard", a bindery-board hung on the wall that contains a collection of the previous night's reports that needed attention by all members. (Stolen car reports, for example, from Edmonton, or shots heard in the night on which no action was taken at the time). Each member also went through his own file of cases on which he is working to see which required attention that day.

Before going on patrol, tickets, subpoenas, summonses and other essential papers were picked up. The few early morning clients usually there to give or get information, were dealt with. After 15 or 20 minutes of paperwork we left on patrol, though first we had to take one of the patrol cars to the carwash. On the way to the service station we stopped and the constable questioned a young fellow walking up Main Street, dressed in a hospital robe and slippers, as to the reason for his dress. Satisfied by the man's answer that he was on his way to the police station to check on the return of his belongings (he had been in a hospital because of an accident the previous evening), we proceeded to the service station. By 9:45 we were on patrol, but only after we had stopped to accomplish a couple of personal errands for the constable. By 10:20 the town had been transversed, quartered and patrolled from one end to the other. At 10:20 we stopped ostensibly to deliver a message to a member on duty in the afternoon. We had coffee with his family. By 10:50 we were back at the office after a quick 15 minute tour of the town. At the office members of all three detachments (i.e., town, rural and highway patrol) were immersed in paperwork and/or preparing for patrol.

Until 11:40 the constable answered a number of phone calls, most of which concerned the accident from the previous night. Also, several individuals showed up to report minor accidents. One person had failed to appear in court and hoped a policeman could advise him.

At 11:40 we went for a 20 minute patrol and then had lunch with the constable and his wife[12] at their home.

At 1:20 p.m. we returned to the office and took out the "ghost car" (unmarked patrol car) while the town car was being washed. We patrolled until 2:00 p.m. constantly receiving calls over the port-a-phone[13]

mainly concerning the accident of the evening before.

At 2:00 p.m. the corporal on duty requested that we aid in picking up and detaining three juveniles suspected of vandalism and stealing a truck. This case had been listed on the nightboard.

The constable knew the juveniles who were brothers and their whole family quite well because of the family's long history of run-ins with the law. A quick patrol through town located a fourth brother who told us his brothers were at home. We drove to the home and awaited the arrival of a second car. A polite discussion between the boys' father and the constables took place and the two policemen entered the house. The three boys ambled out, followed shortly by the policeman who asked them to climb into the two cars. We took them to the cell block (which is several blocks from the police station), on the way stopping to check on the condition of the stolen truck. The boys freely discussed their behaviour, without questioning by the constable.

The three were booked at the cellblock; the oldest turned out to have just had his sixteenth birthday and was therefore an adult. The usual forms were filled in. The boys took their boots off, emptied their pockets and listened to the warning that anything they said might be used against them. They were putin separate cells and after 15 minutes the youngest one started to yell that he wanted out. We talked to the other two members present for a few minutes. The other town member assured me he would talk to the young one in another five minutes, when he was "ripe"[14] On this note we left to resume patrol.

At 3:15 I was dropped off at the police station because the constable was going to interview a "touchy" informant. He had asked me not to accompany him on the grounds that the informant was quite hostile

to strangers and was the kind who would "kill someone if he knew he could get away with it".

By 3:45 we were on patrol again. Our destination was a large municipal park sufficiently isolated from the town to encourage drinking parties. While we patrolled the park, a helmetless dirt biker was stopped and given an informal warning. He had also forgotten his license and his bike had little of the standard mandatory equipment. He was escorted back to his truck and told the possible penalities he could have gotten. The biker thanked the constable and we proceeded to a park building that had been reported as damaged the night before. The front wall and porch of the structure were caved in.

At 4:20 we returned to the office. The constable did 20 to 30 minutes of paperwork before going off duty. This paperwork included filling in reports on the day's activities, filing completed cases and preparing material for the following day's work.

In summary, this day of "ordinary" police work contained 14 cases of police-citizen contacts, 4 of them over the same occurrence. There was only 1 explicitly criminally oriented flurry of work, this lasted less than 1 hour. Approximately equal amounts of time were spent in the office and on patrol - 3 hours for each.

With an awareness of what kind of police work is necessary in Robertson[15], we proceed to an examination of which style is used to carry out these activities.

Wilson arrived at his typology of policing style by analyzing a number of often-related indicators descriptive of police-citizen interactions or of police attitudes relevant to police-citizen interactions. As mentioned in the "Methodology" section of this report, not

all of these indicators were developed extensively enough for our use, nor, in all cases, was enough data found in Robertson to complete our comparisons. The indicators for which a relatively complete comparison was possible are: 1) attitude toward minor infractions; 2) attitude toward juveniles; 3) policy on traffic quotas; 4) emphasis on order maintenance; and 5) relations with minority groups.

Indicators for which only limited comparisons were possible include: 1) attitude toward handling family and private disputes; 2) tolerance of gambling and vice; and 3) attitude toward the police themselves keeping the law.

Indicator #1: attitude toward minor infractions

Wilson describes minor offences as being, for example, vagrancy, disorderly conduct, third degree assault, shoplifting, minor theft, drunkeness, malicious mischief, and a variety of traffic offences such as parking offences (Wilson, 1967: 49-51). Legalistic departments tend to treat all offences, major or minor, in a formal manner, that is as matters best dealt with by the court. Warnings and lectures are given infrequently (1967: 172). Watchman departments ignore many minor offences, probably as many as possible. This follows their general policy of non-involvement with citizens whenever possible (1967: 141). Service departments avoid arrests for minor infractions whenever possible, but do not ignore them, rather they dispense warnings and lectures instead (1967: 201).

Robertson police definitely do not follow the watchman pattern-they get involved in all manner of situations involving community citizens, both as private citizens and policemen.

Some confusion appears, however, when we try to distinguish

whether their style is service or legalistic.

The problem arises over the definition of "minor infraction". A number of offences described by Wilson as 'minor' are treated as medium-level or even serious offenses by the Robertson police.

If criteria based on the quantity and quality of police effort, time and use of skills, is applied to a categorization of minor-major crimes, what would be minor crimes in a legalistic department are treated as more serious in Robertson. For example, a stolen wallet in Robertson led to two months of intermittent investigation by the member whose case it was. Since the wallet was stolen from the employee's coffee room in a department store, he searched the entire store, the roof, and the back alleys for two blocks. He returned to the store each time a new idea occurred to him, or just to see "if anything had turned up". It is also likely that he checked with the local secondhand store since this is standard procedure every timesomething is stolen.

It is unlikely that this thorough an investigation would occur in any urban police force where time is at a premium, whether the force be legalistic or service style.

In the first 6 months of 1976, there were no homicides, no sexual assaults, and only three reported cases of assault causing bodily harm in Robertson. The statistics for 1975 (see Table II) give similar results: under municipal police jurisdiction - 15 charges of assault, 15 charges of breaking and entering, 10 charges of theft of a motor vehicle, 27 charges of disturbing the peace, 26 charges under the Food and Drug Act, and 169 charges under the Liquor Control Act. Statistics for the rural detail are lower on disturbing the peace charges (not surprising considering the length of time it takes a constable to respond

TABLE II: SELECTED CRIMES REPORTED AND CLEARED IN ROBERTSON, 1975, FOR MUNICIPAL AND RURAL DETAILS*

Municipal

	Reported		Cleared	
OFFENCE	founded	unfounded	charged	otherwise
Assault	52	8	15	27
Breaking & Entering	77	11	15	4
Motor vehicle theft	35	11	10	3
Disturbing the peace	54	2	27	25
Drug offences	34	3	26	4
Liquor Control Act	434	4	169	262
TOTAL	686	39	262	325

Rural

	Reported		Cleared	
OFFENCE	founded	unfounded	charged	otherwise
Assault	34	3	12	16
Breaking & Entering	49	4	3	10
Motor vehicle theft	11	5	4	1
Disturbing the peace	7	0	1	4
Drug offences	24	1	22	1
Liquor Control Act	213	3	171	35
TOTAL	338	16	213	67

* Information taken from Robertson police files

to a complaint) but otherwise show a very similar pattern.

These factors and examples suggest that the lack of serious offences may have led to the development of a new scale of offence seriousness, if only within the community.

In Robertson offenses such as malicious mischief (vandalism), shoplifting, third degree assault (common assault) and minor theft (theft under $200) are considered to be more serious crimes. A great deal of investigative time and effort is put into tracking down the perpetrators of these offences. For example, a report that a door had been smashed in the local liquor store sent three cars to the scene, all of them parking on the wrong side of the street or double parking when they arrived. One constable smashed in the rest of the door and checked inside, another went around back, the third recorded a description given by two witnesses. After this initial excitement, normal duties were resumed but were quickly interrupted when one constable reported a fellow fitting the suspect's description. The suspect was picked up and taken to the station where he was left in the car, in preparation to being taken to the cell block. When some of the friends of the suspect showed up to "discuss" his arrest, the other cars returned to the station. The suspect in the meanwhile had been stripped of his boots in order that they could be checked for scuff marks and glass splinters since witnesses said the door had been kicked in. After convincing the suspect's friends to leave, he was taken to the cellblock and booked. This whole process took over an hour, occupied three police cars for various periods of time, and three policemen - one of whom was supposedly on rural detail.

Another incident, that even more dramtically points to the mobilization of police effort for offences usually labelled "minor" under

other circumstances occurred late on a Sunday night. A woman phoned to report a prowler around her trailer. Two cars and three police members responded (rural, highway and municipal patrol). The trailer's environs were throughly searched by flashlight and floodlight. One car patrolled the block to see if anyone was running. The "prowler" was finally spotted - 2 alley cats streaking in 2 different directions. The woman was reassured and patrol was continued. This incident took up 1/2 hour, 2 cars and three police members.

This type of incident, while not usually this extreme, is not unusual, especially for late evening or Sunday patrols.

"Serious" crimes when they do occur (None occurred in the two months I was in residence) are the topic of police conversation for months. One could almost deduce the seriousness of the offence by how long after its occurrence it was still discussed. For example the town's only rape in three years entered the conversation at least twice during my observation period. Traffic fatalities were discussed for several weeks.

From these examples it is evident that the Robertson police follow the general pattern of all police forces: serious offences are handled formally. Robertson police differ mainly in what they define as a "serious" offence.

What of the offences that Robertson police devote little time and effort to preventing or investigating? In Robertson, minor offences tend to be vagrancy, public drunkeness, disorderly conduct, and a long list of traffic offences. These "offences" are rarely treated as such. In two months no people were charged with vagrancy, despite numerous observations of individuals fitting that category. Drunks were rarely arrested, unless their drunkeness led to other, more criminal behaviour. Only on

two occasions were drunks observed in the cellblock. In this case two offenders were locked up for the night after complaints of rowdy behaviour in one of the local taverns. They were released the next morning. As the two fellows left, one questioned the constable as to the location of the nearest tavern. The policeman gave directions and joked with them about another night's residence in the drunktank. This incident was exceptional only in that the men actually were taken to the cellblock. Even the most obvious drunks were usually allowed to continue on their way as long as the constable knew that the drunk was staggering homeward — not carward — impaired drivers got no sympathy from the Robertson police (or courts).

Municipal traffic offenders were constantly warned or lectured. Warnings vary from a shook finger or blown horn to a 1/4 hour public lecture on the evils of parking by fire hydrants, for example. The type of warning given depends on the type of the offence and the policeman's knowledge of the offender. Usually only really blatant offences such as refusing to move if warned, or pulling an illegal U-turn when directly in front of a police car are likely to earn more than a warning.

Almost all municipal traffic by-laws, or any other kind of municipal by-law, are treated as minor offences. For example, the curb in front of the post office is clearly painted yellow and "no parking" signs abound: there are always at least two cars parked in this off-limits zone. In two months not one car was observed ticketed for this offence, a few warnings were given, but only if the car was also blocking the pedestrian crosswalk. Two other municipal by-laws which were almost never enforced were jaywalking and the minor curfew law.

From these examples it is evident that the service style applies

best to the Robertson police's treatment of minor offences.

When asked why they gave warnings instead of tickets, two general themes appeared:

1) warnings are more effective,

2) members must not only live in the community, but the force is dependent on the community for information and co-operation.

The following statements from police members reflect these concerns quite clearly:

> "Lots of times I'll tell them what they've done wrong instead of giving them a ticket. If the guy gets a ticket, he'll go away mad. If I warn him instead, then he goes away thinking: 'Gee, that guy's not too bad a fellow.' So next time you need his help, he'll help you because you gave him a break. I look at my job as mainly prevention."

> "Sometimes a guy gets a break because you know him, or you say, 'I'll give you a warning this time' because you know him. OK. I do that. Because I have to live in this town, too, and if I give everybody a ticket for every chintzy little thing, I'd be walking around looking like a dartboard. So there's un unwritten type of law here - you use your common sense. Lord help the guy that becomes a member and doesn't have it. He'll never make it."

Both these statements reflect the service style. They both emphasize rapport with the community, both for the sake of the force as well as the individual. The first statement also points to the service style emphasis on educating the public and preventing crime.

This indicator, "attitude toward minor infractions" has presented this study with its first discrepency in applying Wilson's typology. While the Robertson police department follows a recognizable pattern — serious offences treated formally, minor offences treated in the service style — an additional factor has influenced the pattern. The Robertson police force, a well-staffed, well-trained and well equipped force is faced with a minimal amount of "real police work", that is, criminal

investigation.

We are suggesting this factor has influenced the Robertson police toward developing a local scale of minor to serious crimes, and their behaviour "on the street" supports this. Faced with a lack of serious offences, less serious offences are "promoted" to this category with the result that fewer offences are considered "minor". Those that remain are handled in the service style.

This variation within the typology supplies us with the first indication of what could be called an "adaptative style". The Robertson police have adapted the usual pattern of policing to fit their needs for "real police work".

Indicator #2: attitudes towards juveniles

Each policing style exhibits a different attitude toward juvenile behaviour, especially criminal juvenile behaviour. The watchman style ignores most juvenile offences using the rationale that all juveniles misbehave and, unless the behaviour is a serious offence or comes from a "wiseguy", it is best to leave juveniles alone. (Wilson, 1967: 141). Offences that cannot be ignored are usually punished informally, that is, the policeman gives the juvenile a "bawling out" or a "swift kick in the pants". In sum, they visualize themselves operating in loco parentis (1967: 145).

The legalistic style tends to be much more formal in its treatment of juveniles. These departments have a high rate of juvenile arrest. The rationalization for this is that the juveniles need the benefits of professional services which, because of the criminal justice system set-up, are only available after arrest. (1967: 173-175).

In the service style departments juveniles are seldom arrested; rather, the police are concerned with regulating their behaviour. "Regulating" their behaviour can vary from interviews with a child's parents to turning the child over to the Juvenile Aid Bureau, with all of these procedures occuring at a pre-arrest state (1967: 201).

Because the schools in Robertson serve the whole district, Robertson has a daytime population of at least 2000 under the age of 19.[16] Census figures show the 1971 population to be 22% between the age of 10 and 19.[17] These figures indicate a reasonable possibility of police-juvenile contact, based on population figures alone.

In 1975, six juveniles were charged by police (4 males for theft of a motor vehicle and 2 females for possession of stolen property).[18] No arrests were made under the Juvenile Delinquency Act. In the first six months of 1976, 19 complaints[19] were received concerning juveniles but, to the knowledge of the researcher (from police files, incomplete as they were), only the three arrests observed and mentioned previously occurred in this time period.

These figures indicate a relatively low rate of arrest for juveniles, which precludes a legalistic attitude. However, some arrests do occur which suggests juveniles are not ignored as they would be in a watchman style. This is not by any means conclusive evidence. Observational data provided further information.

Very few incidents involving juveniles were observed. The most serious incident involved a group of Metis youths accused of damaging heavy construction equipment and stealing a semitrailer. They were picked up, booked and released after questioning since a judge's order is required to hold any juvenile overnight (Section 14, Juvenile Delinquency

Act). This incident is described in detail earlier in this chapter.

Other juvenile-police encounters seem to point toward an attitude of regulating rather than ignoring juveniles.

The police show great concern over juvenile behaviour. During the school year, the police lecture at the schools, giving talks on a variety of topics from bicycle safety, to the dangers of cigarette smoking,[20] to the dangers of drug abuse, to "what policemen do". Areas frequented by juveniles such as the swimming pool and various local parks are patrolled more frequently than many other parts of town.

Juveniles are often stopped by patrolling members for a friendly chat. Many of the juveniles are known by name and patrolling members are waved at frequently by juveniles. When questioned, members usually replied they knew the youngsters from sports affiliation or they knew their families from church[21] or business, or whatever.

Regulation seems to be prevalent in dealing with juveniles involved in minor offences. For example, a group of 10 young people in their late teens were caught with open liquor bottles in a public place. The constable wrote a ticket for illegal possession of liquor for only one youth, but suggested the rest chip in to help pay for it. He also gave the group a lecture on why they were caught: a) they were driving too fast which caused him to follow them, b) they were not paying attention to their driving or they would have seen him following them, and c) they chose a drinking spot that was open for viewing by all who passed on the "main drag" out of town. In addition the teenager (who was 18) who received the tickt was given a lecture on how he could have been charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors (several of the girls were under 18) and other related charges.

The constable pointed out to the researcher that he could have given the whole group tickets but that warning them was more effective and would lead to their co-operation another time.

Juveniles disobeying municipal by-laws are also "regulated". Warnings are almost always given unless the disobedience is flagrant. For example, when a juvenile was caught swimming in the pool late at night after climbing the fence, there was a great deal of discussion at the station whether or not he could be charged and if so, with what? (This burning issue was not resolved during the period of research).

Such a case, however, is exceptional. A more typical example is that of a juvenile caught riding his motor scooter in a schoolground. The constable turned on his loudhailer and announced that he should not ride his scooter in the schoolyard and to take it elsewhere.

While these incidents seem to point to a service style attitude toward juveniles, there is an additional circumstance that must be considered. The Canadian Juvenile Deliquency Act makes any official handling of juveniles a singularly frustrating and unrewarding experience for Canadian polices forces.[22] The terms of this act encourage courts to minimize the penetration of juveniles into the criminal justice system, except for extremely serious offences. According to section 20(1) of the Juvenile Deliquency Act the court may take one or more of the following courses of action:

(a) suspend final disposition;

(b) adjourn the hearing or disposition of the case from time to time for any definite or indefinite period;

(c) impose a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars, which may be paid in periodical amounts or otherwise;

(d) commit the child to the care or custody of a probation officer or any other suitable person;

(e) allow the child to remain in its home, subject to the visitation of a probation officer as often as may be required;

(f) cause the child to be placed in a suitable family home as a foster home, subject to the friendly supervision of a probation officer and the further order of the court;

(g) impose upon the delinquent such further conditions as may be deemed advisable;

(h) commit the child to the charge of any Children's Aid Society, duly organized under an Act of the legislature of the province and approved by the lieutenant governor in council, or, in any municipality in which there is no Children's Aid Society, to the charge of the superintendant, if there is one; or

(i) commit the child to an industrial school duly approved by the lieutenant governor in council.

The court may order the parents or guardian of the child to pay a fine, damages or cost, "if satisfied that the parent or guardian has conduced to the commission of the offence by neglecting to exercise due care of the child or otherwise, order that the fine, damages or costs awarded be paid by the parent or guardian of the child, instead of by the child" (Section 22(1) of the Juvenile Delinquents Acts).

Most juveniles receive warnings, probation, seldom fines, almost never imprisonment. Most "hardliner" juveniles, the police members claim, are well aware of this and do as they please. To arrest one of these juveniles and to have to release him immediately (because a judge's order is needed to hold him more than a few hours) and then to have him leave

court with a warning is more frustrating than most police members are willing to bear. As one member put it: "policemen aren't bothering to fill out the forms any more". Police members in general have rather strong negative feelings about the Juvenile Delinquents Act: the following is an example:

> "...it's ridiculous. It's a joke and they (the juveniles) know it and I've had them tell me. We're breeding criminals. If we don't curb it before their 18 they're well on their way to criminal activities without knowing what the sting might be. Taking them to juvenile court is not the answer... The kids know right from wrong. They grow up faster than they did 30 years ago. The Act is still 30 years behind... We have to have a firmer stand, have to quit making it a lark. Sure they get a stern warning, but there has to be follow-up action. I'm not saying there has to be a fine but Juvenile Court should keep records so kids can be charged as second offenders. His juvenile record dies when the kid is 16, you can't bring it into court when he's an adult. I don't believe in that. We've got to quit coddling them 'til age 16."

It is difficult to compare legal restrictions put on American and Canadian police by Juvenile Delinquency Acts. Wilson states only that:

> the law restricting the power of the police to make arrests in misdemeanours does not apply to juveniles in some states. Under California law, for example, a patrol may "take into temporary custody" without a warrant a person under the age of eighteen if the officer "has reasonable cause for believing" that the juvenile has, among other things, violated "any law.(21)
>
> Once in custody, the juvenile may be taken before a probation officer to determine whether further detention is necessary or the police may release him, with or without some form of reprimand, or order him to appear before the probation officer at a later date. (22)
>
> Under New York law the police have somewhat less authority. They may take into custody without a warrant a person under the age of 16 who commits or attempts in the officer's presence a crime, who has committed a felony but not in his presence, or who the officer has reasonable cause to believe has committed a felony. (23)

> The police, once they have taken a child into custody must immediately notify the parents and either release the child to them without bond or take the child directly to the local family court or to a reception centre designated by the family court". 24 ((Wilson quotes the California Welfare and Institutions Codes (21,22) and the New York Family Court Act (23, 24) and code of criminal procedure (23)) (Wilson, 1967: 111-112))).

Canadian police are allowed by the Juvenile Delinquents Act to arrest a child with or without a warrant (section 8.1) on the condition the child be taken before a juvenile court (no time limit is specified) and that he not be held in confinement in any place in which adults "are or may be imprisoned" (Section 13.1), unless no such place is available in which case a judge or sheriff must give permission (Section 14.1).

If this meagre comparison is used, and to do so gives only a crude comparison, restrictions on the Canadian police in dealing with juveniles are roughly equitable to restrictions on the American police, in some states at least. However this is not really a concern. The information missing from Wilson's study that is essential to our own is whether the American police forces were handling juveniles in their specific styles because of, or inspite of, their specific juvenile delinquency acts. Wilson implies that they operate inspite of these acts, that is, he presents the justifications each department uses for their juvenile policies, and none of these justifications refer anywhere to legislation concerning juveniles. We must conclude that, while the Robertson police handle juveniles in a service style, there is an additional factor that is an important indicator of police style: police reaction to legislation restricting police powers.

Indicator #3: departmental policy on traffic quotas

Wilson's legalistic departments issue traffic tickets at a high rate (1967: 172). Not only traffic specialists but all patrolmen are pressured to write tickets (1967: 174) as a means of evaluating their performance, among other things. Neither the watchman nor the servite departments particularly emphasize traffic quotas. Watchmen departments are more likely to ignore situations that could call for writing a traffic ticket (1967: 140). Service departments, while they do write traffic tickets, still do so at a lower rate than the legalisitc departments (1967: 201). The following table (table III) illustrates this differentiation:

Table III*

Tickets issued for moving traffic violations and rates per thousand population, 1965.

CITY	TICKETS FOR MOVING VIOLATIONS	
	Number	Rate per 1,000
Albany (watchman)	1,368	11.4
Amsterdam (watchman)	460	16.4
Newburgh (watchman)	1,226	40.9
Brighton (service)	1,829	61.0
Nassau County (service)	68,375	61.0
Highland Park (legalistic)	2,933	97.8
Syracuse (legalistic)	23,465	109.1
Oakland (legalistic)	90,917	247.7

* taken and adapted from p. 25, Varieties of Police Behaviours by James Q. Wilson, 1968.

Completely comparable statistics are not available for Robertson. 1975 Statistics Canada figures show 1330 provincial statute traffic charges

reported by the Robertson municipal police detail. (Statistics Canada, 1975a) These are, however, all provincial traffic charges, not just "moving traffic violations", and include such violations as improper equipment, advertising on the highway, noisy vehicles, and animals on the road not being given right of way.

A more total picture of departmental policy on traffic quotas is given by the statistics for all three details. In 1976, they reported a total of 4,418 traffic charges[23] for both municipal and provincial statutes. These figures again, are not an accurate representation of the traffic situation in Robertson, and to work out rates for comparison with the eight communities would be a meaningless exercise. The primary reason is that these statistics include the work of the highway patrol, the "traffic specialists". Highway work falls into two main categories, regulating traffic and aiding at the scene of accidents. The patrolling of campgrounds is another more minor activity. As a result, the main product of highway patrol is tickets. One highway member estimated that each member produced about 100 tickets a month, depending on individual discretion. Some write more, some write less, though he admitted it was a good idea to "write some to prove you're doing your job". Other than that, there was no set traffic quota, no pressure to "produce".

The four members of the highway patrol (this includes the corporal) no doubt account for a large percentage of the tickets given by the detachments, if the constable's estimate of 100 tickets per man per month is accurate.

The highway patrol seldom gives tickets inside town boundaries. The rural patrol also does not ticket often within the town. It does however, patrol a large number of secondary roads and as a result brings

home a fair number of tickets.

Observational data suggests that ticketing procedure at the town and rural levels is more a matter of individual discretion. For example, one rural member, when questioned about a warning he had given, explained that he had not written a ticket because: a) he had forgotten his ticket book, and b) he did not like giving tickets because he fell for every "sucker story". Rural members agreed there was no pressure on them to write tickets, whether it was their usual practice to do so or not.

Municipal members also felt they were under no pressure to write tickets: however, the town detachment "owned" one of the two radar sets in the station and sometimes a member felt obligated to use it.[24] As mentioned previously under department policy toward minor offences, traffic offences, unless they involve drinking and driving, are not a priority item to the town patrol. Warnings and spontaneous educational lectures are more likely to be the norm. Usually only really blatant or chronic offenders are ticketed. An example of a chronic offender is a local taxi company who's drivers habitually doubleparked, had faulty equipment and in general, defied police warnings to "clean up their act". Drivers from this outfit received a lot of tickets, not surprisingly.

Since the main highway bisects the town, municipal patrol also has to deal with highway drivers who "forget" to slow down within town boundaries.

Traffic offences such as these have no indications of being under a quota system. Only on highway patrol is there any sign of pressure "to produce", and this seems very slight compared to Wilson's legalistic departments. As to whether Robertson's police show a watchman or service style attitude towards traffic quotas, it appears that Robertson police

do not ignore traffic offences, yet they write few tickets. They seem prone to educate drivers and thus prevent future offences. This is most closely in line with the service style.

Indicator #4: emphasis on order maintenance

Wilson defines order maintenance as action that leads to the absence of "behaviour that either disturbs or threatens to disturb the public peace" or that "involves face to face conflict among two or more persons. Order maintenance, in short, involves disputes "over what is "right" or "seemly" conduct or over who is to blame for conduct that is agreed to be wrong or unseemly". (1967: 6). Examples are noisy drunks, rowdy teenagers, panhandling, loitering, loud parties and other "nuisance behaviour".

In watchman departments, unless dealing with serious crime, the police act as if order maintenance, not law enforcement, were their most important function. Unlike other police departments, all of which maintain order to various extents, watchman departments take order maintenance as the operating code of the department (1967: 140). In keeping with their policy of avoiding contact with the public, order maintenance activity just as with minor infractions, juvenile offences and so on, is embarked upon only when absolutely necessary.

Service style departments take seriously all requests for order maintenance, unlike the watchman style. Action is seldom, however, likely to resolve in arrest or other formal sanctions (1967: 200). The legalistic departments also take seriously situations calling for order maintenance, but instead of informal solutions such as found in the service style, the legalistic departments, true to form, invoke formal sanctions

whenever possible (1967: 172). Order maintenance as an attitude is in fact actively discouraged.

There were not very many order maintenance situations observed in Robertson. In 1975 the Robertson R.C.M.P. reported 54 official complaints of disturbing the peace, 27 of these were cleared by charge (Statistics Canada, 1975b). Police in Robertson are faced with about one disturbing the peace report a week. This is of course, not the only order maintenance situation with which they were faced. Situations involving noisy vehicles, for example, were observed. A complaint of noisy motor cycles lead the investigating member a merry chase over the fields and roads surrounding the airstrip, as the 'bikes'were cross-country models. Over an hour was spent looking for the offenders, with no success. Loud mufflers on one car resulted in a warning to do something about them. The police member was following the car home to be parked when another call interrupted. The offender did not receive a ticket as the member believed a warning sufficient.

Situations where disorder could be a possibility, such as the local fair, large dances and so on, always found a police car in the area "just checking up". Police seldom made an obvious appearance at these events, preferring to let the establishments' "bouncers" do their job; rather they skirted the fringes "keeping an eye on things".

Noisy drunks usually found themselves in the drunk tank. Quiet drunks purposely finding their way home were almost always left to their own devices. Only when a drunk showed indications of rowdiness and an intent to disturb the peace was he locked up.

Juveniles were usually sent home, unless their public rowdiness involved liquor. For example, one complaint was received of "kids fighting

downtown". It turned out to be two 13 to 14 year old girls fighting, with 10 to 12 spectators of the same age group and younger. The police member broke up the fight, took the girls'names and sent the whole group home. When liquor is involved, the police feel obligated to introduce some formal sanctions, such as with the previous example of teenagers drinking in an exposed area.

With the small number of order maintenance situations observed it is difficult to ascertain just which style is most prevalent in Robertson; there is no clear indication one way or another. Robertson police do not seem to have order maintenance as an operating code — there are insufficient incidents happening to warrant a concentration in this area.

Nor are the police likely to react with formal sanctions, though they do so on occasion. It would seem that the service style is again most prevalent, though the amount of evidence to back this up is rather limited. Observed incidents seem to point to a tendancy to warn or informally handle offenders in order maintenance situations.

Indicator #5: relations with minority groups

In the United States the main minority group is Negro, in Canada it is the Indian and Metis. Undeniably there must be differences with the respective "minority group problems". Our comparison, understandably, is of a rather crude nature.

Watchman departments tend to under-enforce in areas heavily populated by Negroes. "Negroes are thought to want, and to deserve, less law enforcement because to the police their conduct suggests a low level of public and private morality, an unwillingness to co-operate with the police or offer information, and widespread criminality." (Wilson

1967: 141). When Negroes offend whites then the police feel they must make an arrest (1967: 141).

Legalistic departments, because of their tendency to operate with just one standard of community conduct, run afoul of minority groups. "Because such persons are more likely than certain others to commit crimes, the law will fall heavily upon them and be experienced as "harassment" (1967: 172).

Service style departments, usually because of the homogeneous nature of the communities they police, have limited contact with minority groups. Most service style departments handle their few minority group members in a way that "arouses a minimum of hostility" (1967: 224).

Negro leaders in service style communities were, on the whole, pleased with the police and publicly praised them. No complaints were received from organized Negro groups of either harassment or neglect (1967: 226).

Robertson police must deal with a hinterland that is heavily populated by Metis. Several communities with Metis populations up to 85% use Robertson as a social and business centre. The town itself is less than 10% Metis.[25]

There are no specific "Metis areas" in town; therefore there was no possibility of such areas being under-enforced. There was no indication of police members believing the Metis to be less deserving of police work than other groups, though there were frequent comments on how "different" the Metis lifestyle was. Police members mentioned difficulties in policing the Metis because of their high illiteracy rate, lack of knowledge about the law, and language problems. The freedom allowed most Metis youths by their families also was mentioned as a police

problem.

The police members also denied there was any harassment of the Metis. "We know they're likely to be involved but it's not because they're Metis" it's mainly because "they're on the scene all the time."

The region's Metis leader had nothing but praise for the local R.C.M.P. He mentioned that he had heard a few tales of police harassment but knowing the individuals involved he was sure there was no substance to the stories.

At this point in time, the R.C.M.P. get no special training for dealing with Indians or Metis. One of the R.C.M.P. NCO's said it wasn't possible to learn this kind of thing from a book, it was "on-the-job-training". If special problems arise, "well, that's what the special constables are trained for."[26] It is a point of interest that beginning in 1978, basic training incorporated a "minority-relation component".

Few incidents of Metis-police interaction of a criminal nature were observed in Robertson. The incident of the Metis juveniles vandalizing construction equipment as mentioned previously was the main one. On the night of the local fair a carload of Metis young people was stopped for a liquor check. They had nothing. Numerous other cars were stopped that night — several of which did have liquor. Another car of Metis young people pulled an illegal U-turn in front of the police car that same night. The constable explained why it was illegal and gave the driver a $20 ticket. He also asked the driver if he had been drinking. He took his word that he had not, and did not check the rest of the people in the car.

There is a high rate of arrest for Metis contravening the Liquor Control Act. No actual figures are available but a six-month check

of Robertson's 1976 liquor charges show at least 10%, based only on last name or knowledge of the individuals involved, to be Metis.

Subpoenas, tickets and investigations were a common part of Metis-police contacts and there seemed to be no radical differences between these meetings and those between police and the whites.

The only really jarring notes came from the usage of rather impolite names for the Metis and their communities by some police members. These words were never used to the face of any Metis. The words "squaw" or "wagon burners", for example, popped into casual conversation and one area of town containing several Metis homes was occasionally referred to as "Moccasin Flats".

From these few examples we are hesitant to make any firm conclusions. Robertson police seem to be operating with a combined legalistic-service style: legalistic because there seems to be a common standard applied to all, which shows up in the rate of Metis' arrests for contravening the Liquor Control Act, service because police-Metis relations seem quite good, at least compared to Negro-police relations in many U.S.A. cities. The style is not watchman because there is no indication of under enforcement of Metis areas (since there are no areas of town that could be classed as Metis in Robertson). There were no observations of police reaction to a Metis "offending" a white so this could not be compared.

Summary of Indicators

Indicator	Style: Watchman	Legalistic	Service	Robertson
Minor infractions	ignored	formal	warned	warned=service
Attitude to juveniles	ignored	formal	regulated and warned	warned=service
Traffic quotas	no pressure -avoid	pressure high rate	no pressure moderate rate	no pressure-moderate rate(?) = service
Emphasis on order Maintenance	strong-but avoided	emphasis = law enforcement	strong and serious	inconclusive though some service factors
Relations with minorities	under-enforced and poor	equity but some harassment	good	good but rate of liquor arrests high= service/ legalistic

From this chart it is obvious that these indicators encompass the two key elements of our analysis: 1) willingness to become involved with citizens[27], and 2) resorting to formal/informal[28] solutions to police-citizen interactions.[29] Watchman departments usually seek noninvolvement as much as possible and use informal solutions. Legalistic departments seek involvement but rely on formal solutions to the encounter. Service style departments seeks involvement as often as possible and employ informal solutions.

In Robertson the police are often involved in police-citizen enrollment in the criminal justice system; Robertson police prefer informal solutions whenever possible.

Our complete indicators point to a predominating service style in Robertson with some legalistic style overtones. The indicators also point to a number of previously undiscussed factors which we will return to later.

There were a number of other indicators such as police response to political pressure, that had originally been included in the design, but these proviced insufficient data to be of any use. Several other indicators supplied us with a very limited amount of information and are therefore referred to as "partial indicators". These included attitude towards handling family and private disputes, tolerance of gambling and vice, and attitude towards the police themselves keeping the law. Robertson police showed a slight tendency to handle family and private disputes with formal solutions. There was no evidence of gambling or vice in Robertson so that no conclusions based on this as an indicator were possible. The Robertson police's attitude towards the police themselves keeping the law was rather ambigous: they did not ignore the law by any means, but members occasionally seemed very casual about some of the municipal by-laws and some traffic laws. In general, there was simply insufficient data available to draw any conclusions based on these indicators.

These indicators do however, point to one interesting factor not emphasized by Wilson — many aspects of police work familiar to policemen in larger centres are missing or minimal in small towns. Wilson mentions in passing that small upper-class communities such as those policed by service style departments have reduced rates "of serious crime committed by residents" (1967: 200) which is the reason police concentrate on regulating juveniles, managing traffic and providing

services. Robertson is not upper-class, and all crimes are not necessarily committed by residents since Robertson is a transient centre. Nor do Robertson police concentrate on regulating juveniles or managing traffic. This lack of serious crime, of "real police work" carries a significance beyond that mentioned by Wilson.

Discussion

The majority of indicators point to a service style of policing in Robertson. Wilson stated that some overlap between policing categories usually appears and this we found to be the case in Robertson. Some legalistic tendencies were present. We found no indication of watchman traits.

Even taking this overlap into consideration, two factors appeared in our analysis that could not be accounted for by Wilson's framework. There were 1) police reaction to laws restricting their police powers, and 2) police reaction to the lack of "real police work".

The first factor became apparent when police in Robertson made it clear that they would prefer to do more than just regulate their juveniles, as is the normal police procedure in service style communities. Regulation was the only workable alternative the police felt was left to them by the Juvenile Delinquents Act. The Robertson police therefore adapted to using this style despite their doubts as to its utility.

The second factor revolves around the lack of "real police work" in small communities. The police members often admitted that small town work was extremely boring. The hours devoted to paperwork and "preventative patrol" did little to alleviate the situation.

While we have little definite evidence that lack of "real police work" may be a motivating factor in choosing a service style of

policing, the total pattern of police responses suggest that this may be so. The police treatment of minor offences concentrates a great deal of time and energy into what are relatively minor offences, but few more serious offences are available on which to do real police work. Robertson police members complained on several occasions about the lack of police work; some described Robertson as being the quietest town they had ever worked in. Several admitted to considering asking for a transfer out to where they could handle more "exciting" incidents. Our difficulty in observing family and private disputes as well as the almost complete lack of gambling and vice underscores this point, as does the paucity of order maintenance situations.

While other factors, such as the purchase of the radar set for the town detachment, may play a role in attitude toward traffic ticketing, there is also the possibility that the moderate rate of ticketing could be traced back to a lack of "real police work".

Providing services is a normal part of a service style, but they are often initiated by the community. In Robertson, many of the services provided by the police are police-initiated such as the Safe Driver Awards and the Bicycle Safety Programs. This is perhaps the most tenuous of our factors since it is very difficult to determine who exactly initiates a popular public service (especially if it has a political aspect or even just political possibilities).

The total pattern has led us to suggest that the most outstanding characteristic of the policing style in Robertson is its adaptability. The training of the R.C.M.P. has a greater emphasis on law enforcement than on providing community services: approximately 111 hours out of 860 are spent on human relations with the remainder divided

among physical, driving and investigative training. Very little of this law enforcement training is used in Robertson. The police force seems to have developed the service style to fill in their time.

How similar this situation is to that found in Wilson's service departments certainly bears investigation. Wilson does not provide sufficient data for comparison. He most certainly does not rely on our two additional factors, police reaction to laws restricting their powers and police attitude toward lack of "real police work". Nor does he provide us with enought information to attempt an application of these factors to the typology already in existence. Until such comparisons are possible we suggest that for research purposes it would be valuable to initiate another type of policing - *adaptive policing*. This is a style of policing emphasizing a formal approach to the resolution of police-citizen contacts and heavy individual police member involvement in the community. The data collected for this study suggest that a service style description is inadequate or at least incomplete to use when dealing with Canadian small town policing.

Our next chapter, which deals with determining the main influences on policing style, supplies us with additional evidence to support the establishment of an expanded typology.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH QUESTION #2:
IS IT POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE THE MAIN INFLUENCES ON STYLE OF POLICING IN A SMALL COMMUNITY?

Analysis of data reveals that it is, to a certain extent, possible to determine the main influence on policing, and that in the small community of Robertson, the main influence is police organization and experience. Community expectations also play a role, but to a lesser extent. Population characteristics, for a variety of reasons, gave us little information and their role was difficult to assess.

In order to investigate Research Question #2 and to judge the relative influences of these factors it was necessary to divide question #2 into three parts and pursue each separately.

(a) What effect, if any, do the expectations of the small town community have on the style of policing?

(b) What effect, if any, does the organization and experience of the local police force have on the style of policing?

(c) What effect, if any, do the population characteristics of the community have on the style of policing?

(a) What effect, if any, do the expectations of the small town community have on the style of policing?

Except for a few minor matters, the citizens of Robertson seem to be well satisfied with local R.C.M.P. policing. What the community believed the R.C.M.P. should be doing and its degree of satisfaction

with the police force's activities were not difficult to determine. The difficulty arose when we tried to determine if the police force was reacting to the community, that is, fulfilling the expectations of the community; or whether the police were reacting to organizational policy, that is fulfilling the expectations of the R.C.M.P.

Previous studies and, in particular, that of Cain (1973) suggest that rural and small town communities should be able to influence the policing style of their local police forces. Cain (1973: 224-226) outlines five factors that strengthen the ability of a community to influence its police force:

(1) the majority of policemen come from within the district or from a similar type of community;

(2) the policement and their families are dependent on the community for social interaction;

(3) the policemen seldom live or work in close proximity and an exclusive police culture is thereby precluded;

(4) policemen depend upon the community occupationally;

(5) supervision by senior officers is minimal and police expectations of behavior are seldom enforced.

When we compare the Robertson situation to these five factors, it appears that the citizens of Robertson may not have extensive ability to influence their police force.

(1) <u>the majority of policemen come from within the district or from similar types of communities</u>

In Robertson this is not the case. Until 1974, the R.C.M.P., as standard policy, assigned all members out of their home provinces. Any members of the Robertson detachment who had been in the force more

than two years were from out of province. Five of the "recruits", all of whom had been in the force two years or less (average about one year), came from within Alberta. None of the seventeen members had lived in Robertson before their posting. Five members — less than a majority — came from communities the same size or smaller than Robertson. These smaller communities had little in common with each other beyond size, (e.g. geographical location, primary industry were not similar to Robertson). The remainder of the men came from small or large cities.

(2) policemen and their families are dependent for social interaction on the community

Of the seventeen men in the detachment only three were single (one was engaged). Of the fourteen married men, ten had children, the average number of children being two. Of the seventeen men, six were rather reluctant to discuss their lives previous to joining the R.C.M.P. Therefore this line of questioning was not pursued. The figures, therefore, represent only eleven respondents.

Some of the police wives worked — as nurses, sales clerks and so on — but they were less than half of the total. Most of the children were school-aged and attended public schools.

Both the police members and their wives were active in community events. Many of the policemen participated and/or coached in local sports activities such as hockey, baseball and curling. The local newspaper had regular layouts featuring police members (usually out of uniform) giving or receiving a sports award. The local service clubs such as the Kinsmen, Lions or Boy Scouts also had police in their memberships. Picture of police members and their wives were also found in the local paper for these things.

Other community members, when questioned, noted that the police members were very active in community activities — the most frequently mentioned was their sports participation.

Many community members mentioned having policemen as good friends. A few noted that the younger, single members were less sociable. They guessed this was probably because of the R.C.M.P. transfer policy. Married members in 1976 were expected to stay in a community an average of five years, but single men, especially recruits, were still required to make frequent moves.

Only two of the members mentioned occasional visits to the nearest big city and several complained that their home towns were too distant to make it worthwhile visiting their families. One member, who had just returned from such a visit griped that he had spent several thousand dollars, travelled two thousand miles, and all he and his wife had out of it were good suntans.

All the members said they had developed non-police friendships in the community, some members pointed out that the longer the members were in town, the more friends they had.

(3) police seldom live or work in close proximity thereby retarding the growth of an exclusive police culture

This was not the case in Robertson. While the police did not live in an enclave, they did all live within the town's boundaries. Robertson is rather spread out but this still puts all the police members within close call.

Members work at least part of the day in close contact. Each tour of duty requires a certain amount of paperwork and almost all paperwork is done at the station. Off duty members frequently dropped

by the station "just to see how things are going".

During day shifts members regularly gathered at a local restaurant for coffee. Men whose patrols overlapped usually stopped to chat. While on patrol each man is his own boss, but radio contact brought advice, suggestions and occasionally humourous comments. No police member was completely out of contact with other members.

Socially the police members mixed frequently. Many police members had friends outside the force but inter-police friendships were quite noticeable. In two months there was at least one barbeque for all police members, and several parties. Members attended several sports functions together, as well as other community events. "Dropping in" on someone both on and off duty was also common. Members did their social drinking at the local legion hall because it was the one spot where they would not be "hassled". In the public establishments the police members and their wives occasionally found themselves the targets of drunken insults and fists. It is also recommended by R.C.M.P. policy that members stay away from such places.

The younger R.C.M.P. members said they were inclined not to mingle much with the married members because they were older and involved in "family things". These members were more likely to travel to the city for recreation and entertainment.

Only two of the community members interviewed felt the policemen and/or wives were "clique-y". The remainder of the respondents found them to be very sociable though a few commented that this had not always been so, that a lot depended on the attitude of the "man in charge".

(4) the police are dependent on the community occupationally

This is the case in Robertson. There is little criminal activity

for the police to investigate and their time and effort must be consumed elsewhere. Much of their work revolves around investigating and/or complying with citizen requests and complaints. Citizen-initiated telephone calls to the station house averaged 150 to 200 a month. While some of the requests would not be termed "police business" in larger centres (for example, "Do you know where I can get a job?" or requests for directing traffic for a funeral procession), all are responded to in some form or other.

The citizens, as well as other government agencies, of Robertson also supply emergency help when serious situations arise. A search for a lost child, for example, will involve a contingent of woods-experienced citizens. The police often have to refuse offers of help because of the confusion that may arise from too many helpers. Highway accidents are often cleaned up by the citizens with the police providing only advice and supervision. An example is the case of a rolled and crushed gravel truck on a side road. Trucks from a local trucking outfit righted the truck and then called in trucks with hydraulic winches to pull the cab apart in order to get the driver's body out. The truckers also disconnected all the live wires in the truck and cleaned up the debris (after the R.C.M.P. identification man had completed his tasks). The truckers also loaded the body into the ambulance.

Citizens are essential as witnesses in court. Lack of citizen co-operation in this area means a lot of police work that cannot be used in court. Robertson police were, during the research period, particularly unhappy about the local court system. Witnesses were regularly called for 9:30 a.m. for all cases, and more often than not could sit all day without being called. After the second or third time

this occurred some began to refuse subpoenas when the police served them.

The police also needed citizen co-operation to accomplish their prevention programmes such as the Driver Safety Programme and Operation Fanout (for bad cheque alerts).

Information is, of course, essential, and many policemen especially the rural members, emphasized the importance of casual conversations with citizens.

A policeman has to "find out the pulse of what's going on in that community, and that's how you keep tab of everything that's going on" as one rural member explained it.

For friendliness and hospitality the community is essential. Patrolling policemen were waved at by children and adults alike. Policemen seldom hesitated to join members of the community for coffee when invited (and on occasion, invited themselves).

(5) supervision by senior officers is minimal and police expectations of behavior are seldom enforced

While the R.C.M.P. members in Robertson did most of their duty time alone either on an investigation, or doing preventative patrol, it would be incorrect to term their supervision "minimal". Each man began and ended his duty time at the station house. There was always an N.C.O., usually a corporal, on duty at the station, or during the night, on call. The staff sergeant was usually on a weekday shift with weekends off.

All major occurrences were expected to be reported to the N.C.O.'s — lost people in the bush for example, or fatal accidents, mental cases, and crimes of violence. Any deviation from routine was also

discussed with, and permission received from, a corporal. For example, on a very busy night a suspected arson in a rural area was reported. Neither the highway or rural patrol was free to investigate. Because there were two men on town patrol that night, one asked permission to leave town and investigate the fire. Permission was granted and the corporal added he would come on duty himself if necessary.

Robertson is one of several training headquarters for recruits who are assigned from six months to two years. For the first six months the recruits are officially supervised by more experienced constables. This trainer checks the recruit's paperwork, gives advice, and makes suggestions on awkward situations and problems.

The corporals commented occasionally on the work of the constables, sometimes they disagreed with the type of charge laid, or they suggested that a warning was not appropriate and a charge should have been laid. These comments were usually expressed in an informal and friendly manner.

Some pressures, however, were not informal. Formal letters were received by men who were overweight and physically unfit, for example.

The members themselves do not feel strongly supervised, especially when they compare themselves to city police forces. One member expressed it this way:

> We work alone a lot of the time. We have that ability to do what we want. If I'm by myself and I run into a particular situation, I'll handle it the way I think it's done best. The city police have three hundred situations they can get into and this is number two hundred ninety-six...

In summary, we see that the members of the detachment are dependent on the community socially as well as occupationally to a

certain extent. Members however were not from within the district, nor were they residentially or occupationally separated. Finally, their supervision was moderate, certainly more than that of Cain's British rural police.

Based on Robertson's only partial congruence with Cain's five points we must conclude that the community in Robertson probably has less influence on its police members than the small British communities studied by Cain. The question that emerges at this point is:

> How responsive are the Robertson police to the influence of the community?

Wilson describes service style departments as being particularly responsive to community expectations and lists three main expectations they respond to:

(1) illegal enterprises or radically deviant behavior is not allowed;

(2) police should provide an exceptional number of services;

(3) police should be neat, courteous and deferential (1968:201).

The Robertson police force is only partly responsive to these expectations.

Robertson is notably low on illegal enterprises and radically deviant behavior. Community members made no mention in the interviews that illegal enterprises had once been common or were now in existence. A few young people mentioned that "some big businessmen were pushing dope" in the context of what they believed to be differential law enforcement but this was certainly not common knowledge or supported by police records.

Police members remembered one or two women who had been suspected of prostitution but no charges or complaints had ever been laid against

them and they had eventually left town. Radically deviant behavior was also not in evidence. In one incident police helped in the removal of a "mental case" from her home because she was trying to burn it down. These kind of occurrences are rare. Robertson does have marijuana users, with thirty-seven cases in 1975 of possession, and one case of trafficking in marijuana, one case of cultivation, and seven cases concerning marijuana which had charges withdrawn for various reasons. Fines averaging $75.00 to $150.00 indicate that marijuana possession is probably not treated any more harshly — that is, treated as radically deviant behavior — in Robertson than it is elsewhere.

Drinking and driving seems to be an offence the townspeople will not tolerate, nor will the police. This led to what some young people thought of as harassment: the police equate young people with drinking and driving, especially young long-haired males. As a result they are more often stopped for liquor checks.

Robertson did not really have enought illegal enterprises or deviant individuals for this variable to be of great use, although our data has shown that drug use and impaired driving were not tolerated at all by the police.

Police in Robertson do provide some services perhaps not normally provided by other police forces — such as temporarily looking after lost dogs and directing traffic for funerals, but they do not provide as many services as the previous town police who, according to community members, normally chauffered people around and carried messages for town council, much in the style of Taft and England's "Time Servers". They also had foot patrols; the R.C.M.P. do not. One community member compared the R.C.M.P. to the British police force (he was a recent immigrant) and

believed the R.C.M.P. did not know the townspeople as well or do as many "small things" for them.

The R.C.M.P. are normally neatly and cleanly dressed; this is however because of R.C.M.P. dress regulations rather than community expectations. For example, police members are required to wear their hats whenever out of the patrol car. Several of the men joked about the researcher seeing them without their hats. The men are also required to remain slim and physically fit. On festive or official occasions such as leading the rodeo parade, or guarding the cenotaph, "red serge", the dress uniform, is always worn — again because of departmental policy. Robertson police members are almost always polite to community members, sometimes despite immense provocation. This attitude, however, cannot be described as deferential. While citizens are always addressed as "Sir" or "Ma'am" they are not put on a pedestal. Acquaintances are usually treated with friendly good humour and strangers treated somewhat aloofly.

Robertson's police follow the service style of response to the community to a certain extent: what little deviant behavior exists in the community (impaired driving, mental illness, drug use) is responded to by the police and not allowed by them. "Traditional" deviant behavior such as prostitution and gambling are not found in the community, making comparison with Wilson somewhat difficult. The police provide a great many services but not, it seems, as many as the previous force or as many as some of the townspeople want. The police members are usually neat and courteous but seldom deferential.

Because of this limited congruence with the service style of community response, we also compared the Robertson police's style of

response to the community to that usually found in legalistic departments.

Legalistic departments are the result of community dissatisfaction with corrupt or inefficient police forces. This is somewhat the situation as it happened in Robertson except that a totally new police force replaced the inefficient town police. The townspeople's expectations were not being met by their police force to the point where they finally got rid of it. However, whether this affected the R.C.M.P. as it did the legalistic departments is doubtful. The R.C.M.P. was not in the position of having to prove to the townspeople that it was now above corruption and inefficiency — from newspaper files it is apparent that the townspeople already assumed this. If anything, the R.C.M.P. had to prove they were friendly and informal and accessible — like the old town police. Whether or not they actually tried this strategy could not be proven from our data, although newspaper records (See Appendix B) would suggest they did to a small extent. Despite this, the situation is still not a good fit to the legalistic pattern of response to community expectations.

So far, we have seen that the R.C.M.P. may not be as responsive to community expectations as the British small town police, according to Cain's factors outlining community ability to influence rural policing. Nor do they completely follow the policing patterns of response to community expectations for either the service style or legalistic style departments.

Does the community feel their expectations are responded to by the local R.C.M.P.?

This was not an easy question to answer. All of the townspeople

sampled, except one (that is, 97.7%), were quite satisfied with the R.C.M.P. policing and had only minor complaints or had complaints that the local force had no power to rectify. Eleven out of forty-four respondents noted their satisfaction with the R.C.M.P. and spontaneously compared them in a favorable light to the old town police. Five of forty-four spontaneously compared them favorably with other police forces, such as city police or American state police, in expressing their satisfaction.

Community members were especially pleased with the police's involvement with local school children. Fifteen of forty-four mentioned this. References were made particularly to the Bicycle Safety Programme and talks given in the schools.

Nine out of forty-four praised police co-operation in giving information requested.

All community members were aware of the active police involvement in community sports and most considered this praise-worthy because it increased police-citizen contact. A minority (four) stated that the police should not feel obligated to participate in community matters and should follow their own interests.

Five of forty-four noted the police force's "good P.R.".[30] Especially mentioned were the annual businessmen-police banquet which had recently been abandoned because the police members could no longer afford to pay for it themselves as attendance topped three hundred. Also mentioned were various safety programmes.

Three of forty-four specifically praised the staff sergeant heading the detachment. Especially commented upon was his encouragement of community involvement for police members. This, they remarked,

differed greatly from the policies of some previous N.C.O.'s.

There were a number of things about which community members were dissatisfied. Some of these the local police had little or no control over. For example, seven of forty-four respondents thought the local R.C.M.P. was understaffed. However, new municipal members must be subsidized by town council, and town council (as well as the police) thought there was no need for more men as the situation stood in Robertson at the time. Two of forty-four thought the police spent too much time on paperwork and administration but these procedures are ordered by higher levels. Two of forty-four mentioned the police should not be in the courtroom except, perhaps, as witnesses. However, they are ordered to serve as court orderlies by the attending judge and no one else is available to replace them. They also presented the criminal and traffic cases and arranged appearance dates for summary offences.

Three of the professional people in town suggested that the R.C.M.P. should be given more training in human relations and empathy. Similar courses are given in basic training but are not overly emphasized. Seven of forty-four citizens thought the law restricted the police too much, especially in dealing with juveniles (five) and civil liberties (two).

Members of other government agencies such as social development, probation, the hospital, and other members of the criminal justice system, all stated their relations with the local R.C.M.P. were satisfactory though each agency had minor "beefs" such as under-utilization of their particular resources by the police, or requesting help after office hours.

There were four areas of complaint over which the police had some

control. The first was that "undesirable" members were assigned to Robertson and usually not gotten rid of fast enough (sixteen of forty-four). These "undesirables" ranged from "over-eager", "hot-shot" recruits to "obnoxious" or "officious" individuals. The recruits especially were found hard to take by some community members. Remarks such as "it takes them a while to humanize" and they're a "little more vicious and strict than mature-minded older ones" were heard from community members.

The second complaint was that the police were not doing enough about speeders and noisy motorbikes (seven of forty-four). The third complaint was that the police did not do foot patrols (two of forty-four) and the fourth complaint was that the police should be "rougher on drunks, especially impaired drivers and vagrant drunks" (two of forty-four). This last complaint, however, was matched by two compliments on how "nicely" Robertson police treated drunks. One citizen said the liquor laws were all bad and the police shouldn't enforce any of them. The townspeople, it would seem are rather ambivalent on whether the police are handling drunks well or not.

The young people (three of the forty-four interviewed were under 25) spoken to were not as appreciative of policing in Robertson as their elders. Two complained of what they felt to be police harassment — a drug search that left an automobile stripped on the road and constant checks for liquor, for example.

A member of the criminal justic system in town said that in six years he had heard of only two incidents where people were "whacked or thumped in the ear" by the local R.C.M.P. He found this very satisfactory.

In summary, the people of Robertson were satisfied with their

policing in general, although they had some complaints. They seemed certain they were getting the best policing available.

A service style department would conscientiously try to satisfy all the complaints from its community — at least those it had the power to satisfy. Does the local R.C.M.P. follow this pattern?

Not to any great extent. The local R.C.M.P. were quick to respond to any request or report of criminal activity and the demands of the citizens were always taken seriously — and these demands included a surprising variety. Of 226 calls recorded in June 1976 for example, fifty-six were crime-related, one hundred were requests for assistance of one sort or another, ten were unclassifiable and the remainder were traffic related. The requests for assistance indicated the citizens expected the police to do just about anything: inspect suspicious ropes, check abandoned cars, halt noisy pumps, quiet barking dogs, settle down unruly cattle, and stop biting dogs.

All of these were checked out and usually "something was done". However, the four specific complaints the community members had were not necessarily rectified. Men were seldom recommended to be transferred out by the N.C.O. because of citizen complaints (informal and unofficial complaints), though one man that the community was particularly not fond of was found to be already scheduled for a transfer when complaints were finally made. Since the R.C.M.P. now has a policy to keep members in a community for up to five years, it would be interesting to investigate whether or not complaints become more frequent as citizens may lose patience waiting for a member's transfer.

The second complaint, about noisy motorbikes and speeders was not a first-class priority item for the local police, mainly because

offenders can seldom be caught in the act. A great deal of energy was usually put into the investigation, as with the incident in which the constable toured the country around the airstrip looking for noisy dirt-bikes. However, following a consistent pattern, the bikers, if caught, would most likely have been warned, not charged.

Laying in wait for speeders was not a popular pastime for the municipal members. Town council had purchased a radar set specifically for the town detail but members used it unenthusiastically - usually when prodded to do so by one of the corporals. The radar set was usually found in a highway car where it was more appreciated.

The R.C.M.P. prefer not to do foot patrol, their response to the third complaint. They have greater mobility in their cars and a direct radio link to all the other cars, the station house, and central headquarters. Robertson is a rather spread out town and "walking a beat" would have been more time and effort than was really called for. Some members would park their cars and walk the downtown area but this was not a daily happening.

The local R.C.M.P. handled drunks in the way it saw fit — vagrant drunks or noisy drunks were usually put in the drunk tank overnight. Impaired drivers were arrested. Other drunks were given rides home or left to walk peacefully. Robertson has less than five thousand people, has three taverns and, like most small towns in Alberta, drinking is one of the main recreational activities. The highway going through town leading to a nearby resort area also drew a number of people intent on drinking and driving. The cellblock could not have held all the people that could possibly have been arrested. Nor did the townspeople feel that all drinkers should be arrested;

many were ordinary citizens "tying one on", and were considered quite peaceful and undisruptive.

Police response to the four citizen areas of complaint point to a certain disinclination to making them priority items. All calls of complaint were answered but no campaigns of rectification were begun either. This is not the response pattern found in a service style where community expectations are the operating code, but it does reflect the types of service supplied by a service style department.

In summary, our data suggest that community expectations are not a primary factor in determining a "service style" of policing in Robertson. The community does not have complete power to influence the police, nor do the police completely follow the service style pattern of response to "typical" service style community expectations. Lastly the specific complaints of the Robertson community members are respected but are not necessarily given priority. These factors again point to a department with a service style of policing but lacking in the intensity of dedication to the community usually found in service style police departments.

(b) What effect, if any, does the organization and experience of the local police force have on the style of policing?

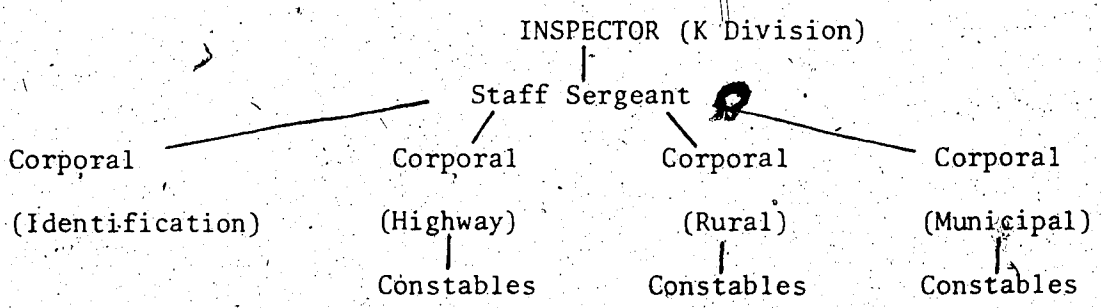
In attempting to answer this research question, we found that the organization and experience of the local police force was completely interwoven with the quasi-military nature of the R.C.M.P. As a result much of the data gathered for this section can also be applied to Research Question #3: "What effect, if any, does the quasi-military organization of the R.C.M.P. have on the style of policing they use?"

We also found that police organization and experience seemed to be the determining factor in influencing police style in Robertson.

The Robertson detachment is only a small unit of a large national police force. It is directly under the supervision of "K" Division headquartered in Edmonton. Each province has a central headquarters and specific designation. Some special branches such as the training branch also are awarded division status. The local detachment is organized hierarchically, as is the whole organization. As mentioned previously, this organization is very similar to a military ranking system. The detachment was headed by a staff sergeant who was responsible to an inspector working out of Edmonton Headquarters. The inspector supervised a "circuit" of small-town detachments. These were inspected regularly, for a few hours to several days, depending on situational needs.

Under the staff sergeant were four corporals, one in charge of identification and three responsible for municipal, highway and rural policing respectively. Each corporal, except for the identification corporal who worked alone, had a number of constables in his charge. The Municipal Patrol had five constables, Highway had four, and Rural had three, making a total of seventeen N.C.O.s and constables. (See Figure 2)

Figure 2: Chain of command for the "Robertson" R.C.M.P. detachment



Each rank has its special duties though all ranks do some investigative work. The constables do most of the patrol work and the "ordinary" investigative work. The corporals, on occasion, will patrol and do most of the more serious or "interesting" investigating. Corporals are also responsible for supervising the men in their units and doing much of the statistics and administrative paperwork for their units. Supervision usually takes the form of "keeping tabs" on the whereabouts of the men, observing their work habits, and aiding them with difficult decisions.

The corporal on duty for each shift is the duty supervisor for the total detachment, that is, all three units.

The junior corporal is responsible for R.C.M.P. court duties. He prepares evidence, sets court appearance dates and assigns court orderlies. Until the Kirby Commission Report was acted upon, he was also responsible to act as Crown Prosecutor. The police members were quite thankful that this had been dropped from the list of R.C.M.P. official duties. Some commented it had not helped their public image - "First you arrest them, then you prosecute them, then you lock them up," as one member commented.

The corporal responsible for identification works mainly as an investigator - taking fingerprints, analyzing useful evidence, and taking photographs.

The staff sergeant handles most of the public relations work as well as a great deal of the detachment administration work. He also relays and implements orders received from Headquarters - "K" Division.

The tasks of each unit differ in emphasis. Highway Patrol is mainly radar work, patrolling ("driving around so they can see you")

and attending highway accidents. Few contacts are made with the public except to issue tickets and get coffee along the road.

Rural work is mainly information gathering and investigation. Information gathering relies heavily on informal contact with citizens, usually involving a cup of coffee. Much of this is also "P.R. work" to create public awareness of, and trust in the police. Because of the great distances that must be travelled, rural members do little preventative patrol except for the occasional check on cabins, quarries and campgrounds.

Municipal work focuses mainly on preventative patrol and investigation. In addition, "P.R. work" and public education, usually of school children, is emphasized. Contact with the community is frequent but tends to be more formal and businesslike than found on Rural Patrol. Of the three types of duty the majority of the men preferred Rural. Municipal was the least popular.

All units are encouraged to use their discretion, their "common sense" in dealing with the public. Because of the nature of their work, this is less applicable to highway members. The men are supervised to a moderate extent but they are also encouraged to turn to their supervisors only when genuinely in need.

It is not unusual for members from one unit to assist members in another. For example, a serious highway accident involved both Highway cars with a Rural car on standby. The Rural car was in the area and came by "to see if we could do anything". During the local rodeo, another example, cars from all three units were ordered to stay in town or stay on the outskirts. This means that while the Municipal unit had only six men officially, it had another ten on call if they were needed.

The detachment did not provide twenty-four hour service by any of the three units. There were insufficient men for this and the police themselves felt it was unnecessary. During the four-hour break when the station was unmanned a call to the local R.C.M.P. was relayed to Edmonton where it would be dealt with, or the man on call in Robertson would be phoned and dispatched to answer it. See Appendix C for the shift schedule of the Municipal, Rural Units and the N.C.O.s. The Highway unit kept a separate but similar schedule.

All three units had offices and/or desks in the same small stationhouse - which made for rather crowded work space. A great deal of the floor space was given to the identification facilities and the communications (radio, telecommunications) equipment. The station also had garage and parking space for the detachment's seven vehicles (two cars each for Highway, Rural and Municipal, and one unmarked car). This type of organization is not duplicated by any of Wilson's Departments although the legalistic style has some similarities. (See Page 11 of this report). When the Robertson police and legalistic type departments are compared, the following similarities appear: both have formal hierarchial structure; members are frequently evaluated (the R.C.M.P. write, if not yearly evaluations, at least evaluations at regular intervals on each man); records are fastidiously kept; the members are well paid;

Pay Scale for the R.C.M.P. as of April 1, 1976:

Constable	-	$12,750 to $17,625
Corporal	-	18,500 to 19,200
Sergeant	-	20,200 to 20,800
Staff Sergeant	-	21,900 to 22,500

members are recruited nationally; college education is encouraged (although the minimum requirement for the R.C.M.P. is Grade 11): four of the seventeen men had some university education and ten of seventeen had Grade 12; promotional opportunities are frequent, although according to R.C.M.P. policy unless unusual circumstances dictate, R.C.M.P. constables usually wait five years before promotion to corporal and corporals usually wait ten years before promotion to sergeant.

Some differences between R.C.M.P. organization and legalistic departments are important:

The R.C.M.P. in Robertson do not have a large number of specialized units unless the Municipal, Rural and Highway units can be counted as such. They do have one - Identification. However, they do have access to more than thirty units centred across Canada. These units vary from Customs and Excise, to Narcotics, to dogteam patrol.

Also the R.C.M.P. were not pressured, as are the members of legalistic departments to produce tickets. Highway Patrol felt some pressure to show they were "doing their job" but there was no traffic quota for the Municipal unit. The R.C.M.P. were also encouraged to use their discretionary powers, something which is severely discouraged in the legalistic departments. Legalistic departments, on occasion, are accused of antagonizing minority groups, especially the black community. These accusations have their base in a police policy of equal law enforcement which means blacks are arrested more often because they commit crimes more often. This was not the case with the R.C.M.P. in Robertson. Despite what appeared to be a high arrest rate for Metis, local Metis leaders were strong in their praise of the local R.C.M.P. - Metis relations. For example, one respondent told a story of the local

N.C.O. being asked to attend a Metis Association meeting by a telephone prankster. The N.C.O. showed up, sat patiently through most of the meeting and then left. There was no animosity, and he later remarked he would return and answer any questions they had about policing. This respondent also commented on complaints that had been made to him by members of the Metis community regarding the police. In his capacity as president of the Metis Association he had investigated and had found the complaints completely unwarranted. He concluded: "I love the way they work, but they can only do so much". He also mentioned that he himself, had hopes of some day becoming an R.C.M.P. Special Constable, and was receiving encouragement from the local members to do so.

As this research was winding up, the R.C.M.P. were preparing for decentralization, as mentioned in Chapter 1, a move to give more autonomy to regional centres, a move that is most characteristic of a service orientation. A few aspects of the local R.C.M.P. organization were close to service style; for example the "town corporal" met regularly with the town council to discuss mutual concerns. However, few of the other service style organizational characteristics were similar.

Of police organization and experience, it is apparent that the police organization in Robertson most closely resembles the legalistic style. Daily police activities indicate that this organization is essential to the style of policing as found in Robertson.

In order to investigate the police experience of the local R.C.M.P. detachment, it was necessary to look at the police experience of members outside of Robertson. Except for the recruits, all members

had previously served in R.C.M.P. detachments in other Canadian communities. In other words, police members are transferred into Robertson with previous police experience and as a result, preconceived ideas of how a community should be policed.

All police members had taken extensive basic training at Depot Division, Regina. Recruits from other city police forces may be given an abbreviated training course depending on their previous experience. Many however, take the option of going through the full training. This training has a heavy emphasis on foot drill, physical and weapons training. About half of the course work is devoted to police-community relations, law, operational techniques, identification and miscellaneous other subjects. When the recruit is finished training, he must think of himself as a professional. As one police member expressed it: "that's something young fellows have a tough time adjusting to in the Force - you're told when you join the Force, when you're applying, when you're being interviewed and..... when you're in training it's pounded into you that you're a policeman twenty-four hours a day.... People are going to expect you to live up to a certain code of ethics. You've always got to measure up."

Once the recruit has finished training and is assigned to his first community, he usually finds that many of his hard-earned skills are not needed for municipal policing. Foot drill and physical training are seldom used for example, nor was identification training really necessary in Robertson because the detachment had an identification specialist. The recruit may also find, as some found in Robertson, that their training did not prepare them for many of the realities of town policing - especially in dealing with people.

Basic training instills a great deal of self-respect in the recruit and also gives a strong appreciation for the image of the Force. One member remarked: "A mounted policeman twenty-five years ago was a friend of the community, put on a pedestal by everybody.....but we're not going to get back to the point of being as respected as we were." And "Everyone in town knows I'm a policeman both on and off duty. I don't care -- I'm proud of it!" Another member explained that in front of the public the N.C.O.s are always addressed by their rank because it "looked better". This awareness of R.C.M.P. image permeated daily activities.

Training also acquaints the recruit with the military-style hierarchy, the proper procedures for accomplishing tasks (such as always "going through channels" and consulting only one's immediate superiors), how to function in a bureaucracy, and numerous other essential skills.

There are dress regulations, conduct regulations, and even one's immediate family is investigated and interviewed and expected to behave "properly". A manual several inches thick outlines the how's and why's for any weapon, any regulation, and just about any potential problem. Despite all this the older members are quick to point out how "easy" the younger recruits have it; they can be married when they join up, they don't have to wait five years; they can socialize freely -- which until several years ago, was discouraged; and their basic training is less physically oriented because of the more recent emphasis on academics.

Needless to say this early R.C.M.P. training and experience not only attempts to prepare the members for almost any policing situation

they may encounter in municipal policing, but also seems to affect their attitude toward police work.

The local experiences of the R.C.M.P. detachment may also have had some influence on policing style but this could not be ascertained from the data available. Robertson had both a Highway and Rural Unit assigned to the town for some time before the Municipal unit was established in 1971. All three units are now in the station house which is located in a residential area close to the highway and five blocks from downtown.

Before 1971 the municipal policing was done by a separate "town police". According to an ex-member of the older town police, this group had been a four-man police until 1963 when it was increased to five. Problems began for the town police when the police chief was killed in an accident in 1956. The police chief hired next proved unsatisfactory and most of the regular policemen quit en masse in 1958. After this there was an incredible turnover rate of members, many of whom were poorly educated and had little or no police training. They were also prone to doing "favours" for various groups. Dissatisfied with this "time server" type of police force, and at the request of the town councillors (the mayor was apparently against it), the town applied for an R.C.M.P. contract which came into effect in 1971. The change-over caused some public furor. According to newspaper files and interviews it was the wish of the townspeople that the R.C.M.P. be brought in, though this was opposed by some of the more influential individuals in town who preferred the old town police. These people voiced doubts as to whether the R.C.M.P. would be informed enough to "properly handle" young people, whether they would be communicative with the townspeople

and whether they would perform preventative policing. Insufficient data was available to investigate whether there might be a relationship between the 1976 R.C.M.P. emphasis on juvenile involvement and preventative policing and the earlier concerns of the more influential citizens. This would be indicative of some service style concern for community expectations.

The R.C.M.P. members who were present at the change-over believed that the arrival of R.C.M.P. policing changed things greatly in the town. For example, one member, rather gleefully, pointed out that there had been a drastic drop in the number of "B & E's" committed. It is not known when the R.C.M.P. made any attempts to "better the name of policing" at this time. Several "P.R." oriented articles appeared in the newspaper, but whether they were police-initiated or newspaper-initiated could not be discovered.

Since 1971 police experience in Robertson appears to have been singularly uneventful. There had been two incidents in the six years which caused public reaction as determined by the contents of newspapers for this time period, one concerning the capture of a well-publicized fugitive and the other, a highway chase that resulted in a death. In both cases, community support was evident for the police, though a few negative comments were made on both. The few unpopular policemen who had been stationed in the community caused more public response than either of the two above mentioned episodes. What public comment that had occurred in this time span was mainly to the good.[31]

Policing in Robertson appears to be influenced by the organization and outside police experience of the R.C.M.P. members. The local experiences of the detachment could not be characterized as

influencing policing one way or another, as insufficient data was available.

Our conclusion that police organization affects the style of policing returns our attention to research Question four: "What effect, if any, does the quasi-military organization of the R.C.M.P. have on the style of policing they use?"

In Chapter 1, we discussed how the quasi-military nature of the R.C.M.P. came about and how this influence is still evident today, at least on the national level.

It was also very apparent at the local police level. Members had a great deal of respect for their staff sergeant. The researcher was regaled with stories of his past exploits, some of which seemed to be embroidered somewhat when comparisons were made. The other N.C.O's were spoken of in lesser tones. The constables did not question their actions or decisions but as one member remarked: "As a constable, what can I say, he's a corporal.....All I can do is take mental notes for when I'm a corporal." In general, however, the constables respected the corporals and obeyed all orders immediately though occasionally with joking complaints. Constables asked permission for any departure from routine and constantly advised the station and the duty supervisor of their whereabouts. Some men called the corporals by their first names when no citizens were within earshot, some called them "sir", especially the younger men.

It was also apparent that the local R.C.M.P. adhered to a specific standard of ethics and behaviour. Some of this was formally enforced by regulations, other parts by informal social control through police members. This code had strong military overtones, such as

respect for higher ranks, going through channels, setting an example as a "good citizen"; and loyalty to the force. Members actually made very few direct complaints about the Force and usually were somewhat defensive about their negative feelings. These feelings were not observed voiced in the presence of the older members and N.C.O.'s.

These militaristic tendencies are somewhat muted by three main factors:

(1) the attitude of the commanding N.C.O., who encouraged his men to be informal and friendly both among themselves and in the community;

(2) the close working conditions which constantly threw members together with no choice. They had to get along or the working conditions would have been unbearable. Such an atmosphere encouraged friendships and amiability — and discouraged military-style formality;

(3) the necessity of living in the community. Several members explained that their friends knew they were "policemen first", while on duty, but that they could not carry this over to off-duty hours without alienating people.

The quasi-military nature of the organization does seem to have an effect on policing style though it is not as severe as it could be because of a variety of factors. The R.C.M.P.'s recent move for decentralization (1977) has been touted as a move to bring the police closer to the community. For Robertson it means an inspector assigned to the detachment; the importation of another group of specialists — those with communications equipment; and even less space than before, since they must still use the station house. While decentralization as

such is highly characteristic of service style orientations, this, we suggest, is not the case in Robertson. The community already enjoys a precinct kind of policing because of its small size. The increase in personnel and technology will affect the community hardly at all, and will probably not change policing style in the least. The increase in high ranking personnel, may, because of the attitude of the lower ranks, increase the militaristic air of the detachment. This is a matter for further research if possible.

This militaristic influence which operates in spite of the service style of policing carried out in the community, also supports our claim for another category of policing style. Service style departments should have service style organizations and experiences. They should not be influenced by military tradition, organization, or codes according to Wilson's model. This basic discrepancy points to the possibility of a missing variable or category in Wilson's analysis.

(c) What effect, if any, do the population characteristics of the community have on policing style?

Of the three variables, population characteristics, proved the most difficult to assess. It seems to have the least effect on policing style. Wilson originally compared eight communities on a variety of population characteristics; he found only a few which were distinctly correlated with certain police styles. He found population change, school years completed, family income, and policemen per 1,000 population varied significantly with each police style. The rest of the variables did not vary sufficiently among each policing style to be useful for comparison. These variables — percent Negro; percent foreign stock; percent with income under $3,000; percent with income over $10,000;

percent employed in manufacturing; percent employed in white collar jobs, and police expenditures — were investigated in our study in case some significant finding should emerge. However, this was not the case. Not only did little variation between Robertson and the three police styles crop up, some of the data was not available; secondly, because some of it was not applicable. (See Table IV)

Table IV (adapted from Table 1, Wilson, 1967:91) gives a statistical profile of Robertson and the eight communities used by Wilson in his study. Each community characteristic was compared whenever possible between Robertson and the eight other communities.

Robertson was, of course, the smallest community represented. Size of population was one of the variables that showed no significant pattern among the communities; therefore if we are to show Robertson's small size to be significant in determining police style, it cannot be done by means of this table.

Percent Negro was inappropriate for Robertson, so percent Native (an estimate only, based on registered Band members resident in the town, as reported by Statistics Canada; these being only a small fraction compared to the probable total Metis population figure). The Robertson figure of 1.6 Metis falls most closely in line with the service style average of 1.7% Negro (watchman has an average of 8.6%, legalistic has an average of 9.9% Negro) was used. However, considering how unrepresentative this figure is of the observed true Robertson Native population, it is meaningless to use it for the purpose of comparison.

The estimated population of Metis for Robertson (8%) is also a relatively meaningless number, though it is perhaps closer to the actual picture since it does take some of the Metis population into

TABLE IV A STATISTICAL PROFILE OF THE EIGHT COMMUNITIES AND ROBERTSON*

Community Characteristics	FOUR HIGH-CRIME CITIES Watchman Albany	Watchman Newburgh	Legalistic Oakland	Legalistic Syracuse	FOUR LOW-CRIME CITIES Watchman Amsterdam	Service Brighton	Legalistic Highland Park	Service Nassau County	"Service" Robertson	Year of Statistics for Robertson
1960 Population	129,726	30,979	367,548	216,038	28,772	27,849	25,532	1,300,171	4,111	1975
Per cent Negro, 1960	8.5	16.6	22.8	5.7	0.6	0.2	2.2	3.2	1.6 (1)	1974
Estimated 1965 Negro population (as per cent of estimated 1965 total population	11.7	25.0	30.2	8.3	insigni-ficant	insigni-ficant	insigni-ficant	4.0	8.0 (2)	1976
Per cent foreign stock	27.9	30.1	28.2	32.4	48.8	31.0	34.9	39.0	N/A	1971
Median family income, 1959	5,778	5,363	6,303	6,247	5,501	11,109	13,007	8,500	9,335 (3)	1975
Per cent under $3,000	17.5	19.7	17.3	13.9	18.0	4.3	4.3	5.5	N/A (4)	1971
Per cent $10,000-and over	15.9	11.8	19.7	18.0	10.0	54.3	62.6	37.6	N/A (5)	1971
Median school years completed, 1960	10.9	9.4	11.4	11.1	9.1	13.2	13.0	12.2	10.2 (6)	1971
Per cent employed in manufacturing jobs	14.3	37.3	20.5	31.3	48.2	31.5	19.8	24.9	2.4 (7)	1971
Per cent employed in white collar jobs	51.3	34.9	45.0	48.9	39.1	39.4	66.7	58.7	57.4 (8)	1971
Population change 1950-1960	-3.9	-3.1	-4.5	-2.1	-10.8	54.4	51.9	93.3	+.91 (9)	1965-75
Number of uniformed, full-time police officers, 1960	241	60	647	369	42	30	37	1,952	6(17)	1975
Police officers per 1,000 population, 1960	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.5	1.5(4.1)	1976
Police Expenditures, 1961	1,524,211	412,675	6,510,818	2,786,599	230,723	221,987	277,172	17,366,321	N/A	1976
Police Expenditures per capita, 1961	11.72	13.31	17.71	12.90	7.95	8.22	10.85	13.35	N/A	1976

*Adapted from Page 91, James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behaviour, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

[1]Native Indian, substituted from Statistics Canada, "Population of Specified Groups, 1974".

[2]Metis and Native Indian, substituted and based on researcher estimate from discussions with Metis Community Leaders.

[3]From "Summary Tape of Population Characteristics, 1971", Statistics Canada.

[4]Per cent $5,000 or less.

[5]Per cent $15,000 or over.

[6]Statistics Canada rounding techniques makes this figure close to meaningless. Figures are randomly rounded to the nearest "5", and as a result there are 250 more people listed in the column totals than in the population total. Figure from "A Summary Tape of Population Characteristics, 1971", Statistics Canada.

[7]Figure from "A Summary Tape of Population Characteristics", Statistics Canada.

[8]White collar work was taken to include the categories of trade; personal service; public administration; and finance, insurance and real estate. Figure from "A Summary Tape of Population Characteristics, 1971", Statistics Canada.

[9]Figure derived from Populations Statistics supplied by the local Chamber of Commerce. Numerical increase was from 3740 to 4111.

account. This figure is closest to the watchman departments' average of 12.2% estimated Negro population (legalistic is 12.8%, service is 2%).

Percent foreign stock was not applicable to Robertson since "foreign stock" is not a concept used by the Canadian census. Communities are broken into ethnic groups by the census (See Table V) but how recently these groups have arrived is not reported. Wilson also points out that what is considered "foreign stock" varies from community to community. In Robertson, little indication was given that any group was considered "foreign", though some sentiment against East Indians was evident.

Median family income for Robertson was $9,335 in 1975. Because of inflation since 1959 it is not meaningful to compare this figure directly to Wilson's data. Rather we are comparing it to the Canadian average and then to Wilson's figures.

Robertson had a median family income which was a little below the Canadian average. The Canadian average family income in 1974 was $10,368 compared to Robertson's $9,335 (median) income (Statistics Canada, 1971). Non-metropolitan incomes are usually $1,000 to $2,000 less than metropolitan incomes. Wilson's service style communities in 1959 had incomes higher than those of the other communities and their state average. The watchman department and the legalistic departments (with the exception of Highland Park) all had average family incomes below their state averages.

This presents us with some difficulty. Robertson's average income is below the average (national) just as the watchman and legalistic departments are. We cannot, however, correlate these because of the added factor that in Canada, rural and small town incomes are *usually*

TABLE V* ETHNIC GROUPS IN "ROBERTSON", 1974

Ethnic Group	Actual Numbers	Percent
British Isles	1,785	46.7
German	490	12.8
Netherlands	255	6.7
Scandinavian	250	6.5
French	240	6.3
Ukrainian	235	6.1
Polish	115	3.0
Asian	75	2.0
Native Indian **	60	1.6
Italian	40	1.0
Russian	30	0.8
Hungarian	20	0.5
Other & Unknown	230	6.0
	3,825	100.00

* - source is Population of Specified Ethnic Groups 1974, Statistics Canada

** - does not include Metis.

lower than average.

Percent of income under $3,000 and $10,000 used by Wilson in 1967 as deliniators of poverty and affluence, were not applicable to income figures in Robertson in 1975. According to Statistics Canada, the family poverty line in 1971[32] was about $5,000 and the affluence line was $15,000. Because of the way in which Canadian income data is presented by the census — the only figures listed are averages — it was not possible to derive the necessary figures for comparison purposes.

Median school years completed showed the Robertson population to most closely resemble the watchman communities which average 9.8 years completed. Robertson averages 10.2 years (legalistic communities average 11.8 years of education, service style 12.7 years).

Figures for percent employed in manufacturing in Robertson present such a difference in magnitude (2.4% compared to averages of 33.3% for watchman, 23.9% for legalistic and 28.2% for service) that comparison is not really justified.

For percent employed in white collar jobs, the figures are more comparable. 57.4% of the Robertson population in 1971 was employed in white collar work. This most closely resembles the legalistic communities which had an average of 53.5% of the population similarly employed (service had an average of 49.1%, and watchman an average of 41.8% in white collar jobs).

Population change for 1950 - 1960 was not applicable to the research time period for Robertson, instead population change for 1965 - 1975 was used. Again, there is a great difference in magnitude. The Robertson population increased, unlike the watchman and legalistic populations, but the population change was minute compared to the increases

experienced by the service style departments (.91% increase for Robertson, an average of 73.9% for the service style communities).

The number of uniformed full time officers was also smallest for Robertson. The number of police officers per 1,000 population presented us with some difficulties. If the Robertson Municipal detail only, is counted there are 1.5 officers per 1,000 population which most closely resembles the legalistic average of 1.6 (watchman departments average 1.7 officers per 1,000 population, service departments 1.3). If, however, the total police population is taken into account — which is not unreasonable, considering how they are deployed when necessary; for example, in case of emergencies, unavailability of the patrol responsible for that area, and so on — the number of police officers per 1,000 population increases dramatically to 4.1 police officers per 1,000 population, a figure higher than that of any of Wilson's communities.

Police expenditures and police expenditures per capita for Robertson could not be determined due to the manner in which these figures are presented by Statistics Canada. Local police budget and expenditure figures are included in the provincial and national budgets for all Canadian police forces and could not be individualy derived.

The final population characteristic mentioned by Wilson is the crime rate for each community. He divides his sample into high-crime and low-crime areas based on a comparison of auto theft and murder rates (See Table VI). Based on the Canadian national average for 1971, Robertson is below average for both murder and auto theft, thereby making it a low-crime community. However, compared to Wilson's communities, Robertson has the third highest rate of auto theft in the table. Whether this means that Robertson is really a high-crime area (the murder rate tends to

TABLE VI COMPARISON OF RATES OF MURDER AND AUTO THEFT REPORTED BY THE POLICE IN WILSON'S EIGHT COMMUNITIES (1965) AND ROBERTSON (1971) BY POPULATION SIZE.*

Community by Population	Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter Rate	Auto Theft Rate
Places over 1,000,000 Pop.		
National Average	9.6	585.6
Nassau County **	1.5	205.2
Places 250,000 to 500,000 Pop.		
National Average	7.2	468.2
Oakland	8.7	615.8
Places 100,000 to 250,000 Pop.		
National Average	6.4	353.1
Albany	2.5	565.0
Syracuse	2.8	325.1
Places 25,000 to 50,000 Pop.		
National Average	3.1	212.4
Amsterdam	0	57.1
Brighton	0	63.3
Highland Park	0	121.3
Newburgh	10.0	220.0
Places 5,000 or Less Pop.		
Canadian National Average***	3.2	762.0
Robertson	0	583.8

Sources: For communities, reports of local police departments to the FBI, 1965; for national averages, FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1965, pp. 94-95. Rates for communities based on 1965 population estimate by local planning agency; rates for national averages based on 1965 population estimated by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Rates are per 100,000 population.

*Adapted from Table 3, p. 92, Wilson, 1975.

**Crimes and crime rates for Nassau County are only for those sections of the county served by the Nassau County Police Department; the rates are based on population estimates for 1965 for NCPD-served areas.

***Sources are Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, 1975. Statistics Canada and R.C.M.P. Quarterly Statistics 1975, Statistics Canada.

disagree with this), or whether there has been an increase in the rate of auto theft between 1965 and 1971, or whether, perhaps, Canadian communities have in general, higher rates of auto theft than American, could not be determined by our data.

Summary:

Our analysis of these population characteristics has arrived at no set pattern of policing style for Robertson. Robertson population characteristics are too "different" for direct comparisons, there are too many confounding factors in the picture.

Briefly, Robertson resembles the legalistic communities in:

(1) The percent employed in manufacturing — if the difference in magnitude of the figures are not taken into account.

(2) The number of police per 1,000 population — if only the number of men on the Municipal detail are included. If the number of men available are included, the resulting figure most closely resembles the watchman departments.

Robertson resembles watchman communities in:

(1) The estimated percent of Negroes in the community — if you substitute Native for Negro. But if it is taken into consideration that the Metis are not included in this figure and that they may be, according to some estimates, up to 80% of the Native population in the area, then this comparison is meaningless.

(2) In the number of school years completed; this figure can be used as is, or it can be suggested that in Robertson there are few people with high educational atainment because there are few jobs in the town for them (with the exceptions of the following occupations: physician, nurse, social worker, lawyer, teacher and dentist).

Robertson resembles the service style communities in:

(1) The population change in a ten-year period — if it is taken into account that the differences in magnitude are so great the comparison may be almost meaningless.

It is plain that no definitive pattern of policing style in Robertson has appeared from our analysis of population characteristics. This is not an unanticipated finding. Wilson did not rely heavily on population characteristics, finding that many of them did not vary significantly with police style. He seems to have found population characteristics more useful as a background to his discussions of community expectations and police organization and experience.

One pattern, however, that has emerged from the analysis of population characteristics is the "small town" pattern, that is, the size of population seems to be related to a number of other population characteristics. For example, Robertson has a low number of school years completed, low percentage of people employed in manufacturing jobs, and a low median income. It is feasible that the low median income typical to most small towns could be due to a lack of high wage-bracket jobs. The low number of school years completed could be related to a lack of jobs requiring higher education and perhaps also to a lack of institutions of advanced learning. The low percentage of the population employed in manufacturing could be related to the lack of an industrial base, a not uncommon characteristic of Canadian small towns.

Conclusion:

In summary, we found police organization and experience to be the main influence on policing style in Robertson. This is contradictory to Wilson's research which describes service style departments as heavily

influenced by community expectations.

Community expectations did play a secondary role in determining policing style but their influence was not as strong as Cain and other researchers of rural policing would have us believe.

Population characteristics, because of comparison difficulties, gave us little information and from the limited information available showed little indication of being a strong influence on policing style. Analysis of population characteristics did, however, point out an important pattern that was not an anticipated part of the study. This "small-town" pattern became obvious when analyzing income, education and manufacturing characteristics of Robertson. With hindsight, it also seems to be evident in our analysis of community expectations and police organization and experience. Police organization and activities relied heavily on the fact that they could patrol the town in minutes, be at the scene of a crime or investigate a complaint with minimal time expenditure, that they had well-established and trusted sources of information, that they had a very good idea of all possible suspects. They also knew the people of the town well enough to determine if infractions are "accidental" or "deliberate", and knew if involving them in the Criminal Justice System was "necessary" or "right".

Community expectations of police behavior also seemed to have an occasional small-town focus. In many ways the police were expected to behave as neighbours — to be friendly, to wave, to have coffee, to chat about local happenings. They were also expected to give assistance in an amazing variety of situations, and to provide information about subjects sometimes far removed from police work.

Wilson did not use size of community as one of his population

characteristics. Considering the focus of his study this is understandable. Other authors, such as Cain, have found it to be relevant. While it is difficult to draw final conclusions because of the type of data gathered in this study, we feel that there is sufficient indication of a "small town" pattern to justify the inclusion of size of community as a major indicator in future studies of this type.

In general, the data analyzed in this chapter point to a number of departures from conclusions drawn by past studies. It would seem a new approach to policing style is called for. *Adaptation* has appeared as an important factor. The Robertson police, while basing their policing style on the organization and experience of the R.C.M.P., seem to have adapted their behavior and activities to make their work more appropriate for the environment in which it must be accomplished. Form all indications, the adaptive policing style is the most efficient and practical form of policing in a small community. Implications of this finding will be discussed further in the final chapter.

CHAPTER V

INTEGRATION, DISCUSSION, SPECULATION

INTEGRATION:

Our first research question — "What mode of policing predominates in small town Canadian communities? — was analyzed by means of a comparison with Wilson's policing style framework. Five main indicators were used:

(1) attitude towards minor infractions;

(2) attitude toward juveniles;

(3) policy on traffic quotas;

(4) emphasis on order maintenance; and

(5) relations with minority groups.

Attitude toward minor infractions, attitude toward juveniles, and policy on traffic quotas all pointed rather clearly at a service style of policing in Robertson. Minor infractions were handled, on the whole, informally, and juveniles were regulated rather than arrested or ignored. Traffic quotas existed for the Robertson detachment only to the extent of being a means of showing that the police members were "on the job".

Emphasis on order maintenance and relations with minority group members could not be compared as definitely: Order maintenance situations occurred rarely but tended towards a service style solution; that is, they were handled formally. Relations with minority group members seemed more adequately described by a style composed of a combination of legalistic and service style elements — service style because relations between

police and Metis were quite good, and legalistic, because a common standard was applied by the police to all the townspeople.

Two additional factors appeared in this section to complicate our analysis. Attitude toward minor infractions was heavily coloured by the lack of "real police work" felt by the local members. This factor was not only an influence by making police in Robertson treat some "minor" offences as more serious, but it also directly and indirectly influenced other police activities (for example, police members often created service work for themselves, and it is possible that the local members declining physical fitness might have been an indirect result).

The second unanticipated factor was police reaction to restrictive legislation especially as found in the Juvenile Delinquency Act. Legislation at the time of this study made it extremely difficult for the police to arrest and detain juveniles. Also, penalities were exceedingly light, usually comprising a warning or a fine. In reaction to this, policemen seldom charged juveniles, preferring instead to "educate" them.

These two unanticipated factors, as well as the slightly deviant service style pattern followed by the Robertson police detachment has led up to suggest that *adaptability* is the key characteristic of the Robertson style of policing. Members of the R.C.M.P. are not trained with municipal policing in mind and, as a result, they must adapt their previous training and experiences to the policing situation found in a small town. The result is a modified service style which we proposed calling an *adaptive style* of policing.

The results of our second research question — "Is it possible to determine the main influences on style of policing in a small community?" — further supported our suggestion for an expanded typology.

It was necessary to subdivide this research question into three parts to analyze it adequately. The first sub-question — "What effect, if any, does the expectation of the small town community have on the style of policing?" — provided an answer quite contrary to those given by previous studies. According to our data, community expectations actually had only a secondary influence on the style of policing in Robertson. Data was first of all compared to Cain's (1973) suggested factors that operate to strengthen the ability of a community to influence their police force. These factors, while descriptive of the Robertson situation to some extent, pointed to a number of important differences. Briefly, members of the detachment were dependent on the community socially and occupationally but they did not come from within the district, were not residentially and occupationally separated from each other, and were under moderate levels of supervision. These last three characteristics differ substantially from Cain's suggested framework for a rural community with a service style of policing.

Similarly, the responsiveness of Robertson's police to community demands was very unlike that shown by Wilson's service style departments.

Service style police forces are responsive to community expectations in three main areas:

(1) the undesirability of illegal enterprises and radically deviant behavior;

(2) the quantity and type of services police forces should provide; and

(3) the neatness, courtesy and deference displayed by police members.

In Robertson, there were few or no illegal enterprises and episodes of deviant behavior to which the police could respond. Secondly, while the police did provide a wide variety of services, these were not necessarily the ones expected by the community. Finally, while police members were inevitably neat and courteous, they were not deferential and this behavior pattern was more the result of R.C.M.P. regulations than of community expectations.

Because of the Robertson R.C.M.P.'s departure from the model of service style community responsiveness, we also compared their pattern to the legalistic style of response to community expectations. The R.C.M.P. did not fit this pattern either — legalistic departments develop as a result of community dissatisfaction with corrupt or inefficient policing. While the R.C.M.P. did replace this type of police force, they did not have to prove their efficiency or lack of corruption to the town.

The community was quite pleased with the R.C.M.P. Satisfaction was especially expressed in comparing the R.C.M.P. to the ex-town police and in commenting upon R.C.M.P. involvement with community sports and with the school children. A number of relatively minor complaints were voiced by the townspeople. Some of these — such as understaffing, too much paper work for the police, and inadequate human relations training — the local detachment had little or no control over. Complaints from the community over which the local police did have some power, such as speeders, noisy drunks or obnoxious policemen, would always receive attention but were not treated as priority items. This more casual attitude toward community expectations is in contrast to the pattern shown by Wilson's service style departments.

The data analysis emerging from our second subdivision — "What effec , if any, does the organization and experience of the local police force have on the style of policing?" — led us to the conclusion that police organization and experience was the most influential of the three indicators. Since the local detachment was only a small unit in a national organization, it showed indications of being organized in a standard pattern similar to other units of the same size. R.C.M.P. standards of conduct, behavior on duty, and policing activities were evident in the organization and attitude of the local force.

While the organization of the R.C.M.P. is very similar to Wilson's legalistic departments, there were important differences. The R.C.M.P. did not have as many specialized units at the local level as did the legalistic departments, nor was there any pressure towards a traffic quota. In addition, R.C.M.P. members were encouraged to use their discretionary powers. As well, relations with the local Metis minority group were good. None of these points are characteristic of legalistic departments.

The police experience of the local detachment was also inextricably bound with that of the national force. Most members, because of previous postings in other small communities, came to Robertson with preconceived notions of proper policing. All had received the same basic training at "Depot" Division, Regina and most found this training not appropriate for municipal policing. All members adhered to the same code of ethics and had a similar self-image of their role as an R.C.M.P. member.

The third major research question — "What effect, if any, does the quasi-military organization of the R.C.M.P. have on the style of

policing they use?" — was also answered at this point: the quasi-military nature of the R.C.M.P. had a significant influence on local policing style. Factors backing up this claim include: the tremendous respect shown for the N.C.O., the lack of questioning or criticism of orders, and the militaristic nature of the code of ethics followed. Militaristic tendencies were, however, muted by three factors: the attitude of the commanding N.C.O., the almost claustrophobic working conditions in the station house, and the necessity of living in the community.

The existence of legalistic and military organization and experience side by side with a modified service style and policing is strong supoort for an expansion of Wilson's framework.

Our third sub-question — "What effect, if any, do the population characteristics of the community have on policing style?" — provided us with very little information. Most of Wilson's statistics were not comparable to data available on Robertson. For example, census definitions and category delineations not only differ in the United States and Canada, but had shifted in value over the 14 to 15 year difference between the data collections. What little information was comparable suggested that population characteristics were a very minor influence on policing. They also suggested a "small-town" pattern in population characteristics such as income, education and occupation, that had not previously been taken into consideration.

In summary, the service style of policing with some variations was found to predominate in Robertson. Contrary to expectations, the organization and experience of the R.C.M.P. seemed to be the primary influence on this style of policing.

DISCUSSION:

Policing in Canada may be a dynamic institution. Although the basic mandate and traditions of the R.C.M.P. seem to have remained quite stable, the policing style followed by R.C.M.P. members may be undergoing a gradual evolution. This change is partly the result of policy changes at the upper levels of R.C.M.P. management and partly the result of a "grass-roots" level movement among police members.

At the upper levels, recent changes in policies have served to incorporate some human relations work in basic training and now to allow recruits to serve in their home provinces.

The "grass-roots" level, however, is the beginning point for many of the changes that have occurred. Police members assigned to municipal policing, from our analysis, find their training inadequate and inappropriate to the work situation they face in these small communities. As a result they adapt their policing style to one different from that demonstrated in basic training, but more appropriate to the circumstances.

We are suggesting that this tendency for local R.C.M.P. members to adapt their policing style, in actuality, the local level manifestation of a wider trend appearing in North American policing. We suggest this trend is a result of growing dissatisfaction with the professional model in policing.

Professionalization has for many years been the driving force behind police management. But as theorists and practioners have become more familiar with the workings of this model they have realized a need for new techniques. The public is also rapidly becoming disillusioned with professionalism, therefore putting even more pressure on

police management.

Many think a solution may be embodied in a "new" emphasis on human relations in policing. We refer to this new model implementing a greater emphasis on community service and human relations, as "social service" policing. Adaptive policing, we suggest, is an intermediate stage between "professional" policing and this "social service" policing.

The Rise of Professional Policing:

Richardson (1974:50) describes the "professional" policeman in these terms: "The professional is taught to be impersonal, to go by the book, to be an efficient and impartial enforcer of the law."

He further describes:

> During the twentieth century, police departments have become increasingly bureaucratized through a combination of their own efforts to reduce outside influence and reform desires to eliminate political interference in police affairs. Bureaucracy is a system of organization which stresses specialization of function, uniform salary, appointment, and promotion policies, and the ability to fill a role rather than personal qualities or connections. (1974:121)

From the late 1920's to the early 1970's professionalization of the police, at first through the recruitment of "better" men, then through technology and organizational efficiency (Carte, 1976:291), was the ideal worked toward by policemen and criminologists alike. This is obvious from statements such as the following from Richardson (1974:155):

> In the long run a proper conception of professionalization is the only answer to the problems of the police in a democratic society. No matter what their educational attainment or the limitations of their training, policemen are professionals in that they exercise considerable discretion in situations where their decisions have great impact on the present and future well-being of their clients. A dispatcher or commander tells a policeman where to go, but when he gets there he is essentially on his own. Professionalizing the police in the form of the best possible training for handling the sensitive human relations in which they must intervene and for instilling a high code of ethics is the only long-range solution for the

development of civil relations between policeman and citizens. Professionalization also holds the only hope for curbing corruption and having the police perform according to the dictates of the law.

It should be noted that what is described in this report and by police managers as "professionalism" is a different use of the word than that found among other "professional" groups such a lawyers, doctors, university professors and so on. Wilson (1968:30) describes it this way:

> Members of professions tend to govern themselves through collegial bodies, to restrict the authority of their nominal superiors, to take seriously their reputation among fellow professionals, and to encourage some of their kind to devote themselves to adding systematically to the knowledge of the profession through writing and research.

By this definition police are not professionals. Police *professionalism* as defined by O.W. Wilson and others, is another thing altogether and a most useful label.

Police reformers such as O.W. Wilson seem to have treated police professionalism as a panacea for many of the policing ills even in recent years. Carte (1976:292) comments:

> O.W. Wilson was the most influential of the second generation of police reformers. His Police Administration, published in 1950, "was to become the source of much police change as the bible of professionalism". Based on the scientific management principles of Frederick Winslow Taylor, Wilson's book stressed efficiency, hierarchy, and bureaucratic regularity as the key to police reform.

Once the initial problem of dealing with obvious political corruption was settled, police administrators found the bureaucratic aspects of professionalism to be too valuable to lay aside. Manning (1971:129-120) explains:

> The organizational ideal of the professional police department is a rational, efficient, scientifically organized, technologically sophisticated bureaucracy. All modern bureaucratic organizations cliam to be efficient, and all strive in varying degrees to become more efficient...

> The bureaucratic organization is perceived by police administrators as the most effective approach to their problems, and they see a bureaucracy as an invaluable device for managing appearances and as a superior method of working out a running adjustment to public demands. And bureaucratic rhetoric, with its reverence for science, and professionalism, is accurately assessed as one of the most powerful sources of legitimation in American society.

While Wilson does not believe policemen to be true professionals, his "legalistic" policing style shows many of the characteristics of what Richardson lists as "professional". The legalistic style encourages policemen to be impersonal, to go by the book and to be impartial. It is likely that the members of these legalistic departments conceived of themselves as "professionals".

This "professional model" is, in general, not linked to rural policing, although the evidence from our literature review for this is not strong. This makes it questionable how likely it is that "professionalism" is a factor in Robertson's policing style. Cain (1973) describes a number of characteristics of her rural police forces that clearly label them as having an "unprofessional" image. For example, their primary role is that of a "jack-of-all-trades" in being a Crown representative; secondly, much of their problem-solving behavior is informal; and thirdly, the community defines for the police what is "real police work" (1973:29-32).

Taft and England's (1964) rural police force — the "time-servers" — also showed few signs of being professionally-oriented. Such an orientation was most common among the "conciliators" who were found only in the largest police departments and could also be described as "police professionals". Brakel and South's (1969) Illinois Police Force seems to utilize too many informal social control mechanisms to

have a tendency towards "professional" policing, and Esselstyn's (1953) rural sheriff's police force was much too inluenced by the will of the dominant power groups to be "professional".

The rural police sutdied by Preiss and Ehrlich (1966), Galliher et al. (1975) and Dinitz (1973) are not described in enough detail to ascertain whether or not a trend towards professionalization exists in any of them.

Since our earlier discussion of the R.C.M.P. (Chapter #I), we have been working with the assumption that the R.C.M.P. is a "professional" police force. This is supported by Richardson (1974) who believes professionalism is closely tied in with the military model of policing. Professional departments:

> ...stress the military nature of the police. They are involved in a "war against crime". Prosecuting this war demands the utmost in discipline, dedication and devotion to duty. Commanders imbued with this philosophy impress upon their subordinates the seriousness of the task and try to make the department respond as a disciplined, well-drilled military organization. (1974:149)

Organizationally and in recruit-training the R.C.M.P. stress the professional model. We have already discussed their emphasis on discipline, ethics, impartiality, efficiency and so on, and we have analyzed the effects that the R.C.M.P. organization, experience, and quasi-military nature have on policing style. Some aspects of policing in Robertson therefore tended towards professionalism. However, our analysis has revealed that the professional model was not in practice "on the street". Personal knowledge of the townspeople kept many of the police members from being truly impartial and impersonal, although great emphasis was placed on "fairness". It was very difficult for their police work to be efficient since they spent the major part of their time on

preventative patrol and handling "people problems", neither of which are duties encouraging efficiency. Discipline was tighter than it is with a city police force but much laxer than the military ideal, and so on. It is our conclusion that the police members in Robertson have adapted their policing style to draw further away from the professional ideal.

The Decline of Professionalism:

Despite the hopes of the police reformers, it appears that professionalism has not provided the solution to police problems. The newspaper headlines proclaim this to us almost every second day. Dredging scandals, "bugging", illegal searches, police brutality, the ever-increasing crime rate, and so on greet us with the breakfast coffee. In Canada and the United States, we still have corruption, political interference, the misuse of police powers, and certainly the crime rate gives minimal indication of changing its upward curve.

Some sociologists write that police professionalism never really had much chance of accomplishing its goals. First, because the goals were unattainable; second, because "professionalism" was just a cover-up to save the police from admitting they had limits. Richardson (1974) makes this first point rather well in his discussion of the philosophy of one of police professionalism strongest supporters, Chief William Parker, who was head of the Los Angeles Police Department until his death in 1966:

> Parker conceived of the police as a thin blue line protecting society from barbarism and communist subversion. The police had to be efficient, incorruptible, and dedicated to preserving social well-being without expecting much in the way of economic reward or public praise. Urban society was a jungle in which, without the restraining hand

> of the police, the evil impulses of men would run roughshod over morality and justice. (1974:139-140)

Richardson also states:

> In the Chief's view, only the law and law enforcement saved society from the horrors of anarchy. (1974:140)

No police department could ever live up to such goals.

On the second point, that professionalism has been used to hide police limitations from public view, Manning (1977) comments:

> The demands made upon the police lead them to pursue both contradictory and unattainable ends. Further, the nature of their problems does not permit them to devise anything approaching a "solution". They lack a practically relevant theoretic understanding of the causes of crime, and even possession of that knowledge might not yield satisfactory crime control given current legal protection of individual rights. Rather than educating the public about their limits, the police have manipulated public opinion and have sought an uncritical public acceptance. To accomplish these goals, they adopt a vocabulary describing their conduct and aims as "professional". (1977:127)

In addition to unattainable professional goals and having to manipulate public opinion, R.C.M.P. detachments in small-town Canada are also faced with two additional factors that may work to make the professional ideal untenable:

(1) lack of real police work

(2) restrictive legislation.

The lack of real police work serves to limit the opportunities available to small-town police members to practice professionalism. The "thin blue line" contrasts rather poorly with chasing alley cats off a frightened woman's roof, or spending hours a day doing preventative patrol in a town as lacking in criminal activity as Robertson.

Restrictive legislation is a more minor factor in that our data are not sufficient to do much but suggest that the frustration and

ill feelings caused among policemn by laws they consider useless and unfair may encourage them to be more casual, and hence less professional, about their enforcement.

While many police departments seem to have just discovered professionalism, and are concerned with the implementation of the model, many departments, including the R.C.M.P. from some indications, are looking for fresh alternatives. It is unlikely that any police department will every publicly state that professionalism did not work. Many, however, will seek ways to "improve" on professionalism. This is the situation that may exist in Robertson.

"Social Service" Policing:

One of the ways to improve professionalism that some police forces seem to have seized on is the "social service" ideal. This model, probably partly an out-growth of the 1960's beginning concern with the rights of the individual, and partly through the growing influence of the social sciences, is already being incorporated in some police departments.

This "social services" orientation is a growing trend toward a concern with the rights, situation, and welfare of the individual as opposed to the institution. It is making its presence felt in many institutions besides the police. For example, education professes a growing respect for the wishes of each individual student. Personal fulfillment and development is becoming as large a concern as physical fitness. In religious institutions there is a growing emphasis on social services, counselling, social reform and so on.

The military institution, because of its many similarities to the police, is of special interest here. The military has been changing

perhaps more radically than the police. The military, while having a great concern with professionalism, has also begun to show a certain concern with professionalism, has also begun to show a certain concern for the rights and welfare of the man in the ranks. "A team concept of organization" has become necessary according to Janowitz (1960:9) and "authoritarian domination (has changed) to greater reliance on manipulation, persuasion, and group concensus" (1960:8). Subordinates are more likely to find orders explained rather than just given (1960:9), and the maintenance of "high levels of initiative and morale" have become a first priority item (1960:9).

These changes are also reflected in more and more police forces. Bopp and Schultz (1972) and Bent (1974) discuss the growth of a movement towards "more civilian input", "positive police community interaction", and "community relations" programs. Kinton (1975) uses police "victim advocates" as an example and discusses "the recent and continuing national attempts to move from a philosophy of police force to police service" (1975:197).

Niederhoffer, an ex-policeman and a sociologist, is quite aware of this change in police philosophy. He states:

> Inexorably, the social sciences orientation, its ethic based on human dignity has invaded the police system. As a result, the professionals have spread a police doctrine of decreased empahsis on the use of force — so dramatic a departure from the traditional "lock-them-up philosophy... (1967:28)

This shift has been responsible for changes in policing organization and methods as departments attempt to fill the vacuum left by the "failure" of the professional ideal. Niederhoffer (1967) mentions a shift "from the authoritarian pattern of discipline under which

patrolmen trembled to a less punitive one" (1967:29). He also discusses changes: changes in techniques to "persuasion, manipulation, and conference" (1967:29) and changes in public relations that encourage public co-operation, guided tours of police buildings, and community service (1967:29).[53] This also seems to be the philosophical birthplace of Wilson's service style. Service style departments stress heavily the community relations and human relations aspects of policing. And, of course, community service is their raison d'etre. This definitely can be seen as an example of what Niederhoffer calls a shift in the professional image to that of a "social scientist police officer" (1967: 29).

SPECULATION:

We are postulating that policing models undergo an evolutionary process with the passage of time. Policing originally began as a variety of "citizen's watch" (Taft and England, 1964:319). As public demand has changed, so has the model of policing.

As long as the primary objective of a police force is order maintenance, they seem to operate with some variety of watchman model. However, this type of department is extremely prone to inefficiency and corruption and hence may have only minimal effect on the crime rate. Eventually public dissatisfaction[34] and continued fear of crime[35] became difficult to ignore and the police react by instituting some variety of the professional model. In Wilson's typology he describes the "legalistic style" which is one adaptation to the professional ideal using some of its standards and not using others. Taft and England's 'conciliator' role is another variation of this professional ideal.

Professional policing is mainly characterized by a heavy reliance

on bureaucracy. Police members receive a great deal more training, and are encouraged to be impartial and impersonal to the public, among other things. "Professionalism", however, also does little to decrease the crime rate and may even make it higher by efficient policing methods. In addition, police departments may be accused of being too bureaucratic, of being insensitive to minority groups, of not providing more compassion and understanding to their clients, and so on. As a result the police adopt a new style, deriving from the "social services" model of policing, of which Wilson's "service style" is an adaptation. This model of policing places a heavy emphasis on community service, prevention, and human relations. This is the current and popular model of policing in many departments today. This is the model of policing which the R.C.M.P. is in the process of adopting.

It should be noted that other police theorists besides Wilson have tapped into this evolutionary process; Kuykendall for example, saw an oscillation between "passive" and "punitive" policing. His implication seems to be that this goes on to infinity. But we are suggesting that perhaps this is a stage in a process leading to another kind of policing. If our theory is correct the next stage of Kuykendall's sample(s) would probably be a social service style of some kind.

Taft and England (1964) in their typology, make reference to three types of policemen — time servers, law enforcers and conciliators — but see them as co-existing in the largest police departments. Perhaps it is less a matter of co-existence than of models being slowly phased out. This is a matter based mainly on speculation since Taft and England provide insufficient data for anything more.

It is obvious that this progression in policing models may be

Where does adaptive policing fit in? Adaptive policing is exactly what the name states — an intermediate stage in which a police force adapts from one stage of policing model to another. Adaptation occurs at all levels in the affected police force: changes are made in training programmes, in policies dealing with specific police behaviors (such as discretion, for example), and duties (such as foot patrol). Eventually characteristics of both the previous style and the forthcoming style will exist side by side such as is found in Robertson. This is particularly true at the lowest levels of the department, that is, at the level of detachments, precincts and/or individual police members. These lower levels are where most profound changes are found — this is where the benefits and problems of each style are first discovered by the police members and the citizens who become involved in the criminal justice system.

In Robertson, the R.C.M.P. are adapting quite well to the encroachment of the "social services" image. For example, police members find various aspects of the social service model, such as the emphasis on community service, to be a "life saver" in dealing with the lack of real police work in the community. In addition, the human relations approach to police/citizen interaction is probably the only viable one in a small town community.

The townspeople were quite pleased with the policing they received in Robertson. It is interesting to note that one of their few complaints was the police had not received enough human relations training.

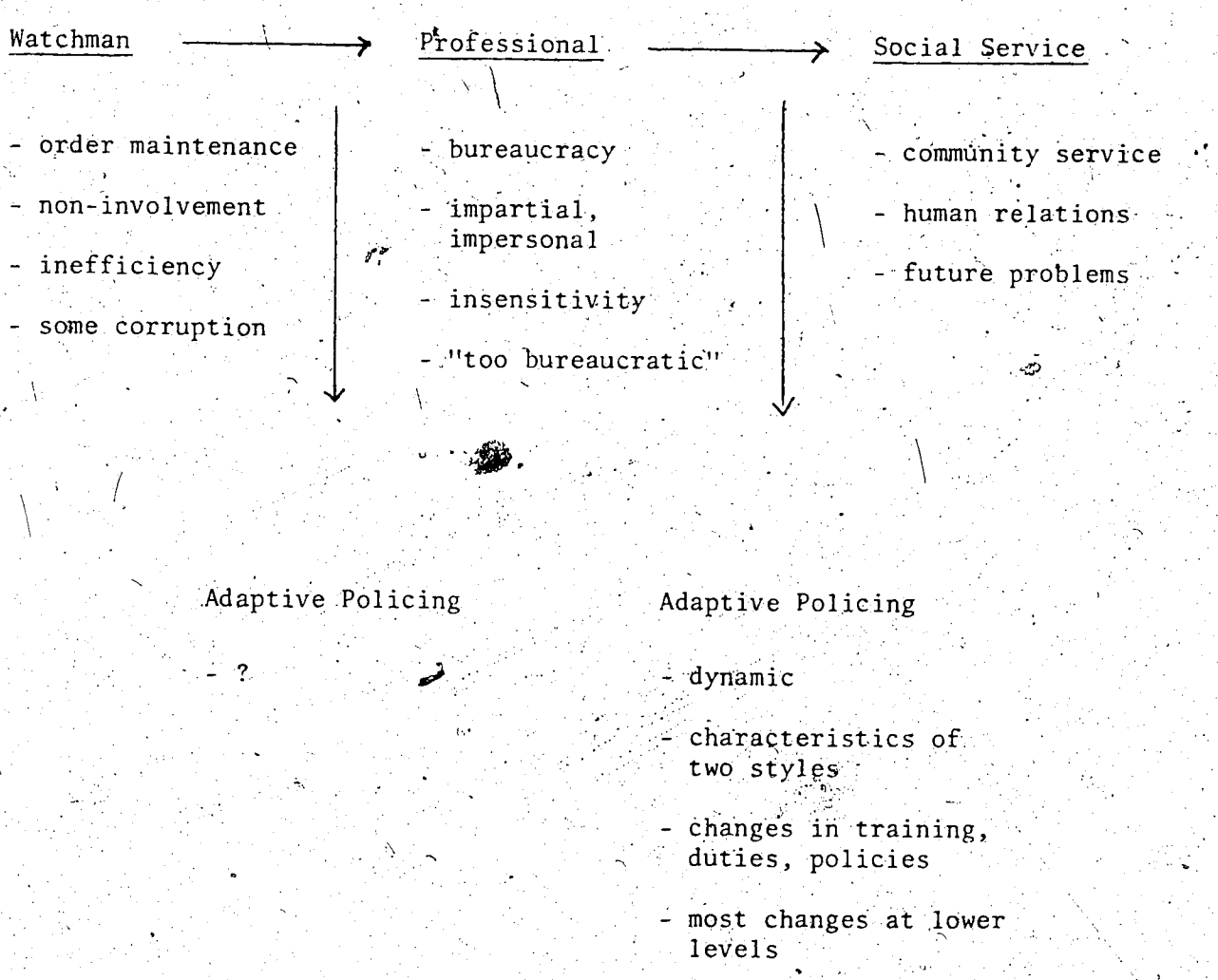
We have, so far, only discussed the type of adaptive policing found in an intermediate stage between professional and social service policing. This is reasonable since the only type of adaptation observed

in Robertson was from professional to social service. However, if the evolutionary process is theoretically consistant, there should also be another variety of adaptive policing between the watchman and professional stages of policing (see Figure #3).

This second type of adaptive policing should logically have some of the same basic characteristics of the first type and follow the same basic pattern. Our first suggestion for further research is to see if adaptive policing does exist between the watchman and professional stages, and if so, how does it resemble or differ from adaptive policing between the professional and social service stages.

Our second suggestion is that further speculation would be worthwhile on whether or not a stage will supercede the social service model. It is unlikely that the social service ideal will prove any more a solution than the professional. There is little indication that the public perception of increasing crime will change. (See for example, Block 1971:91.) And it is likely that problems will develop with the social service model just as they have for the others. Because the social service model is just coming "in vogue" it is difficult to predict what the problems are that will cause its eventual phasing out. Most likely the problems will centre on the human relations aspects of the style — police will become very responsive to those groups making the strongest demands, that is, power groups of all kinds. These could be business groups, ethnic groups, civil liberty groups, or any other vocal, well-organized association. Some groups will become "over-serviced", some "under-serviced". No matter what the problems are, they will always turn up. As long as the police have civilian monopoly over authority and the use of force in our society, it is likely that it will be almost

Figure #3 The Evolution of Policing Styles



impossible to escape political influence on the police. And as long as our society persists in reinforcing socio-economic stratification there will continue to be crime, corruption and need. Therefore it is very lifely that despite its potential, the social service model of policing is not optimum for policing.

The final area for research and/or speculation that we suggest is whether this is truly an evolutionary process. Evolution implies change for the better. Avoiding if possible, a debate on what is "better" in policing we pose the question: "Does each stage of policing provide the services required by its mandate better than the one before?". Or is each stage simply a new mask under which exactly the same job is carried out? In the opinion of the writer, if each stage improves the chance of society taking into consideration the total circumstances surrounding an "offence", it is evolution. Also in the opinion of the writer, each stage of policing we have discussed has to this point made improvements in some areas — and failed to make improvements in others. An extreme example in the Criminal Justice System is that offenders in western societies no longer have their hands amputated for theft; but they also do not receive the "fairness" of justice administered by a small, intimate group. On the policing level, the police no longer have the power and seldom the desire, to incarcerate offenders indefinitely without trial; but they also still have the right to shoot and kill an escaping offender, no matter how petty his offence. Obviously this is an area which could be debated for years — and hopefully will be.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Robertson is not the real name of the community. Anonymity was requested by the R.C.M.P. at 'K' Division Headquarters.

[2]Banton does not define his usage of the phrase "above average". He comments that the conduct of the police force members he observed rarely involved them in "the sorts of incidents that attract newspaper publicity". (1964:xii)

[3]Grosman (1975:138-139) comments on a research and planning section in legalistic departments: "the unit, although justified on the basis of its goal to improve police efficiency, is most often engaged in responding to administrative needs, redrafting orders and regulations and answering questions posed by interested citizens and outside researchers...[it is] a means for justifying new budgetary demands."

[4]The effect of community expectations on policing style has not gone unnoticed by other social researchers: (see for example, Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966:122; Fink and Sealy, 1974:47; Grosman, 1975:91). Quinney (1970:11) finds community expectations to be the most important source of variation in law enforcement. Trojanowicz and Dixon (1974: 117-123) point out the influence of the community's power groups. Galliher et al. (1975) supply empirical evidence to support both Quinney and Trojanowicz and Dixon.

[5]Kuykendall does not define the size of his "smaller communities" although he does describe them in these terms: "the knowledge police officers and citizens have about each other can be extensive", and "in smaller communities, people are individuals..." (1974:238).

[6]These roles are not well-defined by Rubin, although his main concern is that police roles must be clearly defined to prevent role conflict (1972:16).

[7]Two major policy changes had just begun implementation in 1975, and are at present standard policy: 1) Recruits may transfer to their home provinces after training; and 2) Each major command division, such as 'K' Division in Alberta, has been subdivided into a number of smaller relatively autonomous subdivisions, much like city police force precincts. Each subdivision has headquarters in a community central to its district and its own commanding officer, usually of the "Inspector" rank, who supervises the operation of all detachments in his area and is responsible directly to 'K' Division in Edmonton. A number of specialists, such as identification and communication men, are located in each subdivision. At the time of this study, the Robertson detachment was gearing itself to become the site of such a regional headquarters.

[8]Information was obtained from the Edmonton City Police Force for the purpose of this comparison. This police force recently (1978) decreased the amount of classroom training to less than one month.

[9]This excludes educational services and the sponsoring of social events; these are usually provided only by police in larger communities.

[10]The majority of observation was concentrated on the municipal detail; time, however, was also spent in observing the rural and highway details for purposes of comparison.

[11]Friday and Saturday night shifts are usually the most eventful, Sunday night the least eventful. Summer is usually more active than winter, reported criminal offences are at their peak between June and December.

[12]This was an unusual occurrence. The researcher was only invited into the homes of three members, and in this way met three police wives.

[13]Because this patrol happened to be on a Sunday, it was necessary to use "the mobile" or "portaphone" because the secretary/dispatcher was not in.

[14]The juveniles were released after questioning because the judge whose permission was needed to hold them was not available on Sundays. The two juveniles were later fined $25 each for theft. Willful damage charges were dropped. For the 16 year old all charges were dropped by the Crown after 6 months and several court appearances. The youngest juvenile was placed in a foster home for 6 months.

[15]When questioned police members assured the researcher that activities that occurred in the time period in which the police were observed were completely typical of their summer activities in Robertson. Rodeo Day and extremes in weather change the frequency of events, but these are the major exceptions.

[16]Figure taken from a 1975 Chamber of Commerce publication.

[17]Note that in Alberta at the time of this study, juvenile age was 16 for males, 18 for females.

[18]These figures taken from R.C.M.P. Quarterly Statistics, 1975.

[19]Number taken from the record of incoming calls received at the Robertson Police Station. This number reflects only those calls specifically mentioning juveniles.

[20]This campaign seems to have been initiated privately by one Force member and is carried out unofficially, though on occasion while he is in uniform and on patrol.

[21]As a note of interest: church attendence seems a norm among the "older" members, ie. those who are not recruits in Robertson for their first tour of duty.

[22]The Juvenile Delinquency Act as in effect in 1976, is currently undergoing revision in Parliament and some changes have already been implemented (March 1976). What changes this could catalyze in police handling of juveniles may be of great sociological interest.

[23]Statistics reported in the local newspaper.

[24]Whenever possible this radar set was used by the highway patrol. The town council had been responsbile for its purchase, however, so the town patrol felt that it should be used - sometimes.

[25]As mentioned previously no population estimate could be made based on either census or local Metis association figures. This is therefore a guess.

[26]Special constables take a shortened version of the R.C.M.P. formal training and must be of Native descent. They are paid less than regular members.

[27]Wilson points out that the normal police tendency is to under-enforce the law, even in legalistic departments (1967:179) but as this factor is present in all departments it is not included in our discussion and should have no effect on numbers of police-citizen interaction.

[28]Formal solutions to police-citizen interaction usually conclude with the citizen being required to participate in the criminal justice system to some extent. This may vary from laying a complaint to being arrested. Informal solutions emphasize keeping the citizen out of the criminal justice system and can comprise a large number of alternatives, from a night in the drunk tank to admittance to a mental hospital.

[29]To repeat, this is applicable only to non-serious offences. All departments handle serious offences, such as murder, formally.

[30]For examples of media coverage of police activities see Appendix B. There seems to be a correlation between citizen awareness of police and newspaper articles.

[31]See Appendix B on police related articles in local newspaper.

[32]Canadian census material is notoriously slow in being releases. 1971 figures were the latest data available for comparison to Wilson's data.

[33]The new openness of the R.C.M.P. to social research may also be a part of this change.

[34]It should be noted that dissatisfaction may also come from within the police force. Public dissatisfaction is just much more visible, and police members are reluctant to air their views on policing problems, thus making research on their influence more difficult.

[35]See for examples Courtis, 1970:2-4. 73% of interviewed residents in Toronto perceived the crime rate as increasing. 88.7% perceived crime in Toronto to be very serious or moderately serious.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED FOR ROBERTSON COMMUNITY MEMBERS

1. Please describe what kind of occupational contact you have had with the local police.

2. Have you had any other contact such as recreational, social or religious?

3. In general are you satisfied with the outcomes of your contacts with the police?

4. What kind of activities do you think the police should be involved in, in "Robertson"?

5. Are you satisfied with their current activities?

6. Have you any suggestions that might make you more satisfied with local policing?

7. (a) In the past, do you think the police have ever done anything they shouldn't have?

   (b) Have they ever failed to do something they should have done?

8. Do you have any comments to make on anything I haven't covered or anything you think needs to be said about local policing?

Average interview time was 20 minutes, and 44 interviews were completed over a period of 4 weeks.

APPENDIX B: POLICE RELATED CONTENT OF THE "ROBERTSON" NEWSPAPER

Newspaper files from 1970 to 1977 were used as a source for determining, among other things, community expectations of policing style and duties.

The police-oriented articles revolved around 5 main themes (in order of frequency of appearance):

(1) public relations by the R.C.M.P.

(2) public service announcements and information

(3) police involvement in the community as private citizens

(4) crime-reporting and statistics

(5) public comment on the police.

(1) Police P.R. articles in the paper seemed to have as their purpose to familiarize the community with its local police and quite probably, to make the police appear "more human" and accessible.

Every year the local detachment sponsored a "police week". The public was invited to tour the police facilities and to view the various items of police technology. Police Week articles in the paper usually included individual pictures of the members as well as of the police cars and other picture-worthy hardware.

As each member was transferred to the detachment the paper ran his picture and a brief biography. This procedure was also followed when a man was promoted or transferred out after a lengthy residence.

Other P.R. oriented articles concerned individual events such

as the "Pigs versus Pests" athletic activities (the "Pests" were local young people). Photographs with R.C.M.P. members as part of the background were frequent. Examples are the citizenship court, or the wreathlaying at the cenotaph. The local rodeo parade usually featured R.C.M.P. in "red serge" leading it.

1973, the R.C.M.P. centennial year, produced a great deal of police oriented publicity — taking over the local radio station for a day (with pictures) for example. This year was also responsible for a series of pro-R.C.M.P. advertisements that was picked up by the local newspaper.

(2) Public service announcements and information, while useful to the community, are also a type of police P.R. These articles included police warnings of bad cheques for example, or warnings of dangerous substances that were unaccounted for. Illegal lottery tickets were warned against. There were also announcements for police oriented events such as impaired driving programs, a bad cheque warning system, the implementation of the checkstop program, and a rural skidoo check program. R.C.M.P. guest speakers were occasionally mentioned in the news releases of various associations.

(3) Articles featuring police involvement in the community as private citizens usually centered around sports events or service organization (Kinsmen, Lions) events. Police members were not identified as police in these articles. The members were seldom in uniform in the accompanying pictures. One picture, for example, showed a police member in cowboy attire kissing the rodeo queen — he was grand marshall of the parade that year. Other pictures had police members and/or their wives included

in group photos of, for example, some organization being commended for its community service.

Police members occasionally were mentioned in the social column but never by occupation.

(4) The newspaper carried very few crime related articles. Police statistics were only encountered twice in 6-1/2 years. There were less than ten articles reporting police action on crimes (this does not include crime articles not mentioning the R.C.M.P.). These articles included warnings that the police would be enforcing new municipal by-laws, pictures of particularly gruesome car accidents, and announcements of suspects apprehended.

The story receiving the biggest spread of all these concerned a series of break-ins at the newspaper office. Pictures showed the R.C.M.P. members using their equipment to investigate the crime.

(5) Public comment on the R.C.M.P. originated mainly from the "Letter to the Editor" column. Less than 10 letters were written from 1970 to 1977 that mentioned the R.C.M.P. Once criticized them for allowing a vehicle to be towed away, another thanked them for participating in the high school's kangaroo court, and another used them as an example of overworked professionals. The remainder of the letters originated during the 1970-71 debate over whether or not to hire the R.C.M.P. to police the town. These letters were all pro-R.C.M.P. Some sentiment was voiced against the R.C.M.P. but mainly in the paper's editorials.

The greatest number of all these articles appeared on the front page. Some, such as the Police Week articles occupied several pages in the first section of the newspaper (out of 2 or even 3 sections). In 1976

the newspaper ran 35 police related articles. In the first three months of 1977 they ran 26.

It is interesting to note that there seems to be some correlation between citizen awareness of police activities as revealed by the interview schedule and subject matter of newspaper articles. For example police sports participation was the second most mentioned activity after school programs — both of which had some newspaper coverage, with the sports participation receiving more. School programs were probably publicized more by the school children speaking to their parents.

Further study may be warranted.

APPENDIX C: DETACHMENT/MUNICIPAL SHIFT SCHEDULE

		MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT	SUN
municipal	1.	A	A	A	A	A	O	O
	2.	O	O	B	B	B	B	B
	3.	B	B	O	O	C	C	Q
	4.	D	D	D	O	O	F	E
	5.	E	E	E	E	E	O	O
rural	6.	O	O	C	C	A	A	F
	7.	C	C	O	O	B	B	C
	8.	E	F	F	F	F	O	O
corporals	9.	D	D	D	D	D	O	O
	10.	O	A	A	A	C	C	O
	11.	D	D	D	D	D	O	O

"A" - 12:00 N to 8:00 P.M.

"B" - 8:00 P.M. to 4:00 A.M. (Fri & Sat - 10:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.)

"C" - 6:00 P.M. to 2:00 A.M. (Shifts 6 & 7 - 5:00 P.M. to 1:00 A.M.)

"D" - 8:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M.

"E" - 10:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

"F" - 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

"Q" - 2:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.

SHIFTS: (1) to (4) - Municipal
(5) - fill in wherever short, i.e. AOL; LTO; AOD, etc.
(6)(7)(8) - Rural
(9)(10)(11) - Supervisors

NOTE: When the N.C.O. i/c Patrol works Shift #10 he may work a shift which will supplement the Patrol Shifts notwithstanding he is the Duty Supervisor for all three units.