

Chapter One

SMALL TOWN POLICING AND THE COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING MOVEMENT

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When we accompanied three small town Police Chiefs on a recruiting mission to the Atlantic Police Academy in 1992, the future of small town policing appeared unproblematic. Ten years later, two of these former Chiefs had served time in jail, for mismanaging funds and sexual exploitation, and the third was working as an RCMP Constable on highway patrol. It is tempting to claim these striking events as an epitaph for the rapid erosion of small town policing in the Valley. As always, separating reality from myth is much more complex.

The primary aim of this volume is to present an overview of small town and rural policing in the Annapolis Valley region of Nova Scotia during the Community-based Policing era against the background of organizational change brought about by the forces of modernization and regionalization. This study presents a picture of small town policing in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia, beginning with an historical overview and then focusing on the last decade of the Twentieth Century and into the Twenty-First. The information and data were derived from an examination of small town and rural policing that was part of a larger study on community and policing initiated in 1989 and continued, through various stages, into the present century. The introductory chapter presents an overview of the structure of policing in Nova Scotia, including rural and small town policing, and introduces the major components of our research project.

Small town policing has never been without its typical mythologies. For much of the last century, the stereotypes were negative. In this view, small town police departments were mired in corruption and local politics, handicapped by incompetence, and marred by prejudice. This image faded as the urban dream turned to blight. Rural backwardness became romantic and a new mythology of small town policing emerged. The police were the visible symbols of local values, rooted members of their closely-knit communities. From being a poor country cousin, the small town police force became the ostensible model for progressive, urban Community-based Policing. Ironically, as community policing became the normative ideology, large-scale social trends were eroding the original source of the inspiration.

Community-based Policing (CBP), an ideological movement in police culture over the past quarter century, originated in Britain in the context of massive minority unemployment and rebellions in immigrant communities. The philosophy subsequently migrated to North America and was adopted in one form or another by the relatively more progressive police forces in the United States. In Canada the new philosophy was embraced most consciously by the paid staff of the Solicitor General in Ottawa. Community-based policing is more than a philosophy, more than the latest ideological

gimmick of a bureaucracy out to protect and enhance its image in the quest for organizational growth and survival. Practically, it involved organizational changes in the structure of the bureaucracy and of decision-making within it, in the relations with the public, in policing style, and not least of all in recruitment. Ultimately, though, the question is how much more than ideology is Community-based Policing?

CBP may have developed in cities, often large cities, but one of its imperatives according to many advocates and evaluators has been to effect the kind of policing deemed characteristic of small towns. The writings on Community-based Policing as a social movement have been focused more on theory (for example, the social construction of CBP) and programmatics (for example, potential advantages, pitfalls, etc.). The accounts of CBP and policing have, virtually exclusively, been focused on policing in these large centers (Ericson 1982; Vincent 1990; Sewell 1985). One of the least studied police settings is the small town, presumably the original model of a community-style model of policing.

Simultaneously with the elevation of Community-based Policing as the benchmark of progressive policing, there arose a counter, critical interpretation claiming variously that CBP had not been implemented or that attempts at implementation had little actual impact on police culture. According to the debunking motif, regardless of the content of the reforms undertaken, CBP was essentially a government-sponsored movement designed to restore the legitimacy of the policing establishment in the wake of the public relations disasters, the inner-city riots and apparent crime waves of the latter Twentieth century (Mastrofski 1991; Crank n.d.). In this view, CBP survives in the Twenty-First century as part of the official morality for policing, despite the fact that it is largely not implemented.

We wish to examine the Community-based Policing movement as it has emerged and evolved in small towns, concentrating first on the ideational level. Part of the rhetoric of CBP is the assumption that urban-based community policing replicates on a larger scale the policing model that is characteristic of small towns. At the beginning of the new century, it appears possible that a "small town model" will continue to exist in Nova Scotia only in mythology, as little more than the original inspiration for large-scale urban CBP. Following three decades of social change, the small, independent, municipal police department is on the verge of disappearing. It is still unclear what form or forms of policing will evolve in rural and small town Nova Scotia over the next decade, although the tendency is clearly towards one of two models: the regionalization of small-town municipal police in propitious geographical areas, such as north-eastern Cape Breton and industrial Pictou County, or the absorption of existing small town departments by the RCMP as a regional force.

Non-urban policing in Canada is accomplished by three modes. For most of the last century, the majority of small towns in Nova Scotia have been policed by local, municipally controlled and financed police forces which have tended to be small in size, to have relatively simple structures, and to emphasize the use of informal methods. According to Murphy (1986), these small town police departments have been parochial and tuned to the needs of local elites, producing a policing style which was highly discretionary and oriented to order maintenance.

In Nova Scotia, the majority of police departments are small organizations. This was more true at the beginning of the Valley study than at the conclusion. Of the twenty-six municipal police departments in the province in 1987, eighteen were small departments having fewer than fifteen officers, six of which were in the Annapolis Valley. The small departments, however, accounted for only 18.4% of municipal police officers. Of the 723 municipal officers in Nova Scotia in 1987, 263 (36.4%) were in Halifax, 142 (19.6%) in Dartmouth and 67 (9.3%) in Sydney (Nova Scotia Police Commission, 1987).¹

By 2002, as a result of regionalization in Cape Breton and the Halifax Regional Municipality, and because several small towns had opted to contract policing services from the RCMP, 12 independent municipal departments continued to exist in the province. In 2003, 727 municipal police officers worked in Nova Scotia; 402 (55.3%) policed Halifax Regional, and 177 (24.3%) worked in Cape Breton Regional. There were 142 small town police officers in the province, 20.4% of all municipal officers (Statistics Canada, 2004).

The second mode of policing is rural, outside the boundaries of the incorporated towns. While in Ontario and Quebec, rural policing is provided by the provincial police, elsewhere in Canada, including Nova Scotia, the RCMP is responsible for rural policing through contracts with the various Provincial governments. Rural policing is covered under an agreement between the Province and the RCMP. Nationally, the RCMP is organised into 16 divisions, which operate in the ten provinces and two territories as well as Ottawa, and include a training centre Depot in Regina. Nova Scotia is designated "H" Division, headquartered in Halifax. At the beginning of the study there were 41 detachments in Nova Scotia, of which New Minas was the third largest (following Cole Harbour and Lower Sackville, both in Halifax County). In 2004, the RCMP operated out of 48 detachments in the province. In Nova Scotia, the RCMP had a total establishment of 921 positions in 1987, although not all of these were in rural areas (Apostle and Stenning, 1989, p. 2). In 2003, 724 municipal officers comprised 45% of all police in Nova Scotia; the remainder were RCMP members (n=844), of which number only 62 (7.3%) policed through municipal contracts (Statistics Canada, 2004).

The third mode of policing provides an alternative model for incorporated towns, which may choose to contract policing services out to the RCMP under the terms of the RCMP Act. Since the 1960s, Murphy argues, policing in Nova Scotia has been characterised by rapid structural change caused by dramatic changes in socio-economic conditions (1986: 114). Consequently, police interest groups demanded a more professional style of policing. In some cases, modernisation of existing municipal police departments occurred. In other cases, some communities perceived "internal organizational change" "as either organizationally impossible or politically hazardous" and, consequently, they chose to replace the existing municipal force by contracting directly with the RCMP (Murphy, 1986: 115). This change was facilitated by two developments: the RCMP was undergoing a period of sustained growth, and the federal government made the option financially attractive.

¹ Similarly, Victor Sims (1988) claimed that 90% of police departments in the United States had fewer than ten officers.

Initially, the amount billed to the municipality for RCMP policing services amounted to about 50% of the total contract cost. RCMP policing, then, was heavily subsidised by the federal government. Under the terms of the 1981-1991 agreement, however, the federal proportion increased by 2% per annum, reaching a total of 70% by the expiration of the contract, in March 1991 (Apostle and Stenning, 1989, p. 14n). This agreement was then renegotiated. By 1999, towns under 5,000 people were still eligible for federally subsidized RCMP policing. It should be noted, however, that funding formulas are complicated; furthermore, not all services are reported in municipal policing budgets, which include a variety of costs. Cross-jurisdictional comparisons, then, are difficult to make (Apostle and Stenning, 1989, p. 14).

In the 1960s and 1970s, several municipalities in Nova Scotia opted to dissolve their local, municipal police department and replace them with the RCMP. Such contracts were, initially, heavily subsidized by the federal government -- by as much as 60% in 1950 (Murphy 1991: 14n). During the 1970s, when municipal police officers were unionizing and police departments were beginning to modernize, the RCMP was seen as an organizational rival and a threat to the existence of many municipal police departments in the province. Some towns, such as Digby, opted for a federal policing contract when members of their municipal department unionized; in Yarmouth, the move to the RCMP followed a brief police strike in 1972. In small towns such as Louisburg, Hantsport, and Annapolis Royal, there were continuing uncertainties about the viability of local police departments throughout the ensuing decades. The future of the locally-controlled police departments in other towns was never certain, but by the 1980s most had achieved a period of relative stability through professionalization and unionization.

By the mid-1990s, however, jurisdictional disputes between local police departments, wider "regional" police forces, and the RCMP had escalated into virtual "turf wars". Murphy (19xx) anticipated the emergence of a new form of provincial policing in Nova Scotia. The RCMP, however, has proven to be quite resilient. The majority of medium-sized towns (between 5,000 and 15,000 people) retained their own police services while the majority of small towns (< 5,000) opted for RCMP coverage. Outside the two regional municipalities, of the six towns with populations over 5,000, which had municipal police contracts, five had independent police forces; only Yarmouth (population: 7,354) had an RCMP contract. Of the thirteen smaller towns (population < 5,000) with municipal forces, 8 had RCMP contracts (Statistics Canada 2004). In the Annapolis Valley by 2001, two MPDs remained. One was Annapolis Royal, which had a 3-member police force for its 548 people (Statistics Canada 2004). The other town was Kentville, which had narrowly decided to retain its independent, municipal police department. Four other towns (Berwick, Wolfville, Hantsport, and Middleton) had contracted out to the RCMP. The future of the recently-created Cape Breton Regional Police appeared equally uncertain at the turn of the century when an outside consulting firm was contracted to make recommendations about the future of policing in the regional municipality. Currently, the factors pushing or pulling municipal policing towards the RCMP are complex.

Research Approach

The study of Valley policing reported in the volume was one component of a larger comparative study of policing styles and community linkages focusing on the emergence and evolution of community policing initiatives in urban and non-urban settings. The Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia is a geographical and social region divided politically into the counties of Kings and Annapolis, and dominated topographically by the North and South Mountains. In the centre of the Valley, the Cornwallis River flows eastwards towards the Minas Basin and the Annapolis River flows westwards towards the Annapolis Basin. Two major parallel highways run throughout the length of the Valley and connect the region with Hants and Halifax Counties to the east and Digby and Yarmouth Counties to the west. Small town and suburban developments in the Valley extend in ribbon fashion along the route of the older of these main highways. Several arteries connect the Valley with the South Shore, crossing the South Mountain. There are also a number of villages dotting the shore of the Bay of Fundy to the north.

The Valley is the primary agricultural area of Nova Scotia. Historically specializing in fruit tree production, principally apples, Valley farmers have diversified into mixed farming, potatoes, and dairy, as well as hog and poultry raising. Socially, the historically most significant division has been between the culture of the relatively prosperous Valley floor and of the "mountains". This division has been significantly transformed since the 1950s as new housing has spread throughout the region and integrated schools have been built.

In 2001, policing services in the Valley were divided into three primary jurisdictions. Rural policing was provided in the three counties by the RCMP, with detachments in Windsor (Hants County), New Minas and Kingston (Kings County), and in Bridgetown (Annapolis County). In addition, municipal policing had also come largely under RCMP contract, operating in Hantsport, Wolfville, Berwick, and Middleton. Independent, municipal police departments persisted in Kentville, the largest town in the Valley, and Annapolis Royal, one of the smallest incorporated towns. In addition, the Canadian Armed Forces base in Greenwood, including the Married Quarters, is under the jurisdiction of the Military Police.

The Valley component of this comparative policing project was initiated as an ethnographic phase involving participant observation in four municipal police departments and one RCMP detachment. In addition to extensive participant observation during this period, interviews were conducted with police officers and managers concerning many aspects of policing such as police-community relations and relations between the RCMP and the municipal police. Informal ethnographic research among the police agencies in Kings County continued through 1999.

In addition, investigations were undertaken into the history of policing in the Valley extending back to the 19th century.² A particular focus of the historical research has been to describe and analyze the changes in policing in the Valley during the last

² Some of this research was undertaken by Peter McGahan, who co-authored Chapter Two.

quarter century, concentrating on the modernization of small town policing, unionization, and the expansion of RCMP detachments.

To research public perceptions about safety, victimization, and policing in the rural and small town contexts, a survey of public attitudes in the Valley was undertaken in 1989 with the support of the federal department of the Solicitor General. The questionnaire utilized in the Valley was devised with the collaboration of Chris Murphy and modeled, in part, by research instruments used previously by Clairmont in Halifax (1989), and by Murphy and de Verteuil in Toronto (1986). Additional questions were added to assess issues that were particularly salient in rural policing and victimization. The resulting questionnaire was lengthy. Accordingly, it was sub-divided into three parts. A core set of questions was asked of all respondents and sought to ascertain attitudes about crime, policing, and public safety. Altogether, 1,146 Valley residents took part in the survey. The respondents were then sub-divided into two sub-samples. One group, which consisting of 562 of the original respondents, was asked questions concerning their views on victimization. The second sub-set of 584 respondents was asked their views about the role of the police. The population consisted of the adult residents of Kings County in addition to the bordering towns of Hantsport (Hants County) and Middleton (Annapolis County). The research strategy was described in C. Murphy and D. Clairmont, "Rural Attitudes and Perceptions of Crime", Halifax: Atlantic Institute of Criminology, 1990.11-13. Briefly, the telephone survey utilized a systematic sampling procedure and a respondent selection technique whereby interviewers asked alternatively for the youngest adult female and youngest adult male. An initial sample of 3,300 was selected. The 1,146 completed interviews represented 31% of the initial sample. 13% of the numbers were uncompleted call-backs, 9% refused, 13% were not working numbers, 2% were partially completed, and 36% of the original sample of numbers were not contacted. The result was a 1:17 ratio of successful contacts to population households. Interviewers were hired, trained, and supervised by members of the research group. The resulting sample compared closely on key socio-demographic characteristics derived from Statistics Canada profiles of the population (see Murphy and Clairmont 1990: 12-14). The data from this public survey were supplemented by the results of a need assessment conducted on behalf of the Kentville Police Service in 1997, which included questions concerning public perceptions of policing.

In 2001, a non-profit, economic development NGO, as part of the construction of a "genuine progress index", undertook an extensive survey of economic and social conditions in Kings County (and in the Cape Breton town of Glace Bay). Part of the questionnaire they circulated contained questions on perceptions of crime and victimization, and assessed respondents' attitudes to the police and criminal justice. Chapter Five analyzes the results from both the 1989 survey undertaken directly as part of the Valley study and the more recent GPI findings.³

³ The data analyzed in this Report was supplied by GPI Atlantic from a survey that was conducted for Kings County Citizens for Community Development Society. GPI Atlantic is a non-profit research group dedicated to building a new measure of well-being and quality of life for communities -- the Genuine Progress Index (GPI). This Kings County pilot project was funded by the National Crime Prevention Centre (Business Action Program), the Rural Secretariat, and Human Resources Development Canada. Other contributing partners included Central Kings Community Health Board, Eastern Kings Community Health Board,

Table 1-A describes the residents of the valley who responded to the telephone survey in 1989. The methodology employed assured even gender representation. The majority of respondents were married or in a co-habiting relationship (64.3), lived in a detached house (82.2%) which they owned (78.1%), were employed (54.7%). Almost half (46.5%) reported that they earned an income between \$20,000 and \$40,000 annually.

**Table 1-A Characteristics of Respondents, Valley Public Survey, 1989;
GPI Survey, 2001**

		n (1989)	%	n (2001)	%
Sex	Male	569	49.7	850	45
	Female	576	50.3	1040	55
Relatives	Many	152	13.3		
	Some	200	17.5		
	Very Few	287	25		
	None	507	44.2		
Status	Single	213	18.8	260	13.8
	Co-Hab/Married	727	64.3	1388	73.7
	Widowed	102	9	97	5.1
	Divorced	88	7.8	139	7.4
Housing	Detached	921	85.2		
	Other	59	5.5		
	Apt/Flat	101	9.3		
Home Owners	Owned	882	78.1		
	Rented	248	21.9		
Employment	Working	604	54.7	946	50.2
	Look for W	27	2.4	71	3.8
	Student	63	5.7	125	6.6
	Retired	246	22.3	445	23.6
	Homemaker	165	14.9	237	12.6
Income	<20,000	316	32.5	252	14
	20-50,000	452	46.5	759	42.4
	>50,000	205	21.1	783	43.6
Age	15/18-24	149	13.9	151	8
	25-54	604	56.3	1092	57.9
	>60	330	30.8	644	34.1

In a third phase, In addition to the general public attitude survey we conducted interviews with and surveyed the attitudes of a select sample of Valley residents designated "knowledgeables". These were people who, in the course of their work or community involvement, would tend to have closer relationships with the police. Interviews were conducted with individuals identified variously as users of police services (such as business owners and managers), those who collaborated with the police (such as social service workers and enforcement officers in other agencies), and those who exercised some control over police services. Controllers included members of municipal councils and Boards of Police Commissioners. These influential community members also completed a brief questionnaire in part replicating the issues addressed in the public survey. Given their greater access to information, it was felt that these respondents would be likely to have a more realistic perception of police practices and be in a position to influence changes in policing. In addition, since many of them held prominent positions on town councils, in the prosecutor's office or in local businesses, we considered it likely that their opinions were more salient determinants of policing practices than a dispersed, general public opinion. Some of the results of this survey are reported in Chapter Eleven.

In the fourth phase of the Valley component of the study on policing communities, RCMP and Municipal Police officers completed a questionnaire on their experience and attitudes about policing. Responses were obtained from fifty officers in the Valley, a 100% survey of serving officers in the municipalities included in the study. In addition, a mail-in survey comparing officer attitudes in the Annapolis Valley and rural Alberta was conducted in 2000 by Candace Griffith. By this time, the number of small town departments had shrunk from six to two. This survey, then, largely assessed the attitudes of RCMP officers to elements of Community-based Policing at the turn of the century. Officers' orientations, derived from both studies, are discussed in Chapter Eight. Thereafter, ethnographic work continued informally throughout the decade.

In 1999 our research focus shifted to the new, provincial initiative on restorative justice for youth which included the Annapolis Valley as one of the four initial experimental regions. The police are on the front lines of this new programme and determine which cases will be referred initially to the community group delivering restorative justice. In this respect, police attitudes are crucial to the success of the programme's goals and their involvement in the programme, attitudes to youth justice, and referrals to restorative Justice provide material for the case study of police community relations, discussed in Chapter Thirteen.

Ultimately we are faced with the reality of social change in small towns and rural parts of the province which have significant impacts on policing styles. The intention of the study reported in this volume is to provide a description of what policing has been as we enter a new era of regionalization and rationalization. In the following section we wish to examine the Community-based Policing movement as it has emerged in small towns, concentrating on the ideational level. Our focus is the impact that this social movement has had on small town policing at the level of values, attitudes, and strategies.

Community-based Policing

In this section we intend to explore the ideological construction of the concepts Small Town Policing (STP), police professionalism and Community-based Policing. Although CBP may have originated as a reformed urban model which was claimed to be derived from small town policing, Community-based Policing is now, in turn, being introduced (some would say reintroduced) into small town and rural policing in the absence of any severe legitimation crisis, although not without a certain legitimating (or, we will argue, strategic) function. It is the dynamics of this diffusion we wish to explore. How has the CBP model played out in small towns? How has it been perceived in the police culture there? What has its impact been on small town policing?

Police professionalism emerged in response to perceived deficiencies in the small town model such as excessive parochialism and discriminatory enforcement. In turn, CBP responded to the perceived deficiencies of professionalism. To the extent that there are close affinities between CBP and small town policing, professionalism may be seen as the antithesis of both. It is the dynamics of these different conceptualizations we wish to explore focusing, in part, on the images held by police officers in small towns.

In exploring these themes we especially examine the legitimizing and strategic value of CBP ideology in the small town context. We explore how it is perceived and thought about by police officers associated with quite different police organizations and committed to different policing styles (that is, RCMP and Municipal Police) and we explore the impact of the ideological movement on a number of issues such as the relationships between police and their governing authorities, collaborators and clients, and the movement for amalgamation/regionalization of services. Throughout this latter exploration we are especially interested in how the CBP ideology might affect the identity of small town policing not only from the vantage point of the individual officer but also at the level of the police culture itself. Does the CBP movement assist in the development of a more genuine small town police culture? Is it good for the small town?

Genuine and Spurious Cultures

Our approach is influenced by social constructionism. We examine the conceptions of Community-based Policing and Small Town Policing as they have developed; how they influence one another at the ideational level and how they impact on officers and on policing. Thus, we look at the interests, pressures, and knowledge that have generated and sustained CBP and its associated myths such as, perhaps, the image of small town policing itself (Crank, n.d.). In this regard, our approach is contextual social constructionism (see Best 19xx) in that we think it relevant to examine how these constructions and myths relate to experience and we assume that, to some extent, claims can be assessed.

In assessing these social constructions, we have found it useful to revisit Edward Sapir's 1924 article "Culture, Genuine and Spurious" in which he distinguished between these two types of culture. Sapir made the argument (1964: 93) that a "genuine culture cannot be defined as a sum of abstractly desirable ends, as a mechanism." Rather, Sapir's image is a sturdy plant growth, fed by the sap at its core, an image which is a metaphor for the group as well as the individual. According to Sapir (:90, 93, 96), the genuine culture is inherently internal, "harmonious, balanced, [and] self-satisfactory. It is the expression of a richly varied and yet somehow unified and consistent attitude" toward life. This "harmonious synthesis" builds itself "out of the central interests and desires of its bearers". Every part of life -- "economic, social, religious, and aesthetic -- is bound together into a significant whole". Sapir railed against the deliberate attempts to impose a culture.

In more modern terms, an activity may be considered relatively congruent, or not in contradiction with, other socially desirable practices. In the context of the contemporary small town and small town policing, the notion of spurious may be considered in terms of the degree of fit between ideology and practice. Sapir's distinction directs one to examine the fit of cultural elements, in this instance of models of progressive policing with actual sanctioned police activities, and of the myths of community and communitarianism with sanctioned practices of inclusion and exclusion. It compels one to make assessments about appropriate fit, to assess in an overall sense a particular cultural system, in this case, Small Town Policing.

To what extent is there role congruence or incongruence between the demands and needs of the small town and the policing style practiced by the local police? Is there a contradiction between the existing social construction of small town policing and actual norms and practices? Would Community-based Policing ideology be more congruent with community norms than a more legalistic, professional model?

Our referent point is that Professional-based Policing (PBP) (or COP) models of policing created major contradictions for Small Town Policing while modestly effecting harmony and congruence with respect to the myths of community and the factors of inclusion/exclusion; that is, PBP/COP created a major disjunction between ideal policing and the realities of policing a small town. At the same time, it did modestly effect equal opportunity with respect to the policing service, thereby, in that sense, being relatively more "genuine". PBP/COP was a style which was congruent with community demands for solidarity and privacy, and also with the requirement for an equal opportunity model of policing. In this perspective, CBP may be seen as instrumental in effecting a more genuine type of Small Town Policing in both these respects: where the conception of ideal policing better fits sanctioned Small Town Policing, and where there is a greater and more equitable inclusion of community segments. On the other hand, CBP may affect neither of these scenarios since it may be utilized as a strategic myth to justify intrusive policing as well as exclusion of some community segments, and only specific elements of CBP may be highlighted.

Social actors can respond to situations of contradiction or incongruity in more than one way. Congruency theory suggests, for example in relation to policing, that if not given an opportunity to fight crime, then crime-fighting decreases in desirability for

the affected officers. People adjust to incongruency or spuriousness to limit their stress and dissatisfaction. However, if training, images, attitudes, etc. continue to highlight discrepancy, the resolution may be more problematic. Similarly, community members may respond to a shift away from PBP/COP to CBP in more than one way. Expectations may change; community members may expect more extensive policing than is possible or they may become more critical of existing policing practices.

Small Town Model

There is little written on small towns with reference to policing issues. In Canada, Murphy (1986) contrasted the RCMP style of town policing with a municipal model (MPD). Apostle and Stenning (1989), in their "Public Policing in Nova Scotia", discuss STP in terms of peacekeeping and informality, and they note the great variation in style, effectiveness, types of policing services provided, and so on. They also provide data substantiating the claim that STP is characterized by tangible political interference, citing evidence from small town Chiefs who claim that local political elites believe they "own" the department and can dictate to the Chief.

In his *Small Town and Small Towners*, Swanson argues that small towns continue to have a "deep sense of community" (1979: 51) which involves seven attributes: "It stimulates enduring loyalties to a place, create immobility, increases attachment to conventional approaches, enforces a narrow moral code of behavior, personalizes issues and events, generates myths and heroes, and ensures solidarity among the citizens." Furthermore, "residents take pride in their ability to cope with their conditions" (: 51) and "the value that is most deeply held is that of privacy, and the implicit right not to be bothered or even governed" (:54). To the extent that such a deep sense of community, conceptualized by Swanson in an American context, characterizes Canadian small towns, than a non-intrusive, professional and reactive style of policing might be generated spontaneously and, hence, contain an element of genuineness.

According to Murphy, in the early 1980s, 72% of police departments in Canada had fewer than twenty employees and seven million Canadians lived in rural areas or small towns. However, there were very few studies of policing in these areas. What evidence there was (Murphy 1986) that in the pre-professional era the external social and political environment did exert a profound influence on rural and small town police activities. However, as Maureen Cain (1973) observed, "the members of the community defined for him [the police officer] what was trivial and what was important and what real police work was and what was not".

The small-town chief of police has long been the subject of social satire. The Hollywood perception of small town policing has, similarly, not been very positive, at worst characterizing it by a "cracker" image and, at best, by paternalism. During the early decades of the 20th century in the Maritimes, a style of policing small communities arose characterized by a Chief-of-all-trades (see Chapter Three, by Peter McGahan). It is from this position of relatively limited prestige that contemporary small town policing has developed. The image of rural/small town policing was essentially

peace-keeping within a consensual, watchman style; an essentially social, non-intrusive, community-influenced, conciliatory and based on shared values, as opposed to legalistic policing where the style was reactive and the goal was public order maintenance.

As described by Weisheit *et al.* (1994), small-town policing is characterized by greater concern with crime prevention, "problem-solving and order-maintenance functions", and the delivery of a wide range of services deriving from "irregular occurrences" (:552). Rural police officers were "viewed as an integral part of the community", interacted with citizens in a relatively informal way, achieved personal respect from citizens, knew and appreciated "the history and culture" of their community including offenders, and were more responsive to the local community (: 552-554).

Weisheit *et al.* claim that this style of policing small towns corresponded with Wilson's "watchman" typology. Wilson's watchman was an urban beat cop who patrolled an established block of streets on foot, knew community residents (businessmen and trouble-makers), was primarily oriented to peace keeping, and solved most disputes informally. He was also prone to minor corruption, gave preferential treatment to local elites and dispensed crude street justice to low status peace-breakers.

Certain aspects of this watchman model approximate the style characteristic of small town police departments in Nova Scotia in the 1950s and 1960s, and corresponded to a considerable degree with the nature of these towns. At least relative to urban areas, small towns were characterized by an abundance of primary rather than secondary relationships. Personal relations were more likely to be face-to-face and multi-dimensional. People -- including police officers -- had a diffuse sense of obligations. The essence of small town policing was this close affinity between the police and those citizens on behalf of whom they policed. The fundamental issue that arises here is the optimal social distance between citizens and enforcement officials. An officer with diffuse and widespread friendship networks may be prone to turning a blind eye to even serious criminal matters. Being hired and fired by Town Council, in addition, puts the police officer in the pockets of the political elite, giving rise to preferential treatment for the elite. Furthermore, too narrow an adherence to specific community norms might induce the police officer to enforce rigid standards on unpopular but generally socially harmless deviants.

It might be safe to claim that there was a general agreement among the town elite (small business owners and professionals) as well as the majority of stable and established residents that the primary responsibility of the police chief was to maintain public order. The targets of this public order maintenance were youth, particularly but not exclusively disadvantaged youth, and the lower social classes. Policing helped keep the lower orders in their place and preserved the tranquility and order of the town on behalf of the majority of the residents. Small town policing, however, could often be highly discriminatory and inequitable. Finally, it must also be emphasized that there is considerable variation in small town policing depending on such variables as policing model (e.g., RCMP vs. MPD), or region (e.g., Valley vs. Cape Breton).

The Community-based Policing Movement

The literature on Community-based Policing is extensive. CBP is more a philosophy than a specific programme (Clairmont, 1991). CBP has three main features: an expanded role for the police in society, a movement away from the militaristic hierarchy towards more participatory management, and expanded linkages between the police and the community. These elements entail more decentralized decision-making, job enrichment and autonomy, proactive, problem-solving policing, involvement of the community in police planning and accountability, and the creation of a more expansive constable-generalist role for uniformed officers (Clairmont, 1991: 3; see Keeling and Watson, 1982; Braiden, 1987; Loree, 1988; Koller, 1990; Murphy 1988).

The literature on CBP also includes a social constructionist perspective which is skeptical of both the images of the community upon which CBP rests and the depiction of small town policing practices, defined as the "watchman" style, both of which Crank (n. d.) claims represent legitimating myths. In particular, Crank argues that the CBP ideology has broad social appeal and is capable of including a wide variety of policing strategies. In particular, Crank argues that CBP is capable of adjusting to political swings: both more liberal as well as right-wing policing practices come under the general rubric of CBP. Crank distinguishes between more "liberal" programmes focusing on crime prevention and problem solving (community development), and "conservative" practices (aggressive order maintenance) which emphasize community interests above individual rights and thereby become "a mechanism for the distribution of nonnegotiable coercive force" (Crank n. d.: 346). Within the implicit myth of "community", the enhanced role of the police runs the risk of anti-individual and extra-legal tactics in the name of communitarianism. In urban areas, this risk from the organization's point of view can be offset by decoupling, or downloading responsibility to the officer, but this devolution is much less possible in a small town milieu.

Clairmont (1991) argues that, "Successful constructionism appears to depend upon the congruence of three factors, namely interests, pressures and knowledge" (:3). Community Based Policing originated from internal organizational pressure as well as from external pressures in multi-cultural urban centers deriving from a reform movement the objective of which was to provide an alternative to the revealed shortcomings of legalistic, big-city policing. In this respect, knowledge mobilizes by critiquing the existing model and by "proffering a persuasive alternative thrust" (:4). Ideologically, CBP harkened back to a supposedly earlier and simpler model of policing which had developed spontaneously in rural and small town communities. According to this perspective, CBP was neither new nor innovative; it was simply small town policing writ large. This connection between CBP and small town policing (STP) is made explicit in the perceptions of small town and rural police officers (Weisheit, Wells and Falcone 1994). According to Weisheit, *et al.*, (1994: 566), "rural policing presents an ideal type example of community policing."

The CBP movement, then, also refers directly to the myths of "watchman": and "community". The parallels between Community-based Policing -- at least the liberal version -- and the small town model will become apparent. The police are quick to

point out that Community-based Policing is what they have always done in a small town. The discussion below suggests that there is a justifiable kernel of truth in this claim, although even the urban constable generalist is different from the small town constable because the former will actually do more complex investigative work while the latter will continue to perform a diverse set of tasks. Furthermore, small organizational size prevents much formal devolution of command and management, and the geography of the small town causes greater visibility therefore diminishing opportunities for widespread use of uncontrolled discretion.

Community-based Policing was originally an urban phenomenon. Legalistic policing, particularly in minority urban neighbourhoods in the United States and Britain, was fraught with contradictions which were starkly exposed in the upheavals of the 1960s. The need for greater police accountability to the "community" was a demand which was voiced by representatives of specific ethnic or sub-cultures which had been the target of aggressive, legalistic policing. Military-style pacification had failed; new police tactics were urgently required. Crank (n.d.: 328) argues that urban riots and public mistrust in the United States led to a stage at which "public degradation and revocation of legitimacy occurred ceremonially" with the issuing in 1967 of the Kerner Commission (which identified racism and violent police conduct as central causes of the rioting) and the Crime Commission (which claimed that police professionalism had failed to halt the rise in crime (:328-329).

Subsequently, Crank says, the re-legitimation of the police in the United States rested on an official foundation of financial and ideological support for CBP supplied by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (n.d.:330). In Canada, the "movement" for Community Based Policing had similar entrepreneurial support through the Department of the Solicitor General. Community-based Policing may have been sparked by protest from below but, in its institutionalization, it was a top-down "movement". Essentially, CBP is now the official morality in policing despite relatively modest implementation. CBP has been absorbed. Rather than being simply passé, however, it is embedded at the mythical level despite modest implementation and impact. The institutionalization of CBP is evident in the changed terminology which makes policing more legitimate and acceptable in the eyes of other institutional actors. For example, in towns and cities of all sizes, the "Police Department" has become officially the "Police Service" and the police officer provides "community services" not "operations".

Community-Based and Small Town Policing: The Linkages

From the point of view of small towns, CBP ideology derived from urban policing and has diffused to rural settings where there are some affinities. Most importantly, since CBP is still the most widely accepted definition of progressive policing, the small town model has a new legitimacy. If in urban areas, CBP means rationalizing and institutionalizing elements which occur more spontaneously in small towns, once diffused back to small towns, CBP means more than a simple reiteration of the "service" components which had been provided under the older small town model as well as

practices made inevitable by the small scale of the community, such as close contact with the policed population and intense community involvement. The introduction of CBP into small towns formalizes and rationalizes certain spontaneous elements of community policing, for example, by establishing Block Parent or Neighbourhood Watch committees. These formalized organizations can appear to offer a service component which is much closer to the demands on the police voiced by community residents and elites alike. Consequently, the small town police department's claim to be doing CBP gains considerable currency.

Weisheit *et al.* emphasize three main affinities between CBP and STP: accountability, connection, and problem solving. Police in small towns are less likely to use their powers of arrest, exercise a much wider service mandate, and operate a more generalist policing style (more out of necessity than design). Probably the major assumption of congruence between STP and CBP is a close relationship between the police and the community. This is problematic without considering what is meant by "community" and who may be excluded by and included in such a definition. Weisheit (*et al.* 1994) claim that both CBP and STP tend to hire local citizens (e.g., the hiring of minority officers under CBP initiatives) who live in the community they police, a factor which may be less likely to be true of urban CBP (:556). Consequently, the small town police "are much closer to the people" (:556). In both CBP and STP this greater knowledge "allows . . . officers greater latitude in disposing of cases informally" using "arrests as a last resort" (:557). The difference, Weisheit *et al.* note, is that these "features of rural policing . . . arise quite naturally and spontaneously and are not the result of formal policies or of specific community policing programs" (:558, emphasized in original). Probably the major assumption of congruence between STP and CBP is a close relationship between the police and the community. This, we have argued, is problematic without examining the potentially negative consequences of close affinity between the two. The general expectations on small town police are that they will be both professional (competent investigators, impartial enforcers) and also be actively involved in the community.

Weisheit *et al.* are aware that CBP has elements of a double-edged sword. The key distinction noted by Weisheit *et al.* is that CBP is "formalized and rationalized" whereas STP is informal and spontaneous (:565). Liberal CBP is the introduction, into legalistic, crime-fighting policing, of an additional component of organizational change and public service. Minimally, it is a dedicated add-on, a public-relations desk with a liaison officer whose job is to co-ordinate civilian crime-prevention, "advisory" groups and police-community relations.

CBP, then, is entirely consistent with and thrives within bureaucratic, legalistic policing. This has a great deal to do with the relatively easy adoption by the RCMP of CBP. Where there is no political accountability to the community, it is possible to construct an advisory group (by hand-picking the membership), supposedly representative of community "sectors", which is distinct from formal political control, so that the force remains accountable to elected officials in only the most perfunctory way.

The following section of the volume summarizes the transformation of small town and rural policing in Nova Scotia, focusing particularly on the Valley. From a pre-

professional model epitomized by a Chief-of-all-trades, the section discusses the emergence of what appeared in 1990 to be a stable, modern, professional small town model of policing. The second main section of this volume presents the results of the various phases of research undertaken to analyze Valley policing. In the final section, we discuss the regionalization of policing, as small town and rural Nova Scotia moved into the twenty-first century.