

Chapter Eight

THE POLICE OCCUPATION

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Policing has generally been a white, male occupation. This has been particularly true of the Canadian federal force -- the R.C.M.P. Recently, significant changes have been made in the gender and racial composition of the force as it has been dragged into the late 20th century. Rather than being forced by the Supreme Court to abandon exclusive policies which effectively denied members of ethnic, racial and religious groups entrance into the R.C.M.P., the force took the initiative on such internally divisive issues as the wearing of turbans by Sikh and braids by Canadian first nation peoples. In the process, it is the Commissioner of the force who bears the brunt of internal criticism rather than (for once) the court system. Recruitment preferences now follow affirmative action with respect to race.

Recruitment

The greater the turn-over the more attention town police departments pay to recruitment. Traditional models of small town policing suggest that officers are recruited on the basis of physical size, local citizenship, and their connection to town power brokers. One former Chief said that, in the past, "it didn't matter whether a recruit could spell 'truck' as long as he could lift one." While size and local origins factors may be taken into consideration, they do not now constitute the main hiring requirements (Loree *et al.*, 1989). A key component of the modernization of policing in Nova Scotia undertaken in the 1980s focused on appropriate recruitment, emphasizing the need to select only trained police officers. Many younger officers were recruited from the Atlantic Police Academy, founded in 1972. During the period of stability enjoyed by small town forces in the late 1980s, a reversal in the direction of attrition occurred, with some former-RCMP officers opting for more permanent employment with a local force. In Kentville, for example, in addition to recruiting from the RCMP, new members joined from urban forces in Western Canada and from other towns in Nova Scotia. Increasingly, recruitment has been broadened beyond the town limits. There was a tendency at one point during the 1980s in Middleton to prefer older and more experienced officers over recent recruits from the Police Academy. This meant recruitment from the military or hiring applicants who had experience as Auxiliary Officers with the RCMP. In general, Loree's observation, "Given mandated and centralized training institutions, local constables often no longer have their roots in the community they police" (Loree *et al.*, 1989: 128), increasingly holds true throughout the Valley: ". In Middleton in 1990, for example, only one officer was from the town itself, although the other members were from Nova Scotia.

Most valley residents did not accept the view that police ought to be local. Just fewer than 30% of survey respondents agreed that, to be effective, police officers should be from the area they police. There was a small variation between those policed by the RCMP, 26.5% favouring local police versus 31.9% in the towns, with Kentville residents being the most parochial: 40% agreed with local hiring.

The hiring of a chief is probably the single most important role of the Police Commission. While traditionally chiefs were beholden to the Town Council, and "locals" were usually hired, this has not been the practise in the Valley in the last decades. The search for chiefs outside the town and, in some cases beyond the Province, indicates the desire for professional, independent policing. Loree *et al.* (1989) concluded that this phenomenon is one facet of social change and social mobility in small towns.

As small town recruitment expanded beyond the locale of the town, the composition of the force became more diverse and the difference between the small town and the RCMP narrowed. With respect to the RCMP, recent recruitment practices have considerably changed the look of the Force. The RCMP has been widely seen as a desirable career and the improvements in salaries and working conditions in the last thirty years have made it even more desirable. During the 1960s and early 1970s, when the most senior members still active joined, the Force was undergoing considerable expansion. This was true in policing generally, as with all public services, but it was also the case that the RCMP was also moving into municipal policing contracts on the basis of large federal subsidies. In the context of a rapidly expanding Force, the recruitment process, from application to depot, became relatively short, career transfers were frequent, and promotional opportunities were consistent.

This expansion had largely become stalled by the later 1980s and the 1990s. The RCMP, however, continued to experience high applicant demand inspired by the long-standing attractiveness of the Force as a by the knowledge that it had become, by middle-class standards, a well-paid and secure career. Correspondingly, RCMP recruitment priorities began to shift. Rather than the norm, it became the exception to recruit directly from high school. Young applicants were advised to go to University, and candidates with a degree or university experience were given preferential treatment according to a recruitment formula. The age of the recruit correspondingly increased.

This change in preferential recruitment is seen by many members as having both negative and positive consequences. Many of the more senior members argue that more education does not make for better policing. Traditionally the main function of policing has been order maintenance and police were recruited on the basis of size. Senior members point to the continuing need to handle situations physically and the degree to which members who are "street-smart" will survive better, and be able to protect themselves, the public and other members. The primary necessity for effective police work is "common sense", not formal education. Furthermore, the more senior constables argued, college-educated officers were attracted primarily by the extrinsic benefits – wages and salaries – and would not be dedicated to policing the way the older members had been.

All the RCMP officers interviewed were asked why they joined the force. The most common response reflected the high esteem with which the RCMP was held,

generally and by the prospective member. It was a national force with a good reputation. Slightly over half replied that their desire had long roots. For one it was a "lifetime ambition", for another, "It was all I wanted to do." One member said he grew up respecting the RCMP and "looking up to them"; joining was "something I always wanted to do." For others, the RCMP was regarded as an exciting and challenging "career choice". In this vein, many members said the Force provided "a good job with fair wages". Commenting on the "excellent" wage and benefit package, one member noted that this was especially attractive to him because a university education was not needed. Several members added that they were attracted by the opportunities they believed the RCMP offered for career advancement, though the actual career mobility they found disappointed some.

However, other factors have come to play an even more important role in recruitment. The commitment of the Federal government to encouraging bilingualism in the country has been implemented most consistently in the federal bureaucracies, and this policy also applies to the RCMP. Bilingual recruits are given preference. New recruits are sometimes sent for immersion in what is to them the other official language before being sent for training in Depot. Other federal initiatives also affect the Force's recruitment policies. Before the 1960s, the Force was exclusively male. Traditionally the RCMP has also been predominantly white. Currently there is a preference for the selection of female and minority group members. One of the members interviewed said, "I probably wouldn't get in [to the RCMP] now" because, in his view, entrance requirements had become stricter and more exacting. Another officer said, "Don't bother to apply if you're not bilingual." These sentiments were found in some members with long service in the Force. Many of them were bitter. The new hiring policy was admitting "a lot of duds" one claimed, and it was seen as discriminatory against white males. In the past, one member claimed, only the best applicants got in. Now, with sex, education, and ethnicity being major determinants, the best were no longer being selected. The public in the valley appeared to be supportive of minority recruitment, with about 78% of all respondents in the public survey agreeing that it was important to recruit minority officers from a variety of backgrounds. They were not asked directly about affirmative action or reverse discrimination, a phrasing that likely would have resulted in different findings.

One main theme emerges from this review of the history of policing: Female police were accepted into municipal city policing long before they were accepted into the RCMP. In this longer history, there was a struggle, led by police women, towards integration. At first, working out of the Women's Bureau, tasks for female officers were highly gender specific. Through their initiatives, women won a place in most aspects of policing although, as might be expected, they continue to be largely excluded from the higher levels of management. This change in tasks was accompanied by changes in the uniform, from "feminine" to "functional", closely resembling the male officers' uniform.

Upon informing one police woman in the RCMP that a local town had recently hired a black officer as a temporary replacement, she commented that now he would learn what it was like to be a woman. She was implying that he would experience the same sense of being "different", particularly with respect to the response of the other police officers and

of the community. People would look at him in restaurants and on the street, as representing an anomaly. From observations, limited as they are given the paucity of visible minority recruitment, there are some interesting parallels and differences in the experiences of black and woman officers in the area.

The Annapolis Valley is not particularly multi-cultural. There are, however, some visible minorities, a small black community and two federal Reserves. By 2002 a small number of visible minority members have served in Kings County, including visible minority women. There is much less history of visible minorities in municipal policing in the Valley. Two black officers were hired in the early 1980s by small town forces, though neither remained with the force long. One was hired by a metro police force. In one case it was suggested by a male constable that the town "wasn't ready for a black officer".

There is some consciousness of the issue of race among police controllers. The Board of Police Commissioners asked for a report on the Kentville Department's response to the recommendations of the Marshall Inquiry to see how the Department measured up by these criteria. At the time of the NSPC Inquiry into policing in Kentville there had been serious allegations about racism in the town police force. One officer, for example, had a reputation for frequently using racist language and to have a hatred of visible minorities. He gave his dog a racial epithet for a name, indicating his attitudes publicly. Since there is a small black community in the area, it is inevitable that there will be some overt racial tension in the town. No visible minority officer has been hired, however, and the response of the then Police Chief to the Marshall Inquiry-inspired demand for minority recruitment was to claim that no minority candidate had applied.

From observations during the ethnographic phase of the Valley study, police officers from the town tended to treat minority males differently from the way they treated female officers. The man was one of the boys. White officers claimed that racial slurs from the public would not be tolerated and racist comments and jokes were not made in his presence. The same was clearly not the case for sexist remarks. A more protective attitude was taken with regard to the male minority officer -- who was part of the brotherhood of policing -- and a more competitive attitude for the women. This should not be taken to suggest that racist attitudes are not present among the other officers and racist remarks were occasionally directed at suspects or trouble-makers in the town. Despite the advances in professionalization and progressive recruitment policies which have been made in the town, there was still greater tolerance for overt prejudice against women.

The history of women in policing locally does not go back any further than that of minority males. Female officers have been present in the Annapolis Valley since the early 1980s. In New Minas, about twenty women have served in the detachment. Female officers, whether full-time or part-time, have been hired in Kentville, Middleton, and Wolfville. For the purposes of the study of policing, interviews were conducted with female officers posted from Digby detachment in the west to Windsor Rural and Town Detachments in the east. This expanded the population from which the sample was drawn and helped ensure confidentiality.

The recruitment of females is also an official priority of the federal Force. Over the last two decades, the proportion of women in a police uniform has gradually

increased, to the point where about 13% of all members are female. Ambitious targets which had been set have not been fulfilled; nevertheless, women officers are increasingly common in the RCMP. Town police in the Valley were less likely to hire women. The exception was Kentville, where one woman was employed in the mid-1980s and subsequently promoted to corporal. Besides the importance of the visible presence of female officers, and their deployment in cases of youth and women victims, what is paramount is the recognition on the part of male members that women are equally effective in the wide range of policing duties. Negative attitudes, however, linger beyond experiences which should reveal their lack of substance.

In the 1980s, during the initial enthusiasm for Community-based Policing and minority recruitment, the R.C.M.P. devised a target of 20% female members to be achieved by the end of the century. This was put into practice by a campaign to induce women to join and by a point scheme which gave women (and visible minorities) an advantage over males applying. A similar advantage was given to university graduates. Over time the expectation was that the character of the force would change somewhat. It would be more representative of and responsive to the wider community, and be more acceptable as a "profession". Female members admit that there was a definite "preference" for females in recruitment: "This was based on the idea of my being part of a minority and there were only 7.2% females in the force while they were trying to get 20."

This policy resulted in a back-lash among male officers. It was seen by men as reverse discrimination. Male officers tell prospective recruits that if they are Caucasian and male, they should forget their application. This conservative response is also directed at minority members, although less specifically in terms of the typical evaluation made of women -- that they don't belong in the force -- and more directed at the changes the force has voluntarily undertaken (under compulsion of the Charter and Human Rights arguments) to modify its regulations to accommodate such minority groups as Sikhs and members of the First Nations, as well as being directed at university graduates who are perceived to be inferior compared to the "street-smart" cop.

As a consequence of this divisiveness, the R.C.M.P. has recently made some changes, particularly, in their recruitment policy. Previously, the initial application meeting, background check, and intensive interview occurred first, and this was followed by a physical. In the 1990s the Force made the physical test an initial step in the recruitment process and required the applicant to pay for it. This is not intended to make the test more difficult for women, but to the extent that women indicate that the physical test is one of the most difficult parts of the process, it is likely to have the effect of discouraging those less attuned to such training. It is not women, or university graduates these measures are necessarily designed to discourage, but certain types of women and graduates. As detachment recruitment officers indicate, they can tell whether someone will make a good recruit the moment he or she walks in the door -- the process is heavily weighted towards the acceptance of certain stereotypically advantaged males -- and females who can match this standard. In sum, the process or recruitment is still more selective along certain traditional police lines.

In one town in the late 1980s, a member of a town force reiterated the point made elsewhere about minority men: there was a feeling that the town was not ready for a

woman officer. Apparently what makes a town "not ready" involved two factors. One was said to be public acceptance. There was certainly no evidence of this in that particular town or elsewhere in the valley that this was a serious problem. The second concerned the attitudes of the males in the department. In this respect, the acceptance level was low, although it was justified on different grounds. One member, for example, essentially argued on religious grounds that the job was not suitable for women -- it was not their place. The usual ideology, however, stressed the necessity in police work for the exercise of physical force. Given only the traditional model of policing small towns, it is understandable that women might not always be regarded as appropriate to that model. There are two fallacies here. One is that women by definition cannot police in this traditional manner. The second fallacy is that the traditional style is itself appropriate. It is significant to note that town lacked even the rhetoric of Community-based Policing, the style which was supposed to modify the police practice in a more democratic, community-oriented direction, emphasizing different skills and intervention techniques.

Ultimately, the recruitment of female police officers is evaluated by male officers negatively in two ways. While they expect female members to conform to the more traditional style of policing, they hold that it is particularly unsuited to women. On the other hand, they might be more agreeable to women in policing if specific gender-based tasks were allotted to them, although this would be accompanied by the view that this is not "real" police work and certainly is deserving of lower status and pay. Most of the officers were most opposed to any attempt to transform the policing style, or even methods which appeared to challenge it, and associated this with female recruitment.

The preference for minorities and for women is largely the result of a political initiative originating outside the Force. Canada is an immigrant country and large pockets of traditional ethnic cultures not only survive in larger urban centres, but are growing and becoming more autonomous. In the past, language and cultural barriers hampered policing of immigrant and ethnic minority communities and restricted recruitment. Preferential recruitment is intended to redress the historical imbalance and enhance the policing of minority communities. Earlier efforts, such as the RCMP's native constable programme, have been largely replaced by either full recruitment into the RCMP or the establishment of autonomous aboriginal police forces.

Minority policing is not restricted to communities of origin. An officer who is identified as member of an ethnic minority is a full member of the Force and policies the public, regardless of ethnicity. This relationship is not without its troubles. Some people who are part of the majority community do not accept being policed by visible minorities. The small towns in the Valley are quite homogenous with respect to language and the absence of visible minorities. With few exceptions, MPD police officers in the Valley have been Caucasian. In the RCMP, a few visible minorities have been posted to Valley detachments, including one member recruited from Kings County.

It should also be recognised that the experience of minority police officers in visible minority communities has not always been positive. Some African-Canadian officers in Nova Scotia, for example, find policing black communities difficult because they are subject to criticism and ostracism by members of the minority group. Part of this problem is that, until minority recruitment reaches a higher level, it will continue to

be tainted by the appearance of tokenism. More fundamentally, as long as minority communities continue to be disadvantaged economically and socially, the police and other social agencies will be perceived as reinforcing external domination. Minority police officers will represent intrusive and external authority.

Despite the preference for non-traditional applicants, the majority of new recruits continue to be white males. In the 1990s, the RCMP changed its recruitment routine to emphasise the physical element of policing. Candidates were required to take a physical test, at their own expense, early in the recruitment process. This was designed to assist in the selective recruitment of those with a penchant for physical action and weed out those with primarily an idealistic or academic interest in policing. The selection process still involved the assigning of a "score" based on such qualities as level of education, age, gender and ethnic group status. Members will frequently claim that they can tell whether a candidate will be accepted "as soon as they walk in the door", indicating the perseverance of long-standing stereotypes of the typical police officer. If the process is positive at this point, an investigation is undertaken into the applicant's background and history, and interviews are conducted with people in the community who have knowledge of the applicant's character and history. The make-or-break point is a lengthy interview with Staffing in HQ. At this point the main question is the suitability of the applicant in the eyes of the recruiter. They are then placed on the waiting list, which is likely to be for a minimum of six months, during which time they are counselled to improve their chances by further study or language training.

Even after a person is selected as a member and placed on the waiting list to be sent to Depot, there are no guarantees. The waiting list in Nova Scotia can include hundreds of names while, in the early 1990s, only about 50 were sent annually to Depot. There is no seniority on the waiting list, and a recruit can be leap-frogged by another recruit who is better qualified. In the context of the 1991 Federal Budget and the necessity to cut money from the RCMP, a temporary freeze was placed on recruitment and, for a period of time, no new troops were sent to Regina. The freeze did not last long, but when recruitment was reinstated, the parameters of training had changed. Certainly, many of the more degrading aspects of "boot-camp" had been toned down as a result of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Equally significantly, rather than becoming a member and then reporting for training at a considerable salary, cadets receive a minimal allowance and, at least formally, are not guaranteed that they will become peace officers with the RCMP

Training

Adequate and specialized training is one of the most obvious hallmarks of police professionalism. As policing standards have been raised, graduation from a certified police academy has become a basic prerequisite of employment. This uniform acceptance of this is reflected in public attitudes, as 90.4% of Valley residents agreed that having the latest equipment and training was "important".

RCMP officers had undergone a six-month training session at Depot, an experience they were mostly positive about. As one constable in the majority put it,

Depot was "one of those things that you love to complain about but wouldn't change a thing." As one member put it, "All I can ever remember wanting to do as a kid was become an RCMP officer. I was the happiest kid in town when I got my letter" of acceptance. He described himself as having "scarlet fever". Despite the regional, economic, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, Depot was something all members had in common, "It's the one thing we all had to do." Many mentioned the hard, physical side of training that "showed you your capabilities and limitations". It was geared for the members to push themselves and test their limitations. What was important was not being the best, but always measuring your progress.

The discipline of Depot was mentioned as a positive, if not necessarily pleasant, side of training. It helped "weed out unsuitable candidates: "you won't cut it if you don't have it." Discipline served to prepare "your mental mind", to deal with the realities of police work and the job-related stress. One of the aims of RCMP training is to establish camaraderie among members and teach that officers are in the same boat. As one member explained, when one member of a troop was late or remiss on some aspect of their daily routine, all thirty-two troop members would suffer the same fate. Recruits had to learn to develop an "esprit se corps", to cooperate, to rely on and take care of each other, to identify first with the Troop and later with the Force. "They made you think of the group so you were always helping your troop mates." A member describes a graduation scene where a whole troop of "macho guys" were crying because they had become "one big happy family" and were sad to leave. The Depot experience lays the foundations for police solidarity and culture, where new members first learn to leave their old attitudes behind and adopt the perspective of the Force. One member commented, "The Force is very tight knit. That's where you get your support." Another said that RDCMP officers were "a select group who wouldn't let me down."

Most critical comments were limited to the need for more practical experience, although a few were critical of the philosophy behind the training. Training was "too rushed", covered too much material, and was overly academic and did not spend enough time on the "operational" aspect of police work. It did not give "a realistic picture of what it would be like" in the field. Younger members, however, noted that their experience was different and they reported considerable time role playing and simulating actual police situations, sometimes using paid actors. Another member said he came out of training unclear about the use of his revolver. He felt "ambiguous" about "when you should or shouldn't use it."

Another way the training experience appears to have changed between the time of the older and younger members interviewed was concern for cultural diversity. As one older member put it, when he went through there ought to have been more training "of a cross-cultural nature." He added that, directly after Depot he served on an "Indian Reserve" though, he said, he had "having seen an Indian in the flesh" and was completely unaware of their customs, cultures, problems, and so on. Another member said that training on racial issues would have been beneficial. As younger members explained, however, the Force now puts some formal emphasis on inter-cultural understanding.

Some members made more critical comments about Depot. There was "a lot of screaming and yelling," one member complained. Another member commented that certain portions of the physical training were literally harmful and dangerous. One older member described it as "sadistic", "you weren't meant to enjoy it." The drill sergeant, he explained, often "ridiculed and embarrassed" some of the recruits. One member saw this as positive, however. Under the constant verbal pressure of the drill sergeant, he said, the cadet who thinks he cannot run any harder or longer finds that he is able to attain new goals. More than one male member said that training made them "men". Another constable, however, complained that they played "too many head games at Regina". One member put it this way: "They do things to you without you knowing what's going on." He said Depot tended to "brainwash" recruits in a subliminal manner.

There was a general consensus, however, that Depot had changed considerably in the 1980s and 1990s. Training, one member said, had become more sophisticated and professional. One member said that "the emphasis is more on brains than brawn now". One senior constable noted that when he joined the RCMP it was a "paramilitary organisation". He no longer feels that is true -- over the years it has become less and less so. The type of training offered at depot reflects this change. The training is now purported to be "more humane and less military". Another man said "it's less military and less brainwashing". One member reported being in Regina and dropping in to have a look at the facility. Apparently he was shocked by the changes: "I couldn't believe the change, it was so much more relaxed". He felt that the change was good and attributed it to the inclusion of female recruits.

Training at Dept was followed by a further six months on-the-street field experience during which a new member would be paired with a more experienced constable. This had not always been the case. As one senior member put it, when he had come out of training he had been put in a car alone the next day.

Part of the justification for town policing is that it can provide a model which combines the professionalism commonly associated with the RCMP and the service orientation of traditional small town policing. Professionalism is enhanced by the acquisition of formal training and modern equipment. Police chiefs often judge their relationships with town officials, at least in part, by how well the town meets the demands of the chief to up-grade the police force through better equipment and improved training. The generalization that town police are basically untrained is largely unfounded in the Valley towns. While not all full-time members have received formal pre-occupational training, such as that obtained through the Police Academy, over the last decades all officers have had a significant number of post-employment training courses.

Contrary to opinions held by some residents, the Town Police have as much training as RCMP officers. Part of this is simply a question of seniority. Over a number of years, if turn-over is small, officers in a small town acquire additional training qualifications. A more pressing issue is the type of training received. Formal police training does not necessarily prepare officers well for the realities of day-to-day policing in a quiet, small town. For any small town it is questionable whether training courses in such skills as emergency response, hostage negotiations, and street firearms awareness

contribute to the safety of officers and to police-community relations. Such training may contribute to small town officers having heightened expectations of the job and, in the long run, lead to dissatisfaction with the realities of small town policing. On the other hand, many of the skills are generalizable and may enhance the overall professionalism of the individual officer. As one constable explained, courses involving negotiations are useful in interrogations and police-community relations. More significantly in terms of job satisfaction, training offers a change from the routines of policing and, in many cases, has a social component which is as significant as the educational experience.

On-going training is an important part of contemporary police work and sometimes provides opportunities for MPD and RCMP officers to train side-by-side. Some further training is common to almost all constables with some time in police work, whether RCMP or MPD. This includes radar calibration, breathalyzer and roadside screening device training, use of CPIC, and various levels of investigation. In addition, public pressure on police has meant that the police have to be up to date on initiatives on handling such complaints such as domestic abuse, or on new justice programmes such as Restorative Justice or the Young Offenders' Act (Youth Criminal Justice Act).

While some members were eager for more training and others had "had their fill", the most common complaint was not over the nature of the courses but over the allocation process; not over what they learn but who gets to learn it. As one RCMP member put it, whether or not a member gets a requested training course depends on whether "the NCOs go to bat for you." While seniority appears to be the most salient factor determining allocation of training, many members are convinced that "politics" plays an important role. "Who knows" how these decisions are made" commented one member. It seems to some members that training decisions are sometimes inequitable and sometimes arbitrary, suggesting that the most appropriate member is not always given the opportunity.

While the R.C.M.P. conducts both co-educational and single-gendered troop training, the majority of female officers interviewed trained in all-women troops. The instructors at Regina were mostly male. This policy is changing and there was a move within the force to recruit women to the position of instructor. Again, this move was severely criticized by male members because it entailed what were seen as relatively early promotions to the rank of corporal and again viewed as reverse discrimination. Within the force, promotions constitute the chief preoccupation of the members in terms of practices within the bureaucracy. One member thought that there had also been a change in the practices of male instructors: "The RCMP has changed its attitude a lot since women first got in. Even the instructors out there now, most of them, or a lot of them, have been in the force since females were.... A lot of these guys have gone through training with females that are instructing out there so, to them, we are just as much a part of the force as they are."

One member trained under the first female instructor to be posted to Regina. She said that this instructor had been transferred from doing "federal work", essentially drug investigation and enforcement, but had been assigned to teach human relations. "She was telling us how to go and advise next of kin, how you do a suicide, how you approach somebody whose been sexually assaulted, yet she had never done it herself. She was just

reading it out of the book. But we did have, a couple of times, a couple of guys substitute who had been out in the field for ten years and I found that their lectures were something that sank in, that you could really grab on to. She would have been really great in federal work if she had been doing that, undercover work, drug work. They just put her in the wrong course." In her view "there were a few other male instructors around who were placed in the wrong courses."

Asked whether there were any different standards expected of male or female troops, one woman said: "There wasn't with our troop I think, but we do know that troops that came after us were talking to girls that graduated after me, they were expected to do less than what we had done, so I think it depended on the instructors and the individual troops.... There was a set standard you had to meet. Some instructors would make you surpass it and others would make you just meet it." In the experience of another member, "Physically, females had to prove themselves over and above what the males did." Another woman said that she heard that the standards were different from year to year. "The year I went through everything was supposed to be equal so that's how I was treated." Between the standards for men and women, "were what we call the Cooper's test, it was a one and a half mile run. You had to do it three times in the six months and each time you were expected to do it better. The males were expected to run it a little bit faster than us. And, as far as weight training, we lifted 2/3 the amount of weight. But that is it as far as anything else, swimming, for example." Another police woman said that, as in other occupations, the woman has to be better than the men: "There is this thing where the female must prove herself over the male. Recruits are recruits, but a female recruit is different. She stands out; she can't hide as opposed to men where there are so many of them."

Quality of Work and Job Control

The quality of police work and job control is issues which were directly addressed by the Community-based Policing movement. In Halifax, Community-based Policing has meant a larger patrol area, more work demands, more job diversity, but also greater accountability and closer supervision (Clairmont, 1988). Clairmont has identified 18 aspects of the working conditions of constables in Halifax in order to assess the consequences of Community Based Policing in that city. Many of these elements can also be utilized to compare the quality of working life experienced by RCMP officers and municipal police constables.

High public approval would be consistent with high levels of job satisfaction. Being a member of the federal police force carries considerable prestige for the member, a value-system which is consciously instilled in Depot training. However, as the study of officer attitudes and orientations below will demonstrate, RCMP officers are not reticent about expressing their job concerns. Perhaps paradoxically, while RCMP members voiced more job dissatisfaction than municipal officers, very few would exchange their current status for that of the MPDs

One of the major day-to-day differences in routine policing between town and rural police concerns the size of the patrol area. This issue has been addressed above

in terms of response time. From the point of view of the working constable, however, the size of the patrol area is one key advantage of rural policing. Although RCMP constables on Detachment sometimes feel a loss of job autonomy, there is much random patrol, particularly in the evening when place and times are subject to little routine monitoring. A car can be off the radio for hours and, until radio contact is again made, its location is not precisely known. Some constables have been known to "disappear" for a considerable time. The main check on this is through the files, the case load and investigations undertaken. Consequently, career-conscious members balance their activities and operate in areas known to require preventive patrol or spots which generate more violations. At times, management will direct the Highway Patrol unit to pay special attention to certain villages or streets, and such directions can be temporarily intrusive. They also tend to be generated by numerous public complaints or complaints from prominent citizens. They are frequently short-lived. In general, then, RCMP members experience considerable autonomy on patrol.

In the towns, the confined geography as well as direct stipulations from Town Councils restrict the local officers to patrolling within town boundaries. This is justified in terms of serving the immediate tax payers, and citizens take note of departures from this requirement, informing the Council or the Chief. In one town, for example, citizens expressed concern that the town police were taking long coffee breaks at a cafe outside of town. This more circumscribed patrol area contributes to the overly routine nature of many of the duties of town police officers. In some towns, certain exceptions are made and streets out of town are designated as appropriate exit and entry points. In another town, however, which is fairly distant from the RCMP detachment for the County, town police often provide back-up services in the rural area at the request of the RCMP. This close relationship, and the occasional opportunity to police outside the town which it includes, enhances working conditions for municipal police. Even here, however, the fiscal crisis has meant that such assistance may no longer be provided if it means that the Town Council must pay overtime. One Town Council, for example, refused to allow the RCMP to use a town police officer as a breathalyzer technician if it meant bringing in an MPD officer who was on call and, therefore, would have to be paid by the municipality. Chances for out-of-town work are infrequent. Patrol within the town may largely be random, but the choices of where to drive are relatively fewer for municipal police and car patrol quickly becomes overly routine and unmotivating.

The question of whether an officer's workload is optimal can be complicated because demands can be both too frequent and too infrequent. In the RCMP rural Detachment, the calls for service are relatively high -- the Detachment has one of the heavier work loads in the province, as determined by average cases and workloads per member. This leads to a sense of being over-worked, or of losing control over the working day (being directed by dispatch, for example, or by calls for service). However, there is a real question about how absolutely heavy the load is. On the one hand, there is a sense that investigations should be thorough, and the results will be reflected in the case files and, later, in assessments. Certainly, in many cases, promotions have gone to constables who demonstrated considerable investigative doggedness or highly motivated, self-generated work and, hence, long hours, high productivity and high

assessments. Constables who are not promoted may define this differently; as, for example, the result of internal politics and favouritism. The point here, however, is that there is both opportunity for hard work and opportunity for shirking work. Much goes on during an 8-hour shift which, at best, is routine patrol and may involve opportunities for non-police tasks, even leisure activities. Officers sometimes visit girl-friends, watch TV at home, sight-see new construction sites, and take long coffee breaks. The opportunities are greater for the RCMP, because of the geographical distance of the policed community and distance from supervision. On the other hands, part of the time on a shift in a town police department may be spent trying to avoid contact with an NCO who is also on patrol.

In the towns, for a combination of reasons, including greater visibility and (in the larger municipalities) closer direct supervision, the work-load may either not be heavy enough -- too much dead time, an insufficient number of complaints -- or be busy but overly routine. Business checks, downtown foot patrol, checking private residences, enforcement of parking regulations, and other such duties may be time-consuming and keep the officer "busy", but be regarded as overly routine and uninteresting, tending to lower morale. Certainly, the plain-clothes investigators in the Valley towns have a steady case load. This work is generally seen as desirable, not only because it is primarily day-shift but also because, in the midst of cases which are still routine (bad cheques, theft from automobiles, damage to property), there are occasional opportunities to investigate more complex cases. In small towns, however, as noted above, the creation of this investigative position is at the expense of converting the other officers primarily to routine patrol.

Job tension in policing may be generated by a number of factors. Inter-personal relations with the public can make policing tense. In the Valley, however, there are few visible minorities, greatly reducing the potential tension of inter-racial policing. Similarly, the Valley is not noted for the high incidence of more serious crimes of violence, particularly involving guns or severe assaults. While policing is potentially a dangerous occupation, officers in the Valley seldom encounter situations in which the potential threat materializes in a substantial way. That is not to say that, over their career, officers cannot recall situations of immediate danger; only that the probability of such an occurrence in the Valley is relatively lower than many other places in the province. Members have been shot at and responded to gun complaints of various kinds. One member recalls bending down to hear a suspect more clearly just as a bullet whistled over his head. Another officer walked outside the detachment and disarmed a distraught man who had come, angry and armed with a rifle, down to the office. This occurred before the Detachment office was routinely locked and security was reinforced (as a result of general Force policy rather than any specific threat in the Valley). The greater security has the effect of increasing the distance between the police and the public. Visiting a police station is often an alienating experience. It is more so when there is a security screen between you and the civilian who comes to the window. Some community-minded commanding officers have attempted to have an open-door policy for citizens, with coffee available. The physical arrangements have made this much more uncomfortable.

Tense situations such as these occur infrequently in the Valley, however. One officer responded to a gun complaint by pulling into the driveway of what he thought was the complainant's house, calling on the radio to confirm the address. Other officers responding behind him advised him to pull back and wait for reinforcements. On another gun complaint when the investigating officer put himself in danger, the members concluded that inattention was caused by the absence of many dangerous complaints, leading to a complacent attitude.

More frequent than situations where an officer's life was directly threatened were situations of police confrontations with members of the public, which could generate complaints. Citizens do complain about the quality of policing they receive. Town policing, in the past, was characterized by an informal style which included a certain amount of "curb-side justice". Anecdotally, RCMP policing would appear to have been little different in the past. At least in the towns there was a sense that the Town Council or Police Commission could be appealed to in cases of perceived police mistreatment. In the case of the RCMP, recourse was to the Detachment commander; as one citizen put it, complaining to the police about the police. This has changed. The RCMP has developed a brochure to assist citizens to place complaints (members complain that the Force is actually soliciting complaints) and has developed a formal review. Even so, it appears that there may be a greater propensity for citizens in a town to complain about the municipal police force, placing officers under closer scrutiny, and thereby increasing tension. To the extent that the town police are treated with less respect or less fear, relations with citizens may be more tense and threatening for municipal officers than RCMP members.

In general, however, job tension in the Valley is not generated so much by citizen encounters or complaints, as it is by internal work relations, particularly between constables and supervisors. In the towns, tension is generated between some officers and the Chief. It is a very close working relationship in small towns, and there are few buffers. In each town which has been policed for some time by the same Chief and the same officers, certain relations between individuals are very difficult and a cycle of low motivation, low productivity, strained relations with management, and threats of discipline is set into motion. In some cases, there are clashes in the style of policing between officers who exhibit an informal type of policing and Chiefs who are trying to establish more legalistic norms. In one town, for example, an officer was dismissed from the Force as a result of an internal complaint from the Chief. He appealed the case and it was reversed by the Nova Scotia Police Commission, which concluded the punishment was greater than the fault. For Chiefs, job tension is also generated with respect to relations with political authority. While some Chiefs have what they regard as a supportive Council, and newly appointed Chiefs often have a relatively freer hand, there is always the need to justify policing matters publicly to elected governments. In some cases, Chiefs have to maintain constant vigilance and marshal defensive arguments to maintain their department's resource and manpower. This makes the job of police Chief particularly stressful.

Within a department or Detachment, job tension is also created by relations among the officers. In some cases, officers who are more highly favoured by Chiefs --

for a variety of reasons, from being more productive to being more obedient -- have difficulties with police officers who are not so favoured. Whatever perquisites are available in departments, from preferred access to training to accommodation about shift changes, can be differentially handed out by the Chief. Some officers also differ markedly in their style of policing, and conflicts can arise on the job between officers who handle difficult situations in different ways. Again, in small departments, animosity between officers over real and imagined faults and slights can make working relations difficult, and increase job tension. Such relationships can be especially difficult when gender issues are involved.

Many of these same factors are also evident in the RCMP although the high degree of organizational loyalty tends to limit these disagreements. However, working in a large, bureaucratic organization itself generates complaints and problems of morale. In many respects, problems of supervision noted above with respect to the municipal departments also occur in RCMP detachments. In an organization which has produced scores of procedural manuals, it is paradoxical to note that arbitrary management is also seen as problematic. In some cases, for example, supervision is still primarily militaristic, and is compounded by the tendency of middle managers who have risen from the ranks to utilize less sophisticated techniques of control -- the slam-the-door mentality as well as other forms of arbitrary intimidation. Members sometimes complained that senior supervisors are inconsistent, practice favouritism (which affects assessments), and primarily offer only negative inducements. The style of management is affected by several factors, including the particular style of the Detachment commander. Some are more enlightened and open than others, a tendency which is not necessarily confined to younger Sergeants and Staff Sergeants. Management philosophy within the Force has also changed, in keeping with contemporary practices, to emphasize more participation at least in small matters.

Dealing with inter-departmental complaints has also been formalized in both police forces. On the-job difficulties and grievances in the RCMP are compounded by the absence of a negotiated union contract. In the unionized towns, the police may utilize a formal grievance policy. In the RCMP a Divisional Representative position was created to whom complaints can be made, but the D.D.R. has little more than an advisory or consultative role. It is particularly in the area of some small job control which is gained through the collective bargaining process that unions have given municipal policemen a benefit that is less evident in the RCMP.

The contrary point is that officers exercise a great deal of job control in their daily work. It is difficult to supervise policing, yet it is a public occupation and is visible in the community. Police professionalism has been linked both to increased discretion, appropriate for any "profession", and with tighter bureaucratic rules to less officer discretion. Only one RCMP member said that the amount of job control he had was "low". The remainder was equally divided, describing their control as "high" or "medium"—one said it was "extremely high". "I do things my way", one member stated. Another said he had "pretty much complete control."

Feeling of having control over their work was related to seniority and also varied by unit and even shift. One senior member felt his high sense of job control was

related to the fact his superiors respected him and his work, "They trust what I'm doing." Younger members were more likely to feel they were working under the vigilant eyes of their watch commanders. One claimed that "I'll have to prove myself". Members in the plain clothes GIS section expressed the greatest amount of job control: "I decide how to tackle an investigation." How to get from "A to Z", another said, was left to his own discretion. The only limitation they noted to being left to their own devices was that the unit had to "produce results". Members on highway patrol also reported a considerable sense of controlling their work life. This is because their work is largely self-generated. They had a lot of "freedom of movement"; "what I do on patrol is my own". Another said simply that "Kings County is my leash". There was no specific ticket quota on Highway Patrol, although members were, again, expected to "produce". There was an unspecified but clear understanding of productivity in the unit. One member said that he spent the first part of his month actively generating charges and then could relax during the latter half, cover wider territory, "fish" for drunk or suspended drivers, and lay fewer but better charges. Night shifts were regarded as more free than day shifts. With far fewer NCOs in the detachment at night, one member said, "We're pretty much unsupervised." As another member put it: "Once I walk out the door [of the office] I'm my own boss."

Job control and satisfaction are related to the nature and quality of the supervision police officers experience. The majority of members said they felt "over-supervised", a problem some said existed throughout the Force. The system is "overbuilt", one member complained. This response was related to the comparatively large number of senior officers who were posted to the detachment at the time of the ethnographic phase of the study. Some older officers were being supervised by corporals with less service. As one such constable said, "The supervision is channeled to guys who don't need it." A member complained that, since the corporals have to "justify their existence" they often make unnecessary comments on a constable's files when they are checked on their diary date. These files are later audited by HQ and, therefore, written comments become a matter of record affecting performance assessment. This member claimed the NCOs "are pissing everyone off and making a poor working environment." In larger detachments, above the corporal would be sergeants and a staff sergeant. Again, relationships with these higher ranking members depended a great deal on the personalities of the individuals. One member said the operational sergeant in such a detachment was "caught between a rock and a hard place", between the demands of the staff sergeant in charge and the other members.

On the other hand, many senior constables were left to exercise their discretion more freely, as noted above. "They [the NCOs] pretty much leave me alone", one constable replied. "I don't find it a problem at all." Another member said, "I deal with him [the corporal on his watch] person to person rather than constable to corporal. He gives us fairly free rein yet he is there for support and advice." As one member put it, however, the issue of supervision is largely a question of the personalities of the NCOs. Another member commented that members who have problems with supervision "bring it on themselves"; they have a "bad attitude" and do not do their job properly. "Members that want to have a problem will have one." The general consensus was that

if a member did the work and kept the files up to date, there would be no problems with the NCOs.

Another way of looking at job satisfaction is to ask questions about what police officers feel their occupation "needs". Over 60% of the constables interviewed felt that there was a need for general or psychological counselling for members. One constable said, "there are a number of members who should talk to somebody". Another member said that he would favour mandatory annual visits to "the shrink" for all members. He felt that this would allow members who need help to get it without being singled out and to "head off" any budding problems. He did note, however, that most of the other members would "take exception" to this type of programme.

Basically three types of counselling were defined as "needs", reflecting the opinions of the interviewed members: alcohol, job related stress and family problems. However, only 15 percent of the members felt that the force should provide help for those members suffering from family problems. Forty percent of the constables said that they felt there was a need for a comprehensive drug and alcohol programme. On the other hand, one member claimed that, in all his years on the force, he had never seen a member who had a drug or alcohol problem. This opinion was clearly singular.

Fifty percent of the members said that they thought there was a need for stress management programs. A great deal of the stress, according to one member, is internally generated. One constable mentioned petty politics and assessments as the major causes of work-related stress. Another member felt stress resulted from there being "too many Chiefs and not enough Indians". Dealing with the difficulties associated with undercover work and police shootings were also mentioned as problem areas. It was brought to the interviewer's attention that, at times, because there are no programs to deal with these types of stress, the members try to help each other. In some instances, certain NCOs also try to help and fill "the gap".

High levels of job control may be linked to feelings of personal responsibility and job stress. It was noted above that many members value the feeling of independence their job affords them, and this factor is usually linked to high levels of job satisfaction. RCMP officers interviewed, however, did not uniformly claim to have high levels of job satisfaction, most rating it as "medium". Well over half of the members liked the variety, challenge, unexpectedness, and excitement of their job. "When you go into work in the morning you never know what will be happening." One member said, "It's not routine, go to the office, nine to five." Similar comments were: "You never know what you will be doing tomorrow"; "Things are always going on"; "No two days are the same"; and "It keeps me on my toes." Almost two thirds of RCMP officers said that they greatly enjoyed the job because of the contact they had with people. Most of these derived satisfaction from helping people, "that's what keeps me going". One constable said, "You can do things for people that no other agency will." He said he was often first on the scene when people needed help. Often, there is no where else they can turn.

The intrinsic work benefits of the RCMP are enhanced by the extrinsic awards derived from relatively high standards of remuneration. Many officers, particularly in the RCMP, found that part of their job satisfaction, at least, came from the generous wages

and benefit packages on which they could draw. As one NCO said, "We all like the money and benefits." The RCMP members receive these competitive wages and benefits without having to negotiate through a union and without a collective agreement. With the standard being established by some large municipal forces (such as Metro Toronto), the RCMP basically keeps pace with pay demands in the country. The RCMP officer, within three years of service, climbs to the plateau of first-class constable and reasonably high pay. As one member put it, "Where else could you make \$42,000 a year with a grade twelve education?"

This is considerably more than the pay and benefit awards received by municipal police officers, and the rate of pay also tends to vary between towns. The disparity in pay, particularly with the RCMP, is the source of considerable resentment among municipal police officers who argue that they do the same work for considerably less pay. When the Town of Kentville was examining its policing options in 1997, the majority of MPD officers in the town believed that, should Town Council sign a contract with the R.C.M.P. and disband the local police, they would become RCMP members and receive as much as a 50% increase in pay.

Furthermore, the RCMP has a very attractive set of benefits, from free university tuition (which is given sparingly) to dental care, which is unavailable to the municipal officers. The generous benefits were mentioned by some members. One had \$12,000 of dental work done but "It didn't cost me a cent." Another was off work for several months but "the pay cheques never stopped coming." For the town police, major benefits are available through the Union, but important benefits such as pension plans and disability schemes are considerably superior in the federal force. Benefits also vary according to the town and according to the quality of the relationship between the Police Commission and Town Council, and the officers and their union.

Transfers and Promotions

One of the important differences between the career profiles of MPD and RCMP officers has been the rootedness of the former and the frequent transfer policy in the RCMP. In the recent past, the career of an RCMP officer involved frequent transfers -- averaging one every two or three years -- as well as a career profile which assumed regular promotions. The transfer policy was designed with several objectives in mind. From Depot, new members were permitted to state their divisional preferences, which until relatively recently would not include a return to their home province (although such a transfer could be arranged later in their career). The main reason for this policy was to achieve the maximum separation of the RCMP from the community. In an era when local policing was tainted by close political connections and favouritism, the professionalization of policing stressed the independence of the Force from the community and from community influences.

Frequent transfers, then, helped to maintain this separateness and emphasis on objective enforcement of statutes and reinforced the development of a close-knit RCMP sub-culture within which officers primarily interacted with each other. Pulled out of one detachment area every two or three years, the member re-entered another similar

RCMP sub-culture in a different community. The expectation was that the "public" would be undifferentiated and treated on the basis of objective, enforcement standards. The policy of frequent transfers also was designed to provide variety and prevent the growth of complacency. Since much of daily police work is routine, transfers of location provide a change for the member.

Before the 1960s and 1970s, these transfers were arranged by Staffing at HQ and the member might be the last to know about his own transfer. The main objective was the needs of the Force and the preference of the member was a secondary consideration, if it was considered at all. By the 1900s, however, the transfer policy had undergone considerable change. Basically the system adopted more elements of give-and-take. Members were able to indicate in their annual Parade Sheets their preferences for transfers and some degree of negotiation entered the process. Rather than beginning the promotion/transfer sequence when a desirable posting opened, members wrote promotional routines, received scores, and were placed on a competitive list. Their ranking on the list could be superseded by more qualified members. When postings opened, members indicated their interest and were then judged on the basis of their position in the promotional hierarchy.

Transfers were a great deal more common than promotions. As married members joined, as salaries increased to allow members to purchase homes, as policing became an "occupation" more like others, transfers became more problematic for the members and for the Force. Several trends converged to lessen the number of transfers, or the distance within which the transfer occurred. From the point of view of the Force, transfers became increasingly expensive. Among the substantial benefits enjoyed by the RCMP is a generous moving allowance. However, coast-to-coast moves are prohibitively expensive. Increasingly the norm is to have transfers within a Division or between adjacent Divisions. In other words, the extensive transfers of older members (both in terms of the number and distance of transfers) are unlikely to be duplicated in the career profiles of newer members. There are still transfers, and new members will be moved in their career; but the degree is being reduced largely as a result of financial restraint, and the process has undergone considerable modification.

Currently, a member who is transferred to another detachment frequently owns a home. Although members tend to be careful about the location of their property and the style of their choice of home to ensure the maximum probability of a quick re-sale, the real estate market fluctuates and some properties are difficult to sell. The Force has at times compensated a member if he or she is forced to sell property at a loss in order to take the transfer. However, it is also the case that transfers have been cancelled when the member has been unable to sell. Many times members who anticipate transfers or promotions have to sit on their hands waiting for an acceptable offer. Unwanted transfers can be resisted by creating conditions that make the selling of a house difficult. More often, however, the inability to sell is a detriment to a member's career advancement.

Promotion is generally a more standard expectation in the RCMP than in the small town. In the small town, there are few senior positions. Even if there is turn-over at the top, the Town is more likely to recruit for the Chief's position from outside

the department. Many of the Valley police departments have held promotional routines within their membership. This is designed to boost morale and give the appearance of internal opportunities. In Kentville, a Deputy Chief position was created and filled internally. The negative aspects of these competitions arise when an applicant is rejected. However objective the procedure is made to appear, personal motives and prejudices are often perceived by losing candidates to be at the root of decisions.

Promotions are a major concern in the RCMP. A prominent part of office chatter concerns the passing of information about who is being promoted, the opening of positions where promotion is available, and the chances of being promoted. Most officers say that they entered the Force with the expectation of a smooth and consistent path of promotions. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, promotions stagnated giving rise to considerable discontent. Members often made invidious comparisons with their competitors and identified what they thought were biases in their annual assessments by their superiors. Instances of what appeared to be affirmative action in promotion were roundly criticized and advances were attributed to factors that were not intrinsic to effective policing. The lack of promotion was attributed by one constable with over 15 years service to the fact that members are not routinely retiring the way they used to. This might be linked to greater benefits such as pay and working conditions, and the gradual drying up of opportunities in civilian employment.

There was considerable mobility among personnel in the Detachment over the extended time of this study. Part of this reflects the policy of frequent transfers. Early in their careers, most senior members reported being transferred, on average, about every three years. Overall this rate appears to have slowed down. In the Detachment in 1987 there was an accumulation of senior constables. Consequently over the course of the next four years there was considerable lateral movement and several promotions.

Of the 26 original members, which represented some under-staffing -- two below complement -- eleven (42%) were still in the Detachment on 1 July 1991. This does not represent the full extent of movement during those years, however. Within a detachment there are several units, such as Highway Patrol or GIS, and members are frequently re-assigned from one posting to another. Of the eleven original members remaining four years later, only two were in the same position they occupied in 1987. Seven others were re-assigned to other units within the Detachment at least once -- one member was posted to three different units in four years. For the other two original members, one had been promoted but remained in the unit and another was promoted and re-assigned to another unit in the Detachment. By 1997, of the 33 members in New Minas, five had been posted there in 1987 (15%) -- and one of these had been transferred away from and then back to the Detachment during that time.

This movement is considerably less among municipal police. Among town police in Kentville, Berwick and Middleton, about 65% of those working in 1997 had been policing the same town in 1987. As noted above, in 1987 or 1988 the Detachment consisted primarily of senior members, but, as the complement of older constables was replaced by newer recruits, the character of the Detachment changed considerably. The Detachment's heavy work load and relatively lower degree of dangerous

assignments also makes it an ideal place for newer recruits to receive on-the-job training. Stability among the Detachment personnel often reflects personal choice. Members with families who have become rooted in the community or who have wives with lucrative jobs they don't want to leave, will be content to stay in the area, passing opportunities to be transferred and promoted.

While issues of transfer, promotion or job re-assignment are still fundamental issues producing dissatisfaction with the quality of the work in the RCMP, the absence of opportunities for alternative job allocations also caused problems in town policing. The exception is that younger, ambitious officers are, early in their career, still mobile. Kentville, for example, has seen many of its newer officers resign after a few years for openings in the metropolitan police force (Halifax, Dartmouth and Bedford). Promotions are infrequent in the towns (with the exception of the promotional routines for corporal positions) and there is little sense of an internal career path. During the negotiations about amalgamation or regionalization of the municipal police departments, one of the perceived benefits was the opportunity to transfer constables between towns. This would have increased job variety and have positively affect morale. The take-over by the RCMP accomplished this objective in spades, opening much wider opportunities for former MPD officers.

Expanding employee input in certain decisions, however, pales in significance in shaping members' perceptions compared with longer-term career movement. The phenomenon of the career constable is the most visible symbol of a widespread dissatisfaction with the system of assessment and promotion. It is commonly believed by constables and NCOs alike, for example, that constables who reach the 20-year plateau will have an increasingly difficult time achieving promotion, despite their seniority and years of experience. This is greatly in contrast to what their expectations had been on first joining the force, according to which they would have had their "hooks" in half that time. Several factors are responsible for this log-jam. The Force has not expanded in recent years as rapidly as it had in the 1970s and early 1980s when these senior constables joined. There is also the feeling that too many senior members are holding on to their jobs for longer times -- not going early enough "out to pasture" -- causing fewer opening in higher ranks. While members may apply for specific promotions that do become available, there are still deep feelings that career advancement is hindered by a number of capricious circumstances and that the most qualified member does not always receive the benefit. Furthermore, there are a number of fast-track possibilities such as occurred with the movement to Detachment work from the now disbanded Marine Division. Male officers frequently allege that female constables will be fast-tracked, for example, being promoted and transferred to Depot in Regina as trainers. Career profiles, promotions and transfers comprise a considerable amount of the informal discussion and griping among members.

When asked what they disliked about their job, the most common answer reflected the problem members perceived with promotional opportunities. Almost every member said that, in the past, they would have been one or more ranks higher than they were at present. One member, for example, said: "I certainly did not expect to be a constable after this many years". Another member thought the lack of promotion

translated into "a lack of incentive to do a better job". Other members viewed the lack of promotional opportunity as a situation over which they had no control - "that's reality". Some members recounted feeling somewhat desperate and disgruntled by the lack of promotions: "There's no where to go", "nothing to look forward to". It is disconcerting to be doing the same type of work, taking the same type of calls and having the same responsibilities after three years, after eight years and after twenty years.

For some, however, the promotional opportunities were "bad by yesterday's standards but, by today's, it's not bad". Over the course of time researchers had regular contact with the police departments, the situation tended to improve. Some members, constables at the beginning of the study, had become Inspectors by its conclusion. Even at the height of the 20-year constable phenomenon in the RCMP, some members said they could have been promoted had they been willing to transfer to undesirable locations. These members placed some of the blame on themselves. A promotion, they said, was not worth a few, or more, years of misery, uprooting the family and so on.

Promotion routines and assessments were frequently cited as the root of the problem for members' advancement. Many complained that they were done in an unfair and ambiguous manner. Promotions are based, at least in part, on a members' assessment but, one member said, if a senior officer deems an officer to be "unpromotable" on his assessment form, then that is exactly what that member is. Scores from the assessments may also vary substantially from NCO to NCO. Whereas one NCO may see a 76/100 score as being good or excellent another NCO may score good at 86/100. The basic feeling of many members was that assessments were too subjective, there was too much variance between assessors, and they were often based on personalities rather than actual talent, dedication, or capabilities. One NCO who did not like assigning a "number grade" would have preferred a letter grading that would be less exact or constricting. "The Force pays a lot of attention to these points." One officer added that members in specialized units tend to get better grade point assessments probably, he suggested, to the closer working relationship that develops between members in smaller units.

The belief that promotional opportunities were neither equitable nor readily available was shared by many NCOs (who were more reluctant than constables to express their work-related dislikes). An NCO pointed out that the availability of promotions was related to the low attrition rate at the time. In the last ten years, he said, the attrition rate has been "next to nothing" and this had a "back-up effect". One member said that sometimes management promotes members "just to shut them up". One NCO concurred, saying that it has been known to happen that a member was given a high assessment with the express purpose of getting the member transferred. Other constables reported knowing NCOs (not necessarily at their current detachment) who ended up being promoted without "what it takes to be a leader". Even if these incidents exist more as anecdotes than experiences, they affect members' attitudes and, as one said, make a mockery of the promotional routine. The general consensus was that the assessment and promotion system has to be redesigned to make it more equitable.

The inadequate promotional system "had an effect on the way you feel about the force", one NCO said. The system had been misused. Some members, early in their

career, chose to specialize and further their education. In the process, the member said, actual police work became secondary to them. Working in a specialized unit, however, means they were rewarded by receiving earlier promotions: "As a specialist you bubble to the top pretty quickly." Later, however, these helicopter promotions are transferred back to a field position doing operational work. They are functionally inexperienced but are placed over members with equal or greater seniority and who are better front-line officers. The NCO asked, "Should the promotion go, not to the best policeman, but to the one that looks best on paper?"

The policy of frequent and distant transfers poses an additional problem for women. It is another example where equal treatment is, in fact, unequal given the position of women in society. Female members who are married or in a committed relationship with a male are not as mobile as either single members (male or female), or married male members. Given the distribution of economic power, it is relatively common for wives to follow husbands in their occupational migrations. It is uncommon for husbands to follow wives. Transfers are entirely in the hands of staffing. Members can indicate certain preferences, but they cannot necessarily receive the location they want when transfer comes through, nor can they expect to receive a transfer upon their request.

The R.C.M.P. has allowed members to apply for a leave of absence without pay. Members on such a leave may return to their detachment, or take the risk of moving to another location and then applying to staffing in the new area in the hopes that they can be posted to a convenient opening. It is to the advantage of the receiving Division to re-employ the member because they do not have to pay what would otherwise be generous moving allowances. It is disadvantageous to the original detachment which may not receive an additional to complement to replace member the on leave of absence. Consequently, the remaining members would have to shoulder a heavier work load. In larger detachments, the work is more easily distributed. In smaller detachments, the effect is usually measurable and other members have a source of resentment. Once the member is gone, it is likely that the position will be filled, but this can take six to eight months. Since female members make use of this leave of absence without pay provision to keep their families intact, it provides another basis for male prejudice that is unwarranted. One member reported that her original intention had been to live apart from her husband, if necessary, until they were able to work together. When the time came, however, this was re-evaluated; they decided not to separate temporarily and the female member took a leave of absence to join her husband. Other members -- mostly male -- have taken leaves of absence to return to University for a year. With their tuition paid by the Force, they also remained on full salary while studying. This caused the same disruption for the detachment as a leave of absence, but it was evaluated differently by other members. Taking advantage of force programmes to enhance your individual career is seen as understandable and even laudable. But a woman's motivation to maintain family relationships was regarded as gender specific and devalued.

Similarly, the Force's generous maternity benefits are also resented by some of the male members who use the argument that job needs should be put ahead of personal considerations. The pregnancy of a female member made her subject to negative gossip

among male members in the detachment. Clearly, women on the job are going to be pregnant at certain times of their life cycle. This has been used by many male members as an excuse to support the claim that women have no place in policing. They will be unavailable at certain times, while pregnant they will be unable to perform regular duties (especially those involving potentially violent situations), and will be re-assigned to "light duties" in the detachment. Again, the claim is that the cost of this pregnancy, and the subsequently mandated maternity leave of 16 to 18 weeks, puts an undue burden on the detachment. Pregnancy is seen as an avoidable occurrence, as the result of choice. Therefore, by becoming pregnant you are choosing to exploit the force (by utilizing a programme you have every right to use), "sluffing off your duty", and imposing heavier burdens on your fellow officers.

It is the feminine nature of the leave which is at question. Most types of on-the-job disability, including extended periods (up to two years) of light duty in the detachment which men receive result from accidents playing sports, particularly hockey. This is seen as accidental, as a natural result of playing sports (which the Force encourages), and must be taken in stride by the other male members. This kind of generous allowance is not extended to pregnancy which is seen as neither accidental, nor masculine; not somehow in the nature of the job.

Generalists and Specialists

As policing became increasingly professionalized, there was an accompanying proliferation of specialities, such as the investigating detective, and a corresponding restriction of the role of the patrol constable to routine matters of enforcement and peace keeping. The bureaucratisation of which this specialisation is illustrative shaped policing most profoundly in large metropolitan areas where the size of the policing establishment lent itself to such "rationalisation". The majority of the force consisted of uniformed patrol officers, assigned to a walking beat or, with modernization, to a patrol car. The beat cop performed a variety of service and order maintenance activities, but was involved only in the initial stages of crime investigations, handing the case over to the plain clothes detective division (CID) as soon as practical. Detective work was most desirable, usually involved day shifts, and it became specialized in larger urban forces into squads working in such areas as youths, vice, homicide, or vehicle thefts.

For reasons of scale, smaller towns did not implement such a policing style and, in these municipalities, constables fulfilled more of a generalist role. The constables in the Valley departments form the backbone of the staff establishment. Within a small force there is limited opportunity for specialization to develop. In the small towns, the move to professional policing entailed the development of specializations or, given the small size of the units, approximations to specialized roles. Up until 1986 all of the constables in Kentville were deployed as uniformed personnel. This was largely a product of the reality of the limitations imposed by size and budget and the department's opportunity to utilize the services of the local RCMP detachment for specialized police service. In 1985 Chief Innes noted: "The one area [where] our

police force is noticeably weak is in the criminal investigation field."¹ Consequently, following the example of Middleton, he established a one-man, plainclothes General Investigative Section (GIS) on a trial basis. Several members of the force, corporals as well as constables, have been rotated through this position, which involves primarily day-shift duty.

The only other specialized division of labour in the Kentville Police Department is that of a designated, part-time Crime Prevention Officer (CPO). The position was first established in 1988 and was operational for only six months. Due to Chief Innes's death and a subsequent manpower shortage, the position was terminated. At its inception the crime prevention position was incorporated with the GIS unit - at that time one officer performed both roles. With Chief Crowell, however, the Crime Prevention Officer became a permanent part of the police structure.

The current interest in community policing for larger metropolitan areas has included the implementation of a wider scope of responsibility for patrol constables, widening their role designation. Unlike the specialist, the constable generalist performs a wide range of policing duties, from routine patrol, to criminal investigations and crime prevention. Given this description, the small town policeman is almost, by definition, a model of the general constable. Some of the officers, who sought to move from larger urban departments to positions in small town forces, explained that they wanted the opportunity to do a wide range of police work rather than remaining in one narrow aspect. An ex-member of the New Brunswick Highway Patrol who applied in Middleton, for example, cited the opportunities to get into all aspects of police work as a main reason for his interest in the department. The expectation of work variety is not always realistic. The actual crime rate in a small town is likely to be small, the opportunities to investigate criminal code matters is infrequent, and most activities quickly settle into a routine.

In the past decade the functions of police departments across Canada have broadened to include problems and issues beyond the traditional law enforcement role. The current interest in community policing for larger metropolitan areas has included the implementation of a wider scope of responsibility for patrol constables, making their role designation more closely approximate that of the constable generalist. In small town departments that are not exclusively focused on traditional enforcement activity, the police are less likely to work in isolation from both the community and other segments of the criminal justice system.

This has not been the model which has characterised most of the history of RCMP policing. This is no longer officially the case. The orientation of the federal force has increasingly come to emphasise community contacts. In general in Canada, police-role functions have been modified in terms of both substance and priority.

In addition to small town and metropolitan policing, there is the rural model implemented by the RCMP. In fact, the RCMP is engaged in several different styles of policing depending on the characteristics of the particular environment. In some places, such as the detachment area covered by the present study, they police large

¹ Kentville Police Department, *Annual Report* 1985, p. 12.

rural areas. In this case they provide an example of a highly bureaucratic police force, with several layers of supervision, which has several specialist positions, while, at the same time, the majority of members occupy a generalist position.

According to the Standard role descriptions, RCMP constables are responsible for all aspects of investigation and enforcement relative to the various Acts, from general investigation to prosecution. "The investigator is expected to take initial action on all investigations of offences committed, considering evidence available to warrant prosecution, applicable charge, exhibits to be seized, arrest, etc." In addition, a "major responsibility" is to provide "advice, guidance and general assistance to the general public on both criminal and domestic matters". The fact that constables are responsible for their investigations from start to finish is a facet of the work, which several constables stated made the job more interesting.

Unlike more traditional city police departments, then, the detachment expects each constable to be responsible for following an investigation through to its conclusion although, if it is problematic or excessively time consuming, the supervisor can make the judgement that the constable should return to more regular shift duties. RCMP constables have a different image of policing in a large metropolitan area. According to one NCO, the city patrolman is just that, a patrolman. He discovers a break and enter, for example, but then hands it over to an investigating officer and goes back on his beat. This is the traditional style of metropolitan policing which community-based initiatives are attempting to change.

The degree of autonomy experienced by constables is also affected by the geography of the area policed and by the size of the detachment. Because the RCMP nationally is involved in rural policing, there can be vast territories with few people and only a small detachment. In a small detachment, a constable with only a few years service can become 2 I/C. Working in a small detachment, a constable would, over the course of time, perform a considerable variety of duties. In small detachments, the hours may tend to be more flexible. If there were a community event, the officer would attend, and make the time up later without using overtime.

In sum, relative to most occupations, RCMP members exercise considerable autonomy on the job, an aspect that is heightened by the tendency for members to work alone, without partners. Most appreciate this aspect of the work. At the same time, there is a very heavy, formal hierarchy of command and supervision. Certain aspects of the work of policing are common, regardless of the location, although the frequency and form of the exercise of authority and discretion, for example, will vary considerably from environment to environment. The degree to which members of the RCMP experience relative autonomy on the job, and the work satisfaction they experience, are affected by numerous factors in the detachment area, the detachment itself, and in the larger Division.