Chapter Twelve

OFFICERS' ORIENTATIONS

D. Clairmont and A. Thomson

In addition to having undertaken extensive ethnographic, historical and comparative work stretching over several years on policing in the small towns and rural areas of the Annapolis Valley, a questionnaire was utilized to assess officers' orientations on a variety of conventional issues. The questionnaire was completed in the winter of 1991 by all officers in the Annapolis Valley; that is a total of 53 officers including RCMP officers, regular and specialists, from the New Minas detachment and police from the municipal police departments (i.e., MDP) of Kentville, Middleton and Berwick.

Limited previous research had indicated that substantial differences in policing philosophy and practice existed between RCMP and MPD officers (Murphy, 1983; McGahan, 1991). The chief thrust of this particular small survey project was to determine to what extent there remained significant differences between MPD and RCMP police officers in terms of perception and evaluation of the policing role, time spent on diverse policing tasks, perception of their organization, job satisfaction and sources of strain and pressure. In addition there was a concern with how RCMP and MPD officers conceptualize and are oriented to small town policing and Community-based Policing; here too the emphasis was on the extent to which the differences in officers' viewpoints reflect an RCMP/MPD differentiation or are best understood in terms of factors such as education, age and rank.

The questionnaire utilized was a short instrument and largely consisted of statements to which officers were asked to indicate whether they strongly agreed, agreed, were uncertain, disagreed or strongly disagreed. Many of the questionnaire items were taken from several recent studies of officers' orientations (especially Murphy *et al.*, 1990).

As noted all officers in the Valley region under study completed the short questionnaire. Table 12-1 provides details on the survey population. It can be seen that this grouping is predominantly male (90%) and mostly of constable rank (75%) but otherwise quite diversified in terms of educational level, age and having family ties in policing. Valley police officers are about evenly divided among those with college vs. high school education and over and under 35 years of age; roughly forty percent have (had) older close relatives with policing experience.

The chief differences between RCMP and MPD officers include the higher educational attainment of RCMP officers and the fact that the latter are more likely to be older and more experienced officers. Since MPDs still place some emphasis on hiring locals and having their officers live within their jurisdiction it is not surprising that the

Table 12-1 - Officers' Survey: Population Characteristics (Raw Numbers) (1990)

		Overall	RCMP	MPD
Force		53	29	24
Rank	Constable	39	21	18
	Other	14	8	6
Education	High School	26	10	16
	College/Univ.	27	19	8
Age	34 and under	25	10	15
	35 and Older	28	19	9
Sex	Male	48	25	23
	Female	5	4	1
Police Relative	Yes	22	11	11
	No	31	18	13
Med. Yrs. with		10	15	5.5
Med. Yrs. in		7	5	9.5
Med. # Train.		6	4	7.5

MPD officers have lived for more years in their current community (10 years to 5 years for RCMP). This variation underscores the RCMP policy of having policing done by members from other provinces rather than by locally-born officers, and of relatively frequent transfers (although the number and distance of transfers are both decreasing because of high costs). Surprisingly the MPD officers on average reported taking almost twice as many training courses as their RCMP counterparts; this unexpected finding masks the fact that some RCMP officers have taken a very high number of training courses while on the other hand a large number apparently have taken none.

Police Role in Society

Twelve questions dealt with how officers might envisage the police role in society. Factor analyses of these questions indicated that the questions did not yield readily grouped responses; rather four significant and different factors were found dealing respectively with a community order emphasis, a professionalism approach, a 'solidarity with one's fellow officers' emphasis and a crime fighting emphasis. Since no index could be reliably constructed the items were analyzed individually under the above named themes.

FIGURE 12-1 Police Role in Society

CONSENSUS STATEMENTS

Spending time talking to ordinary citizens is good police work. (Agree)

Maintaining peace and order between citizens is just as important as catching criminals. (Agree)

The best way to measure police efficiency is by detection and arrest rates. (Disagree)

VARIATION RELATED TO FORCE STYLE

Police should restrict their activities to enforcing the law and fighting crime.

Making the arrest is not usually the best way to solve a problem.

Enforcing the law in society is the most important job of the police.

To be effective, the police should be involved in all aspects of community problems, not just crime-related problems.

VARIATION RELATED TO OFFICER ATTRIBUTE

Police are already accountable to their organization and the Police Act, so it is not necessary for them to be further accountable to other community organizations.

It is important for police officers to "stick together" and not disagree in front of outsiders.

Discipline decisions made regarding police officers should jot be made by external citizens or political bodies such as review boards.

The highest priority for police is whatever problem disturbs the community the most.

A dispute between two people, a fight or a petty theft, is usually better handled informally with a warning rather than by arrest.

There is considerable consensus indicated in the responses pertaining to the police role. Virtually all officers agreed that 'spending time talking to ordinary citizens is good police work', and that 'maintaining peace and order among citizens is just as important as catching criminals'; consistently they disagreed that 'the best way to measure police efficiency is by detection and arrest rates'. On most other items there was significant officer variation but surprisingly little difference between MPD and RCMP officers. Figure One details the areas of agreement and variation and indicates areas where the latter is accounted for by force style as compared to officer attribute[1].

There was a modest tendency for RCMP to stress enforcement and crime fighting more than MPD officers did. While 90% of the MPD group disagreed that police should restrict their activities to enforcing the law and fighting crime, 'only' 70% of the RCMP group disagreed. And while 60% of the MPD officers agreed that 'making an arrest is not usually the best way to solve a problem', only 40% of the RCMP held that view. Similarly MPD officers were more likely than their RCMP counterparts (60% to 40%) to disagree with the statement 'enforcing the law in society is the most important job of the police'. Consistently too virtually all MPD respondents agreed that police should be involved in all aspects of community problems not just crime related problems while 'only' 70% of the RCMP agreed with that position. The other area of modest difference between MPD and RCMP officers concerned accountability / solidarity. RCMP police were a little more likely to disagree with the views that 'police are already accountable to their organization and the Police Act and should not be further accountable to community organizations' and that 'discipline decisions regarding police officers should not be made by external bodies' (45% to 33%). And while only a minority of all officers disagreed, RCMP officers disagreed the most (30% to 80%) with the view that 'it is important for police officers to stick together and not disagree in front of outsiders'.

The small number of officers in the MPD and RCMP groupings make it difficult to assess from these data alone the unique impact of force membership but sometimes one suspects that it is minimal. This is particularly the case on matters of accountability and solidarity. The response differences between young and old respondents, between constables and those of higher rank, and occasionally between the better and the less educated, were greater with respect to these statements than the RCMP-MPD differences. This finding in turn suggests that age and rank factors may be more significant with respect to accountability and solidarity than whether one is an RCMP or MPD officer. A good example of this point is the response to the statement dealing with the appropriateness of external involvement such as review boards in police disciplinary

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[1] The consensus items in Table One were agreed to by virtually all officers. The variation related to force style' category indicates those statements where RCMP officers consistently were more likely to emphasize the crime fighting or law enforcement option as specified in the text. It should be noted that here we are referring to variation which overlays a large amount of consensus. The 'variation by officer attribute' category indicates those statements where differences in educational achievement and rank level account for variation in agreement or disagreement.

decisions. Less than 30% of the constables agreed that it was appropriate compared to over 70% of the higher ranked officers, a percentage gap far greater than the 10% difference between RCMP and MPD overall.

On the other hand the response differences pertaining to enforcement and crime fighting do seem to be related to police force style; whether one is RCMP or MPD matters more for these concerns than whether one is young or old, constable or higher rank. Educational attainment though remained very important and probably accounts for a fair portion of even these RCMP-MPD differences since as noted above the two forces also differ in terms of the proportion of their officers having low (i.e., high school or less) educational attainment; for example almost 70% of the lesser educated officers disagreed that 'enforcing the law in society is the most important job of the police' while only 30% of the better educated officers disagreed, a percentage difference well above the 19% gap overall between RCMP and MPD groupings.

There were some differences that clearly pertained to specific categories of persons rather than force membership. For example there was substantial variation in responses to the statement, 'the highest priority for police is whatever disturbs the community the most' but neither force membership, age or rank accounted for the variation; rather only level of education mattered as the higher educated were more likely to agree with the statement than those officers who were less educated (55% to 30%). Similarly variation in agreement on the desirability of solving minor interpersonal disputes informally with a warning rather than by arrest was not associated with force membership nor with age; rather rank and education level were somewhat important as higher ranked officers and better educated ones were more likely to take neutral positions on this subject than constables and less educated officers.

Attitudes About the Police Organization

Officers were asked about a variety of statements (twelve in all) concerning 'possible feelings you might have about the police organization you work for'. The statements pointed to issues such as 'rules and regulations here hamper my ability to get the job done' and 'this department supports and protects officers from external criticism and pressures'. These items did group readily in factor analysis and constituted a single reliable index of positive organizational orientation. Index scores were modestly skewed towards more positive evaluation; in other words, Valley officers were more likely to render positive evaluations of their organization[2].

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[2] Only twelve of the fourteen questionnaire items under this theme were utilized. Factor analysis indicated the existence of a single common and powerful underlying theme for the twelve items. The eigenvalue for the factor was well over 6.3 and the factor accounted for about 45% of the total item variance. The alpha reliability coefficient was .90 indicating much [too much perhaps] consensus. The index scores were rather skewed (i.e., skewness = .53) towards more positive evaluations of the police organizations.

Turning to variations in assessments the researchers had speculated much about whether RCMP or MPD officers would have the most positive orientation to their work organization. One could expect greater idiosyncrasy in the MPDs where also there would be fewer resources and less compensation than with the RCMP; at the same time in small MPDs it would be likely that persons would adjust or leave. Table 12-2 reveals that MPD officers were far more likely to report positive assessments of their organization (i.e., 75% to 20%). The same table also suggests that education, age and rank may affect officers' perceptions here. Less educated officers, younger officers and, less sharply, officers of higher rank were all more likely than their opposites to report more positive evaluations of their organization. Those officers who had or have close relatives in policing were less likely than others to assess positively their own organization. Overall though the major difference was between MPD and RCMP officers rather than by officer attribute; for example among university-educated RCMP respondents the proportion having a high positive assessment of their organization was a virtually identical 15% to 20% among young (i.e., 34 and under years of age) and older officers.

Table 12-2 - Assessing the Police Role (1990)

		% High Pos. Assess.	% Pol. Work High
Force	RCMP	20	76
	MPD	75	46
Rank	Constable	41	56
	Other	57	78
Education	High School	58	65
	Coll./University	33	59
Age	34 and <	56	60
	35 +	36	64
Police. Relatives	Yes	36	n/a
	No	52	n/a

A significant range of variation was found in examining responses to most specific statements. Two statements however generated much consensus; about 85% of all respondents disagreed with the statement "It would take very little for me to leave this organization", and about 90% agreed that "Manpower and other resource shortages seriously limit the effectiveness of our work." It seems then that virtually all Valley police officers regard themselves as committed to their police organization and that all Valley organizations, RCMP and MPD alike, are perceived to be resource-poor by their members. Much academic writing has suggested that police have to develop informal and sometimes sub rosa strategies to get their job done in the face of proliferate rules and laws (Apostle and Stenning, 1989). However only a small minority of Valley police (i.e., 22%) considered their ability to get the job done to be hampered by rules and regulations -suggesting either no problem to begin with or skill at getting

around regulations. At the same time most officers reported that their organization did not especially encourage initiative; for example only roughly 15% of the Valley officers disagreed with the statement "Risk taking and innovation is not rewarded enough in this organization". On issues such as reward for risk-taking, commonality of values between oneself and the organization, and characterization of the organization as friendly and supportive, higher rank officers were more positive than constables were.

Analyses of responses to specific statements also indicates that RCMP-MPD differences were substantial on eight of the twelve items. The biggest differences, proportionally, were on those items dealing with performance evaluation (only 10% of RCMP respondents considered it to be fairly and competently done compared to 50% of the MPD group), input into management decisions (only 20% of the RCMP disagreed that there was no real input by 'employees' whereas among the MPD group 60Go disagreed) and resistance to outside pressure. Surprisingly RCMP officers were much less likely to report organizational protection; only 17% of the RCMP agreed with the statement 'this department supports and protects police officers from external criticism and pressures', while almost 70% of the MPD group did agree; and RCMP officers disagreed less than their MPD counterparts (i.e., 20% to 50%) with the statement "departmental policies often change because of outside pressures by politicians and community groups".

Consistent with the above pattern of organizational disenchantment RCMP respondents were modestly more likely to report close direct supervision (i.e.,60% to 45%), much more likely to agree that 'rules and regulations here hamper my ability to get the job done' (40% to 4%), and less likely (32% to 79%) to agree that 'the present organizational structure is an effective way to organize for the delivery of good police service'. Some of this RCMP-MPD variation can possibly be explained by the higher educational levels among the RCMP since higher educated officers were more than twice as likely as less educated officers to be critical of how their police organization performs, especially in dealing with outside political pressures.

Perceptions of the Police Role

Ten statements were employed to tap officers' views concerning 'the police work you do'. Here we were trying to determine the sources of variation in how officers 'framed' police work, whether for example as high status employment, exciting, difficult etc. Statistical procedures isolated several themes. One theme captured a 'high status' factor wherein officers designated police work as providing good compensation, stable secure employment, garnering respect from most citizens and 'a good way to help people'[3]. A second dimension tapped focused on the intrinsic appeal of the work itself

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[3] This four item dimension was the most important factor indicated by the factor analysis where it had an eigenvalue of 3.0 and an alpha reliability coefficient of .70. The second dimension also based on four items and focused around the intrinsic value of the work had a lower eigenvalue but was otherwise quite similar. All index scores were

wherein officers designated police work as 'exciting most of the time', not so demanding as to prevent 'a normal life', providing for solidarity with co-workers and enabling one to use 'virtually all your talents and special skills'. A third more minor theme focused on police work as routine and unchallenging.

Not surprisingly in light of the force's reputation and compensation levels -both substantially greater than MPDs- RCMP officers were more likely to have high scores[4] on framing their police work as 'high status employment' (i.e., 76% to 46%). In addition higher ranked officers were more likely than constables to hold that view (78% to 56%). On this theme educational and age differences appeared to have no obvious, direct impact (see Table 8-B) though there were some interesting possible 'interaction effects", such as the indication that younger university-educated RCMP officers were more than twice as likely as older, university-educated RCMP to perceive police work as high status. There was little difference by police organization, age, education or rank as regards having the perspective that police work is intrinsically attractive and not particularly onerous; however MPD, higher ranked and less educated officers were modestly more likely to report that viewpoint.

The fact that the above-mentioned index scores varied only modestly by force, rank, education and age clearly suggests that Valley police officers may have a substantial consensus concerning police work. Certainly officers valued the police role. This consensus is borne out when responses to specific statements are examined. Fully 90% of the officers agreed that 'police work is a good way to help people" and that "police work generates respect from most citizens". Virtually all officers agreed that "police work gives you a lot of individual responsibility". The large majority (about 80%) also considered police work to be "a secure and stable occupation" providing "satisfactory pay and fringe benefits". On each of the remaining items, statements characterising police work as exciting, dangerous, difficult to incorporate into the normal life style etc. there was a majority agreeing but there was also usually significant contrary views. The young, university-educated constables were the most likely to note the onerous aspects of policing such as danger and life style pressures; one such RCMP officer reported "while writing this [response] I have had four hours sleep in two, almost three days, because of court commitment and shift work -this gives you some idea of family?".

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divided into high and low scores (near the median or wherever there was a 'natural break' in the index scores) for analytic purposes.

[4] The index for this theme (and for the second one) yielded positively biased scores (i.e., skewness = 1.0) indicating that most officers saw their work as high status employment, but nevertheless as in the case of other derived variables the scores were divided into 'high' and 'low'. Given the small number of cases the different scores by rank were not statistically significant.

What Police Work is Done

Conventionally it is posited that RCMP officers are more into crime fighting than peace and order (and bylaw enforcement) activity. This presumably is the case because the RCMP has its own standards for policing which are somewhat removed from local concerns and also because presumably RCMP officers are less subject to policy direction from local police boards. In order to assess these points all Valley officers were asked to indicate how much time they spend in the course of a month on various activities (i.e., 'a lot', 'a fair amount', 'little' or 'none'). Statistical analyses of responses for various possible activities indicated that indeed two distinct underlying dimensions reflecting 'peace and order' and 'crime fighting' respectively could be isolated[5]. 'Crime fighting' incorporated activities such as investigative follow-ups, paperwork, dealing with sexual assault and wife-battering and court appearances. The 'peace and order' dimension included activities such as traffic enforcement, special events such as funerals, foot patrol, non-traffic bylaw enforcement and dealing with neighbour disputes. Two activities, namely school liaison (and other youth work) and discussing policing policies with citizens fell into neither grouping.

Looking first at peace and order activity, Table 12-3 indicates that there are sharp differences between MPD and RCMP officers; while 83% of the former had high scores here, only 20% of the RCMP members did. Not unexpectedly younger officers had higher scores for peace and order activity than older officers and constables tended to have higher scores than the higher ranked officers. There was no difference by educational level of the officer. High crime fighting scores on the other hand were much more common among the RCMP (i.e., 62% to 20%). It can also be noted that better educated officers were more involved than others in crime fighting activity. There appeared to be few differences in this latter activity by rank or age. In general then survey results do support initial expectations that the style of policing varies by the type of police force.

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[5] Factor analyses yielded two factors with eigenvalues of 3.6 and 2.5 respectively accounting for 47% of the total variance. The peace and order index had an alpha reliability of .81 while the crime fighting index had a weak alpha of .60. The crime fighting index scores were normally distributed (i.e., skewness = .13) while the peace and order index scores were not (i.e., skewness = .59); these differences indicate that while there was much variation among officers as to crime fighting activity, virtually all did a substantial amount of peace and order activity.

Table 12-3 - Police Activity (1990)

		% High Peace & Order	% High Crime Fighting
Force	RCMP	20	62
	MPD	83	20
Rank	Constable	54	46
	Other	36	36
Education	High School	54	31
	Coll./University	44	56
Age	34 and <	64	44
	35 +	36	43

Analyses of responses to individual statements places the difference between 'peace and order' and 'crime fighting' styles in context. All officers considered that they spent a 'lot' or 'fair' amount of time on paperwork and most reported that level of time involvement also with respect to investigative follow-ups and court appearances The RCMP officers differed then largely in reporting 'a lot' rather than 'a fair amount'. The peace and order activities more clearly differentiated MPD and RCMP styles but here too differences were minor on some items such as the amount of patrolling in a squad car or dealing with neighbour disputes. It can be noted that for two activities one might generally associate with peace and order, namely 'school liaison and youth work' and 'discussing policing policies with citizens', it was the RCMP who were slightly more likely to engage in such activities. There were differences to be sure between RCMP and MPD police activity but also a large range of common police work. Finally, not surprisingly higher rank officers reported doing very little traffic enforcement or patrolling in a squad car.

Stress and Job Satisfaction

It was unclear whether the variables under examination here, namely police organization, age, education and rank, would impact differentially upon reported stress. It was expected however that officers having close older relatives with policing experience would report less stress and more intrinsic job satisfaction; presumably they would be more familiar with the police role and have effective coping strategies. All officers were asked to indicate how stressful they personally found each of 16 possible activities ranging from 'relations with my supervisors' to 'court testimony'. Statistical analyses indicated that responses reflected a single underlying dimension and therefore an index was developed and the index scores bifurcated into 'high' and 'low'[6].

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[6] Factors analyses indicated that fourteen of the sixteen items constituted one strong underlying dimension with an eigenvalue of 6.0 and yielded an index with an alpha reliability coefficient of .88. The two items that did not fit in with the rest were 'relations with fellow employees' and 'promotion routines'.

The activities for which Valley officers most frequently reported stress, (the percentage of officers reporting stress is in brackets), were 'responding to family disputes' (84%), 'emergency responses' (83%), 'paperwork' (76%), 'criminal contacts' (76%) and 'court testimony' (71%). The first three activities were also the most frequently cited as 'very stressful' while shift work and promotional routines were the fourth and fifth most frequently cited 'very stressful' facets of police work. Least stressful activities according to Valley police (the number in brackets indicate the percent reporting 'rarely or never stressful') were 'relations with fellow employees' (74%), 'traffic enforcement' (74%), 'citizen contact on the job' (47%), 'relations with my supervisors' (47%) and 'public talks' (42%) .

Turning to patterns of variation Table 4 indicates there were virtually no differences by type of police organization but some suggestive patterns emerge when specific items are examined. RCMP officers were more likely to report stress in relation to promotion routines and department policies while MPD officers were more likely to report stress with respect to giving public talks and responding to family disputes. Constables were more likely to have high stress scores than officers of higher rank, and better educated and younger officers reported more stress than their less educated and older counterparts. Officers having older close relatives with policing experience were also less likely to report high stress. It should be underlined that high stress scores here mean that an officer has reported more regular policing activities and relationships to produce stress for him/her than other officers did. Of course stress could also be defined in terms of any single facet or small set of facets that preoccupy or disable a person.

Two indexes of job satisfaction were formed from officers' extent of agreement with fourteen statements dealing with specific aspects of their jobs; the indexes were measures of intrinsic job satisfaction (e.g., enthusiastic about the work) and of the importance attached to extrinsic aspects of their jobs (e.g., compensation) respectively.[7] There was little difference in intrinsic job satisfaction level by rank or age but the data presented in Table 4 suggest that the less educated and the MPD officers derived more satisfaction from their work than the better educated and the RCMP. Overall score and item analysis indicate that the higher educated officers bring higher expectations to their work.

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[7] Factor analyses of fourteen statements pertaining to job satisfaction identified two factors, one dealing with intrinsic job satisfaction and the other dealing with externalities such as compensation, solidarity, respect and scheduling. The former which incorporated nine questions had an alpha reliability coefficient of .81 while the extrinsic satisfaction index had an alpha of only .60. The index scores were normally distributed in both cases (i.e., skewness = .30)

Table 12-4 - Stress and satisfaction

		% High Stress	% High Intrinsic. Satisfaction	% High Extrinsic Satisfaction
Force	RCMP	50	41	41
	MPD	46	54	50
Rank	Constable	54	46	33
	Other	31	50	79
Education	High School	36	58	54
	Coll./University	59	37	37
Age	34 and Below	56	48	36
	35 +	41	46	54
Police Relatives	Yes	38	54	45
	No	58	42	46

The situation changes somewhat when external job satisfaction is examined. Again there is modest difference in the scores of MPD and RCMP officers, the former expressing more satisfaction. Similarly the less educated report high extrinsic job satisfaction on the average more often than the better educated officers. The major difference however is that higher ranked officers on the average identify extrinsic factors as major factors in their job satisfaction much more than constables do. Older officers also on the average rate extrinsic factors higher than their younger counterparts. Finally it can be noted that officers having older close relatives with policing experience reported more intrinsic job satisfaction but similar levels of extrinsic job satisfaction as those without such associations. Examining individual job satisfaction items is also useful. RCMP officers as indicated much more strongly positively assessed their compensation package (62% to 29%) and were also slightly more positive about their supervision (72% to 58% disagreed that their supervision discouraged them); the latter finding indicates that the more critical assessment of their organization by RCMP respondents did not extend to their immediate supervision. The greater criticism of the organization however is reflected in the responses to two other items; RCMP officers were less likely than MPD officers (i.e., 27% to 62%) to disagree with the statements, 'the amount of work I am expected to do makes it difficult for me to do my job well' and 'I often have trouble figuring out whether I am doing well or poorly at this job'.

Small Town and Community Policing Styles

All police officers in the Annapolis Valley appeared to be aware of the new philosophy of policing, Community-based Policing (CBP), and, like their colleagues elsewhere, often indicated that as they understood the idea it appeared to be something like idealised small town policing. Some MPDs in the area have used CBP concepts and postulates in dealing with their police boards and town councils;

apparently they have found that language useful in advancing their concerns. The RCMP as a force has at the national and the regional levels emphasised that it intends to implement the Community-based Policing philosophy. In this section we assess officers' responses to sets of statements dealing first with Community-based Policing and then with perceived differences between small town and city policing. In addition officers were asked to state in their own words what community based policing meant and what they considered to be the major differences between small town and city policing.

FIGURE 12-2 Comparison: Small Town and City Policing

CONSENSUS STATEMENTS

Closer contact between police and citizens in small towns. (Agree)

More contact between police and their civilian authorities in small towns. (Agree)

More open, informal style of police management in small towns. (Agree)

VARIATION RELATED TO FORCE STYLE

Less political interference in city policing. (RCMP)

More job autonomy and discretion for city police. (RCMP)

More emphasis on dealing informally with incidents in small towns. (RCMP)

VARIATIONS RELATED TO OFFICER ATTRIBUTES

More job variety for constables in small towns. (Rank, Education)

More informal style of management in small towns. (Rank, Education)

Officers were asked to respond to a number of statements which expressed perspectives on Community-based Policing. A subset of four items captured a cynical or critical orientation to CBP, namely that it was just a slogan, imposed closer control over officers, confused policing and social work etc.[8] As indicated in Table 4, RCMP officers

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[8] This subset was isolated in factor analysis and its alpha reliability coefficient was an acceptable .65. The index scores were skewed towards low 'cynical' scores (i.e., skewness = .57). Other statements relating to CBP were more positively slanted but they did not coalesce into acceptable factors or indexes.

were more likely to have high 'cynical' scores than the MPD officers but there were no differences by rank or age of the officer. Modest differences by educational level were indicated, the higher educated officers being the more 'critical'; among the RCMP respondents for example it was the younger, better educated officers where the highest levels of cynicism were found. It may also be noted that there were two items in particular where the RCMP officers were significantly more cynical; they were more likely to say CBP is 'more politics complicating police work' (34% to 12%) and that it represents 'a confusion between policing and social work or community work' (43% to 4%). Of course as these percentages indicate the majority of RCMP officers did not share the cynicism.

Other statements relating to CBP did not constitute an obvious larger pattern. Generally Valley officers agreed (i.e., about 90%) that CBP reflected a small town policing style and a policy of more attention to public satisfaction (see Figure Two). A majority also agreed that CBP meant more job variety and job autonomy for constables though only a third perceived it as effecting more democratic decision-making in police departments. Few officers saw CBP as entailing less concern with fast response and/or arrest. Indeed roughly 75% believed that CBP could be considered a more effective strategy for obtaining criminal intelligence. On all these items there were few differences between RCMP and MPD officers; one difference of note was that MPD officers were more likely to agree (50% to 25%) with the statement that CBP means 'a higher officer workload'.

Whether RCMP or MPD, officers' written comments about CBP were quite positive. Most officers saw CBP as entailing closer police contact with the community and more emphasis on minor and often non-law enforcement problems there. Some officers specifically defined CBP as centred around high visibility foot patrol. There was a widespread perception that CBP involved getting more input into policing from local leaders and through surveys of the general public. It was often advanced that this, in turn, creates a stronger sense of partnership and would be an aid to police. One senior RCMP NCO observed "police work has primarily been done in a vacuum until recently. Acting in concert with formal and informal groupings can only enhance policing". There was too a common perception that CBP would be effective problem-solving and crime prevention; one young RCMP constable wrote: "though my experience is limited, community based policing means establishing roots in the society at large to find the problems that are affecting this particular society. Then by doing such, providing leadership in solving particular disputes". An equally young MPD officer echoed that viewpoint: "community based policing is getting to know your community, what they expect they can expect from you. Talking with people and getting to know the problems in the community from their view in order to better deal with them". Another, older MPD officer expressed the same view in the following words "community based policing means to me getting and staying in touch with the community and working together with the community to make it a better place".

While virtually all officers submitted positive written statements about CBP, it is interesting that none referred therein to possible internal organizational changes putatively associated with CBP such as job variety, greater status for the constable or more participatory decision-making in the police organization. There were also a number of cautionary notes rendered. One MPD officer made the following comment, often expressed in police conversation though uncommon in these written remarks on CBP, namely "there is a fine-line between doing too much community service and police enforcement"; relatedly, another MPD officer wrote "community based policing is a good thing and must be. But sometimes it can go too far. It seems sometimes that there is more money spent on proactive than reactive and it would be nice to see the results of the proactive once in a while". This caution was also reflected in the remarks of an RCMP specialist who wrote: "community based policing gives the community an avenue to have a say in areas that concern them. The information/feedback is only as good as what is done with it at the Police level".

There was both agreement and divergence between MPD and RCMP officers when comparing small town and city policing. They shared the view that there is 'closer contact between police and citizens in small towns' and 'more contact between police and their civilian authorities'. Their views were also fairly similar on the issues of job variety for constables in small towns (about half in each grouping perceived more job variety in small town policing) and the greater informal police management style there. MPD and RCMP officers did however disagree sharply on three items. RCMP officers were more likely to agree (40% to 8%) that there is 'more job autonomy and discretion for city police', less political interference in city policing (34% to 12%) and more emphasis on dealing informally with incidents in small towns (90% to 50%). These differences seem consistent with the greater emphasis of RCMP officers on impersonal law enforcement. There was some interesting variation by officer attribute with respect to the conceptualisation of small town policing. High rank officers stressed the informality aspect more than constables did. Also higher educated officers reported that viewpoint.

Turning to the written comments by officers one common theme was that in small town policing there is "more time to investigate minor incidents and to converse with citizens". This latter view, expressed by an RCMP NCO was echoed by an RCMP constable who said "you start an investigation on a theft of $28 in a small area where in a big area you don't even take that complaint". For some officers this situation is a function of the slower pace of life in small towns and the fact that crimes there "are not so serious as in cities".

Clearly many Valley officers considered that the ties between police and community residents were much more 'primary' (i.e., regular and multidimensional) and deeper than in the city environment. Several RCMP officers used the expression "more one-on-one contact" in designating the small town difference. Several MPD officers commented on the everyday regularity of the police-citizen interaction; one wrote "In a small town an officer has to deal with the same people every day. Chances of future contact with a person is great and you have to be fair and do your job well. In a large city chances of contact with the same person are nil". The implications of the more

primary relationship for small town policing were deemed to be extensive including "you know basically what you are dealing with", "persons are more likely to help you if they know anything", "you are not just a face in the crowd; people watch you on and off duty", and 'in small towns police know everybody but in larger towns or cities police know mostly the bad guys".

Many Valley officers considered that in contrast to city policing small town policing meant a more proactive kind of policing and a less specialised constable role. An RCMP NCO wrote "city policing was based on patrol officers responding and if a serious crime then detectives would follow up. Small town police have to do everything and feel more pride in solving problems in their community". An RCMP specialist made the same point, writing "city policing limits the opportunity for the regular policeman on the beat to become involved in a file of any consequence, thereby limiting the member to polish his skills in investigations etc.". An MPD NCO wrote "in small towns the police are better rounded to do all aspects of police work and are not just dealing with one specific area as in a larger force". Several officers also shared the opinion of an MPD constable who observed "small town policing is more proactive while city policing is more reactive due to the larger population and the absence of the small town feeling where everyone knows everyone else".

The written comments of the Valley officers were quite positive about small town policing. One RCMP NCO went so far as to offer that "in major centers police work in general is lip service to problems. Generally manpower is short and thereby the human element of policing is gone". Several MPD officers (but no RCMP officer) did call attention to one shortfall they perceived in small town policing namely the problem of funding which tends "to restrict smaller towns in training, written statements and the manpower to allow proactive policing". Several RCMP officers considered that community based policing and zone policing could lead to an equivalence of small town policing in larger centers; as one wrote "the basic policing procedures are the same providing the large cities are broken into small areas which are actually like small towns". Interestingly no MPD officer advanced that idea of possible equivalence and while some, perhaps even many, may actually hold that view, their written comments were more in line with those of a young RCMP constable who wrote of a qualitative difference namely "city policing encounters a larger base of values and beliefs and opinions in which to respond. Community problems are harder to recognise and evaluate than in small towns".

Comparison: Small Town and City Policing

Comparing small town and city policing, there was general consensus among the RCMP and MPD officers on the notion that, in a small town, there was closer contact between the police and citizens as well as between the police and their governing authorities. They also tended to agree that small town police management operated in a more informal style compared to city policing.

There were three areas of disagreement related to the force style (RCMP vs. MPD). The RCMP was more inclined than the municipal police to say that there was less

political interference in city than small town policing; that city police had more job autonomy and exercised greater discretion; and that there was more emphasis on the informal handling of complaints in a small town. These are exactly the characteristics of small town policing which one would expect from a PBP/COP perspective. Officer comments reinforce these observations in terms of productivity, the different depths and frequency of citizen contacts, the focus on minor offences in small towns, and so on.

When we turn to the officers' perceptions of CBP, we find a general consensus that CBP is equivalent to small town policing and means greater attention to public concerns and satisfaction. A clear majority (75%) say that CBP increases constable autonomy, but fewer (63%) argue that it increases job variety, and only a minority (34%) see CBP in terms of increasing opportunities for democratic decision-making in the organization. Generally, most police do not see CBP as a threat to PBP/COP, but argue that better community contacts increases opportunities for criminal intelligence; that is, they adapt CBP to their primary crime-fighting image, thereby making the two elements conceptually more congruent. Variation in the evaluation of CBP is partly accounted for by age and education as well as force style: The younger, better educated RCMP officers are the most cynical about CBP. There is also a great deal of uncertainty about what CBP means, both philosophically and in terms of every-day police practices. With respect to the open-ended questions, the RCMP tend to emphasize that CBP entails a deeper, primary contact with the community, greater opportunities for community input, more proactive policing, and more time spent in non-law-enforcement activities. The MPDs also emphasize more in-depth contact, openness and wider contacts, as well as increased involvement in community problems.

The main areas of congruence that are perceived between CBP and STP, then, are the more in-depth contact between police and citizens, especially of a non-law-enforcement type (reflecting the more liberal, community development style of CBP), a focus on things other than offences, and informal management style. On the other hand, PBP/COP is still relevant within CBP. As we have argued above, not only competent investigations but also equity, an equal opportunity model of policing, are elements of progressive policing. Furthermore, particularly RCMP officers point to the problem of continuing political interference in small towns (a factor which relates to the RCMP style of detached policing).

It was also noted above that variations in job satisfaction and evaluation of their policing organization differs by force. To some extent, this variation may be an indication of the impact of spuriousness. Factors of job stress and organizational dissatisfaction tend to be higher among the RCMP than the MPDs. The RCMP officers seem most committed to a policing style which seems more incongruent in the small town -- the RCMP epitomises aloofness and legalistic policing -- yet, in their perceptions, they see small town policing as characterized by informality, openness, public contact, etc. It appears to be the younger RCMP officers in particular who express this contradiction most clearly. In this case, it could be argued that older officers have accommodated somewhat to this role incongruence. Not being given the opportunity to fight crime results in a decrease, over time, of the desirability of crime fighting and its replacement with a greater community service role.

This discrepancy, for some RCMP officers, between their COP image and their perception of the nature of STP is less frequent among MPDs who, presumably, have the same orientation (through professional training) and experience the same role incongruence. The difference can be explained in several ways. One is the strength of the RCMP ideology and culture. Through frequent transfers, RCMP officers do not see themselves as wedded necessarily to any given locale and their aspirations for specialised work, even dedicated crime-fighting, do not have to be tempered with a sense of permanent small town employment. Much of the RCMP members' dissatisfaction can be located in concerns about transfer and promotion policies in the force, issues which occupy much of officers' informal communication. While RCMP officers, on average, had spent a median of 15 years with their policing organization (a figure which masks the extent to which the detachment is divided between older, experienced officers and more recent recruits), only 5 of these policing years had been spent in their present community. MPD officers, on the other hand, had spent almost 10 years in their community. For those who remained police officers, accommodating to the environment would seem a necessity, a fact reflected in lower levels of job dissatisfaction and higher levels of acceptance of their existing organization.

Having said this, it remains the case that police officers in urban centers (such as Halifax or Halton Regional) have more criticisms of and express more open hostility to CBP than either the MPDs or RCMP officers in the Valley. For the MPDs, CBP legitimises their daily work. The RCMP response is more complicated. Many officers have accepted the new official initiative or have learned to adapt to bureaucratic demands by partial compliance and avoidance. In particular, the bureaucratic nature of the RCMP means that CBP is an add-on feature with a dedicated staff-person who bears the brunt of PR and community-relations work. For the officer on detachment duty, it has minimal impact on daily activities. And, as noted above, CBP ideology can be adapted to PBP by stressing the opportunities for criminal intelligence.

Discussion

The survey results have indicated that there is much consensus among Valley police officers regarding the police role in society. The variation that does exists appears partly related to force style (i.e., RCMP emphasize law enforcement more) and partly a function of rank and education differences among officers. Valley officers report a commitment to their policing organization and few indicate significant problems with rules and regulations hampering their task performance. Responses indicate too that RCMP officers are more critical vis-à-vis their organization especially in relation to performance evaluation, promotion policy and input into organizational decision-making. Less educated officers, those of higher than constable rank and younger officers render the most positive assessments of their policing organization. RCMP officers are more likely than their MPD counterparts to frame their police work as 'high status employment'. Officers of higher than constable rank are more likely to have that viewpoint than constables are. Most significantly though there is a wide and deep consensus among all Valley officers that their police role is a valued work role. Younger,

university-educated officers are more likely than other officers to note the onerous aspects of the police role.

Survey results point to the appropriateness of differentiating two basic dimensions of policing, namely crime fighting and peace and order maintenance. In terms of the level of time spent in the various policing activities that can be subsumed under these two broad categories, there is much commonality between RCMP and MPD officers. The differences that do exist follow an expected pattern, with the RCMP doing more crime fighting and the MPD officers spending more time in peace and order maintenance activities. Much of the difference by force membership is centred around modest quantitative differences and formal versus informal police practices.

Officers' responses indicate that 'responding to family disputes', 'emergency responses' and 'paperwork' are the most stressful police activities. There appears to be no overall difference in reported stress between RCMP and MPD officers though the former do report more stress in regards to promotion routines and organizational policy while the latter report more stress with respect to handling public talks and family disputes. Constables report more stress than officers of higher rank do and the better educated officers report more stress than the less educated ones. Officers who have had close-older relatives in policing report less stress than those without such possible mentors. There are also only modest differences by force membership with respect to either intrinsic or extrinsic job satisfaction and these modest differences may well be themselves artifacts of educational and other differences between the RCMP and the MPD groupings. The less educated officers appear to be more satisfied than their college-level peers with either aspect of their job while the higher rank officers are especially satisfied with the extrinsic aspects.

Valley officers identify CBP as small town policing where much attention is paid to public satisfaction. They see CBP as emphasising community contact, crime prevention and problem-solving; it is rare for an officer to refer to CBP in terms of its 'industrial democracy' facets such as job variety, job autonomy and participatory decision-making. While a minority of RCMP officers, especially those who are university-educated, are rather cynical about CBP, most officers perceive it in positive terms and certainly not as a threat to conventional policing strategy (e.g., arrests, use of informants).

MPD and RCMP officers alike consider that small town policing provides for more contact with the public and with policing authorities than city policing does. One area of difference among them is that RCMP officers believe that there is more job autonomy for constables and less political interference for policing in larger urban areas; this evaluation is consistent with the generally greater emphasis by RCMP officers on impersonal law enforcement. Another pattern is for higher ranked and better educated officers to emphasis more than their counterparts the informality of small town policing. In their written comments officers frequently also reported that because of the pace of life and less serious nature of the crime, small town policing is more proactive than city policing and also more time can be spent on minor matters. Their comments frequently alluded to the more primary nature of the police-public relationships in the small towns. Generally the officers saw community policing as small town policing and several

commented on the difficulty of effecting CBP in an urban context where there is more heterogeneity of social values and where the descriptive concept 'community' is more problematic.

In sum this modest survey has indicated that there is substantial similarity between MPD and RCMP officers in the Annapolis Valley in terms of how they conceptualize the police role in society, in their perception of that role as a highly valued one, in their experiences of stress and intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction, and in their overall views on Community-based Policing and small town policing. The major area of difference between RCMP and MPD officers is in their orientations to their policing organization. There are also significant differences as to the types of policing activity in which they engage and in specific attitudes concerning both small town policing and Community-based Policing. While this research has been limited to one area and a few policing organizations the picture that has emerged of small MPDs may be generalizable -their police forces may well tend to exhibit solidarity, to be cohesive units with their chiefs and to have a working class cast. It is undoubtedly the case that in larger MPDs this solidarity and cohesiveness becomes fragmented as a result of specialisation, unionisation and other social forces. The picture of the RCMP officers as proud of their work and envisaging the RCMP organization as providing high status employment but at the same experiencing significant disenchantment also does not appear to be specific to the grouping discussed here. It may well be that the disgruntlement is the price of recent change in that what previously may have compensated for the negatives of being in a large bureaucratic organization, such as pride of special status, no longer does so as the RCMP accommodates to local pressures and interest groups and becomes more like other policing units.