



**Atlantic  
Institute of  
Criminology**

**MIDDLETON POLICE DEPARTMENT:  
STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION**

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**1994**

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**Occasional Paper Series**

The author would like to acknowledge Chief K. Cook and members of the Middleton Police Department for their cooperation and the Donner Canadian Foundation for research funding.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Middleton is located in the Eastern end of Annapolis County, Nova Scotia, self-described as the "heart" of the Annapolis Valley. Like other small towns in the region, Middleton serves a local service function for the surrounding population. As the Nova Scotia Police Commission stated in 1977, while the population of Middleton was 1,823 persons, it is "the community centre for the surrounding rural area and attracts a large influx of shoppers, employees and visitors from outside its perimeter." In addition, a Vocational School, a Regional High School and a Hospital also means an influx of persons into the town, so that "the daytime population exceeds the three thousand mark" (N.S.P.C., 1977: v).

The stability of the town population over the last decade does not reflect the growth in the surrounding area, particularly the community of Nictaux, south of Middleton and across the Annapolis River. The Town of Middleton has actively considering the incorporation of land to the north and west of the town, adjacent to the Industrial park, despite some apparently strong opposition to amalgamation by property owners in the effected area. This would have an effect on policing needs. In the long run, the possibility of regionalization of policing in the province would mean a much more fundamental reorganization of personnel and financing.

This report offers a description of the structure and operation of policing in Middleton, a small town force in Nova Scotia. The findings are derived from the ethnographic phase of a study of policing styles and community linkages in the Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia, carried out between 1988 and 1991.

## **I STAFFING AND EQUIPMENT**

### **(1) Staffing: General Considerations**

As the review of the history of the Middleton Police Department indicated, between the tenures of Stan Holt and Kenneth Cook as Chief of Police, municipal policing underwent a considerable degree of change. With the enactment of the Nova Scotia Police Act, the province assumed a degree of control over municipal policing. The Nova Scotia Police Commission, which was created by the Police Act, played an active role in the restructuring of police forces in the province, including Middleton. In 1977 and again in 1980, the N.S.P.C. conducted assessments of the Middleton Police Department which were instrumental in the modernization of the force.

The 1977 "Assessment" recommended that the town hire two additional police officers, increasing the staff from four (one chief, three constables) to six. This would allow for 24-hour coverage, since 5.3 officers are required for complete coverage, based on a 40-hour week. This would also eliminate much of the overtime. Minimally, the N.S.P.C. concluded, the town should hire one additional officer and provide less than 24-hour coverage.

The basic justification for the larger number of personnel was to increase the efficiency of the department in the solving of criminal code offenses. The 1977 "Assessment" stated: "Middleton has had numerous breaks into places of business. As the Town's Police are not on full duty during the early morning hours, it is believed that many of these breaks occur during that time. Some success in apprehending those responsible has been made but the manpower situation continues to plague the efficiency of the Department" (p. 5). Furthermore, the "Assessment" pointed out, while the population of Middleton was 1,823 persons: "It is the community centre for the surrounding rural area and attracts a large influx of shoppers, employees and visitors from outside its perimeter." In addition, a Vocational School, Regional High School and Hospital also means an influx of persons, so that "the daytime population exceeds the three thousand mark" (p. v).

One additional constable was hired following the 1977 assessment, and in 1979 a fifth constable was added to the department. This is the current (1990) strength of the Middleton force.

The hours of service were increased from 17 hours daily to 20 hours, with only four hours on stand-by. Consequently, direct overtime had been cut by 50% although this was not reflected in the overtime budget. The N.S.P.C. claimed that the cut in overtime was "being offset by increasing court attendance, because, as the efficiency of the Department increases better enforcement results and court attendance increases." The N.S.P.C. indicted that there was an increase in motor vehicle violations, between 1977 and 1980, from 100 to 486, and a decrease in criminal code offenses, from 247 (1978) to 147 (1979), "a remarkable decrease for a one year period." The N.S.P.C. concluded that: "The increased strength has also had a high impact in crime prevention" (NSPC, 1980, p. 5).

The N.S.P.C. indicated that it was aware that, with one police officer for every 304 citizens, the ratio was high compared with other towns. The size of the "policed" population, as well as the potential growth of the town caused by changes at CFB Greenwood and the establishment of a Michelin Tire plant in Kings County, led the N.S.P.C. to argue that it would be a mistake to reduce the strength of the department because the town had "an efficient and capable police service which is capable of handling the potential growth" which may occur (NSPC, 1980, p. 6). Comparing Middleton with five other towns (Wolfville, Berwick, Lunenburg, Stellarton and Trenton), the Commission found that Middleton spent the highest proportion of the town budget on the police, 10.56%. "The report noted that the ratio of police to population in the town is of concern to some council members, but suggested that `the ratio appears to be justified by the efficiency of the department.'" "The report recommended that in the interests of `the peace and good order that presently exists,' the town not consider reducing the strength of the police department" (Halifax Chronicle Herald).

The issue of the size of the Department, however, persisted. In April 1980, about 200 residents confronted Town Council following an announcement that the Municipal Rates would rise to 13.65 (commercial) and 15.63 (residential), both increases over the previous year. At the April meeting, these rates were rescinded and the Town Council

agreed to seek assistance in meeting the budget from the Provincial Department of Municipal Affairs (Middleton Mirror, 23 April 1980, p. 1).

At this meeting of citizens, suggestions were made that the Police Department cut back on manpower. Chief Boutilier reacted to this by claiming that "cutting back the department would leave residents without a substantial decrease in taxes and would place the department in jeopardy." The town could return to the service of 1977, Boutilier said, when people had complained of the level of police service and "when residents wanted the service upgraded", but if one officer is cut, he said, the "resulting problem and lessening of service may not be worth the saving."

Boutilier stressed the lowering of overtime costs as one of his argument. In 1977, he said, 690 hours of overtime were worked; this dropped to 222 in 1978 and to 157 in 1979. To cut back would again increase the amount of overtime worked, and the "net saving would be minimal". In addition, he supported his arguments by pointing to the drop in the crime rate and the rise in the clearance rate. "Chief Boutilier said the performance of the department speaks for itself and `all this talk of cutbacks only serves to hurt moral'."

`"I don't mind people wanting their taxes decreased but they should make sure they know what they are talking about before making suggestions to Council'." (Middleton Mirror, 23 April 1980, p. 3).

In summary, a major component of the restructuring involved an increase in staffing. As P. McGahan has shown, ("Middleton's Police: The First 60 Years", Report # 11), the era of one full-time police official did not end until the tenure of Stan Holt. The Middleton department nearly doubled in size in a span of a few years, so that the ratio of police to citizens approached 1:300. Middleton has not experienced a significant population increase in the decade and has maintained a fairly constant size of approximately 1,800 citizens. The size of the police force remains a bone of contention with some property owners in the town and surfaces through their representatives on the Town Council and the Police Commission. This threat has been substantially reduced as other police departments in the Valley region have recently expanded their forces. The Police Department, as a small-scale bureaucracy, has an organizational interest in maintaining its complement. The Town of Middleton is considering the incorporation of land to the north and west of the town, adjacent to the Industrial park, despite some apparently strong opposition to amalgamation by property owners in the effected area. This will have a further effect on policing needs. In the long run, the possibility of regionalization of policing in the province would mean a reorganization of personnel and financing.

The rule of thumb for municipalities regarding the size of their police establishments was at one time to have one full-time officer for every 500 residents of the town. This standard is no longer employed. The town of Berwick, for example, population 2,200, added a sixth member in August 1989. This represents a decrease in the police/citizens ratio from 1:440 to 1:367. In Kentville, the police department was expanded from 12 to 15 regular members. In a town of 5,200, the police ratio dropped to 1:347 from 1:433.

The police forces in Annapolis Royal, Wolfville and Hantsport have not undergone change and population has remained relatively constant.

Police Departments justify their size and growth in a number of ways. In Berwick, the increase in staff was attributed to a 20% increase in the population of the town which was one of the largest increases in Eastern Canada. In that town as well, although there had not been a rise in the crime rate, there was an increase in the amount of time officers must spend writing reports, attending court and maintaining files and records. These changes largely came from outside the department as expectations of professional standards of recording and investigating offenses increased. This limited the amount of time officers could be "on patrol" but, according to one Valley Chief, "the same number of hours must be spent outside the office patrolling". Consequently, more staff was needed because of the "increased paper work" (Mary Coffill Deveau, "Police Presence Continues to Grow", [Kentville Advertiser, 8 September 1989, p. 1).

More generally the old ratio of 1:500 was unrealistic now because of mobility. Towns in the Valley have become service centres for the surrounding population. For example, the Berwick Police department has "to service another 5,000 [who] use the town as a service centre". The policed population, then, changes daily and it is "uncertain as to what per cent of crimes and violations" the police deal with "are actually performed by residents of the town" (Ibid.).

In Kentville, Chief Crowell (who was hired in September 1988) has monitored the department's statistics and concluded that 71% of offenders consisted of people who resided out of town. In addition, he justified the increase in the police department by a "marked increase in ... the number of criminal code, motor vehicle and liquor control charges laid", although he indicated that increased statistics may not reflect changes in criminal behaviour but, rather, in terms of police visibility and activity. (Ibid., p. 3A). The statistics on out-of-town people were calculated by calling town businesses to ascertain how many of their employees lived outside of town. In addition, to help pay for the additional members, officers can enforce liquor and traffic offenses more vigorously, to help pay for the increase costs incurred by the town.

## (2) Middleton Police Department: 1983-1989

In 1983 the Middleton Police Department continued to maintain the number of officers recommended in the 1977 Nova Scotia Police Commission Assessment. The force of six members consisted of Chief Kenneth Cook, Corporal Charles Brown, and four regular constables: Richard Beard, Roland Smith, Burt McNeil, and Owen McKenzie. In 1983 there was one Special Constable, Martyn. With respect to turn-over, Cook said that since 1978 two members had been lost to the R.C.M.P., one to the N.B.H.P., and one was let go.

McKenzie resigned from the department in 1985 and Chief Cook constituted a Hiring Board consisting of himself and the Chiefs of Police from Kentville (Innis) and Hantsport

(Crowell). Marty Leddicote was hired. His previous experience consisted primarily of his work as an auxiliary R.C.M.P. constable in Kingston.

Constable Glenna MacMurtery had been hired for 17 weeks in 1983 from money obtained from the Provincial Summer Employment Programme. (Police Academy cadets had been working in the summer in Middleton since 1974) (P. McGahan, Report # 12, pp. 16-17). During MacMurtery's employment, "just about all of the members were able to take their vacation by having the extra member on duty. Two members were able to have their vacation at the same time without affecting police services" (Middleton Police Department, 1983 Annual Report, 18 January 1984, p. 11).

A second employee was also hired in 1983 under the Provincial Summer Employment Program. Roger Lewis "acted as dispatcher in the evening hours". (Middleton Police department, 1983 Annual Report, 18 January 1984, p. 11).

Corporal Brown, originally from Glace Bay, had been hired in 1978 from the Police Academy. At the time of the study, he occupied the plain clothes position in the department. Roland Smith was born in New Hampshire, moved to Mahone Bay, and became a part-time policeman there. When the study began he was the senior constable, coming to Middleton with Chief Boutilier. Burt McNeil was hired in 1981 when the department had lost an officer who resigned. Rather than hire at that time directly from the Police Academy in Charlottetown, the Chief preferred to hire more experienced officers. McNeil was working with the R.C.M.P. as an Auxiliary Officer and the R.C.M.P. recommended him highly. When he was hired McNeil had no formal police training. Shortly thereafter, Cook hired Dick Beard to fill the last vacancy. Beard was older, had extensive military experience, and had also worked as an Auxiliary officer with the R.C.M.P.

In general, then, similar to the experience in other valley police departments, after the turmoil of the early 1980s, staffing settled down considerably. Between 1983 and 1989, with the exception of the replacement of McKenzie by Leddicote, the Middleton force was stable.

In 1989 the senior constable, Roland Smith, resigned. In 1990, Constable Beard suffered a disability and, later, also resigned from the Department. With the two oldest members no longer on the force, the Chief hired younger recruits directly from the Academy. Tim Carrigan, from Truro, began employment in Middleton in November, 1989. Beard was replaced in 1991, bringing the force back to full complement.

### (3) Police Quarters

One part of the modernization of policing in Nova Scotia undertaken in the last decade and a half has been focused on appropriate recruitment, emphasizing the need to select only trained police officers. In addition, the image of professionalization and political independence is enhanced by the provision of modern and relatively more spacious quarters. In the past, police departments were frequently relegated to the basement or rear

of municipal buildings, a spatial arrangement which symbolized the low esteem with which the department was held and the absence of political independence.

This type of arrangement, common throughout the Valley, was also reflected in the provision of quarters for the Middleton police force. In 1977, the Police Department was located on a cramped portion of the ground floor of the Town Hall. Quarters consisted of two offices, two holding cells and a small washroom. The N.S.P.C. concluded, in its Assessment, that: "The overall space is insufficient for an effective police operation. There is no provision for a locker room, an interrogation room, nor space for the securing of tangible evidence." The cells were in disrepair. Consequently, the N.S.P.C. recommended enlarging the quarters to provide for these additional rooms and repairs (pp. 9-10). In 1977 the Police Department took over the adjacent space in the Town hall which had been occupied by the Town Library. The N.S.P.C. assisted in the interior design and the recommended changes were made (NSPC, 1980, pp. 11 - 12).

The adequate housing of prisoners is a problem in Middleton. Initially, there were two cells at the station. The N.S.P.C. Assessment found that, at times, prisoners detained in the cells were left unsupervised. They concluded that this practice was "most dangerous" since serious charges could result should harm come to a detainee (p. 9). This practice had not changed by 1980 (NSPC, 1980, p. 12). In his 1983 Report, the Chief made note of a problem associated with the lock up of prisoners (Middleton Police Department, 1983 Annual Report, 18 January 1984, p. 1). Part of the difficulty concerned leaving prisoners unattended. With only one or two police officers on duty, prisoners were frequently left alone in the jail. This potential negligence was dangerous to the health and security of prisoners and left the town open to potential law suits. In addition, special arrangements had to be made when female prisoners were arrested. The cells were removed when the station was renovated. Currently, prisoners have to be transported to the county jail in Annapolis Royal, a trip which takes the better part of an hour. During this time the town is often left without a police presence. This may lower the arrest statistics in Middleton and increase the probability of the use of informal measures.

Following the recommendations of the Nova Scotia Police Commission, the police quarters in Middleton were expanded. They now consist of a small entrance, a room for storage of files and records, a general office used by the receptionist/ secretary/ dispatcher, a second office used by the constables, a GIS office, a breathalyser room, a lounge, a storage area for exhibits, and a chief's office. The quarters are adequate for the six-member force, although there is no room specifically for interviewing.

#### (4) Equipment

A significant part of the modernization of policing involved up-grading the equipment. Police uniforms were standardized across the province and each officer was issued with such necessary items as boots, rain gear and winter parkas. Standard issue items include handcuffs, mobile radios and flashlights. Among the most significant items of equipment in the police department are the police vehicles (symbols of policing and the prestige of

the department as much as working vehicles), the facilities for communication which greatly affect police response, and the weapons.

(i) Police Vehicles

In 1977, the Department was operating with one patrol vehicle, a 1976 Dodge Sedan which was "in a poor state of repair". A replacement had been ordered, but the N.S.P.C. considered one vehicle insufficient. Difficulties with only one vehicle included the need to transport prisoners to Annapolis Royal, the need to serve legal documents outside the town, and periods when the patrol vehicle is unserviceable. No back-up vehicle was available, and the department sometimes resorted to renting a vehicle "which is inadequately equipped" (p. 13). The N.S.P.C. recommended that a back-up vehicle should be obtained in 1978 and the two vehicles replaced alternately (p. 14). By 1980, a back-up vehicle was in service (NSPC, 1980, p. 17).

In 1983, the Middleton Police Department operated two cars, # 38, a Dodge, and # 35, a Chev. Since then the department has maintained two vehicles. Only one of these has been a marked police cruiser. The other car is unmarked. At the time of the study, the department operated with a 1989 Chevrolet Caprice. Since much of an officer's time is spent behind the wheel, considerable importance is attached by the constables to the comfort of the car as well as other provisions which make operating out of the car safe and convenient. The radio needs to be accessible. For example, the radio in the Crime Prevention van (see below) hooks on a panel behind the front seats and this is a source of complaint.

The purchase of a new police vehicle in 1988 led to some controversy in the town. The issue is whether the Department should seek tenders from businesses which are located outside the town or, indeed, order cars from outside dealers. It has been alleged that members of Town Council have, at times, put pressure on the Police Commission to buy a vehicle from a dealer located in the town, even though the original tender was more expensive. This is one of the forms in which political interference continues in the operations of small town police departments. Similarly, other valley towns have considered making town residence a condition of employment. In Middleton, not all members of the police department reside within the town boundaries.

In Middleton, the unmarked car is used during the day shift primarily by the plain clothes investigator. At times on week-end shifts both cars may be used for patrol. Prisoners are transported to Annapolis County jail in one while the other remains in the town. Given the need to travel outside the boundaries of the town to investigate offenses, interview witnesses, and serve court documents, a second car is essential and, even in small towns, two vehicles are often considered by Chiefs of Police to be insufficient. In Hantsport, the department has only one car and the Chief there was seeking a second vehicle in 1990.

The quality of the police cruiser is important for several reasons. As noted above, the car is a symbol of the police function as well as of the department. An up-to-date car is a source of pride and morale. Police cars are replaced according to a pre-determined

schedule, every two years. The Department maintains a log of the mileage driven. The majority of the distance is accounted for by the marked cruiser. Over a two-year period, the cruiser will cover between 120,000 and 140,000 kilometres. Replacing this vehicle semi-annually is primarily a financial consideration, that is, after two years the costs of maintenance become excessive and the vehicle spends too much time in repair. In the R.C.M.P., financial restraint has been used to justify keeping the police vehicles on the road to 150,000 km. So far in town policing, Police Commissions have accepted the two-year regular turn-over of vehicles. Under the auspices of the Valley Association of Chiefs of Police, plans are under way for the various departments to cooperate in the purchase of police vehicles, buying simultaneously through one company through the respective agents in each town. They anticipate savings through such bulk purchases. In addition, since the police vehicles they buy are standard white in colour, Chiefs in Hantsport, Berwick, Middleton and Kentville are considering having white police vehicles with blue markings and the respective departmental number painted on the car. This is an example of regional cooperation, the strength of which seems to depend on the individual proclivities of police chiefs.

#### (ii) Communication

The 1977 system was not considered adequate by the N.S.P.C. It consisted of a transmitter/receiver at the police station, one in the police patrol car, and one portable radio. Only one of the three frequencies worked, and the system was shared by the Works Department and at times with the Fire Department. The portable radio had only one regular battery, and down-time was substantial for re-charging (p. 18). At times during the day when the Police Office was not occupied, Town staff would answer the telephone and pass information to the duty constable (p. 19). At night, the switchboard of the Hospital also took telephone messages and relayed them to the constable by radio or telephone. "There is no obligation on their part to perform this service, but it has been carried out for a number of years" (pp. 18-19).

The N.S.P.C. recommended renting a communications system from Maritime Tel & Tel (the community emergency radio telephone) for police use only, as well as renting a second portable and replacement batteries (p. 20). By 1980, a suitable radio system was in operation (NSPC, 1980, p. 21).

Under the telephone system operating in 1980, the Chief of Police had "an extension located in his bedroom which rings every time a call is made to the Police Station during night hours." They recommended that this extension be removed and that the new system would "not be a problem as the calls will be taken direct by the constable on duty" (p. 22). By 1980 the telephone extension had been removed from the Chief's bedroom, although it was still available elsewhere in his house (NSPC, 1980, p. 23).

Police departments in the Valley continue to up-date their communications service and equipment. Regardless of the systems put into place to date, problems have surfaced and changes have been sought. The Nova Scotia Police Commission placed considerable emphasis on the need for efficient communication in its 1977 assessment of the

Middleton Police Department. However, in his 1984 Annual Report, the Chief made note that there was still a problem effecting communication. He expected that, "with the co-operation of the police commission, and council, improvements in this area will be made" (Middleton Police Department, 1983 Annual Report, 18 January 1984, p. 1).

At the beginning of the study period, in 1987, the Middleton Police shared the communications dispatch service offered by Valley Communications in Kentville. The operating channel was shared by Annapolis Royal, Berwick and Middleton, and the capability existed to switch over to a common channel which would include Kentville. In addition, the radio includes a scanning feature which allows the Middleton Police Department to monitor the R.C.M.P. channel. R.C.M.P. cruisers are similarly equipped. This is important for quick assistance and information sharing. Middleton cars can not, however, speak directly to the R.C.M.P. According to one member of the town force, this is because the R.C.M.P. will not allow this sharing, although it is desired by constables in both forces. The valley chiefs are currently investigating the possibility of joining the provincial grid system operated by Lands and Forests in Nova Scotia (the Nova Scotia Integrated Radio System). This would allow switching of channels so that the police department could communicate with fire departments, other agencies, and R.C.M.P. detachments directly. The Valley Chiefs decided to indicate their interest to the provincial Solicitor General, requesting that an engineer be assigned to determine the costs of incorporating the Valley region in the grid system.

During the study period, Middleton and Annapolis Royal re-arranged their system of communications and dispatch, did not renew the contract with Valley Communications on the principal grounds of increased costs, and contracted instead with a local answering service. The cost savings were considered more important than the potential convenience of being able to communicate directly with departments throughout the valley region.

### (iii) Weapons

While in 1977 all members of the Middleton Police Department carried weapons, the N.S.P.C. found that "no provisions are made for training in their use, or range practice.... Present members of the Force are not sure if the revolvers are workable as they have never had the opportunity to fire the revolvers in practice." In addition, no ammunition was available.

The N.S.P.C. policy was to have officers "meet an established standard on a practice range with their revolvers and to re-qualify annually" (p. 7). Consequently, they recommended that the Middleton force use the range available at the local High School for practice, and that one member be qualified as a range instructor, who would supervise the annual qualifications (p. 8) By 1980, however, ammunition had not yet been made available for a practice shoot, and no officer had been qualified as a range instructor (NSPC, 1980, pp. 9 - 10).

It is the rare officer who says that she or he prefers to be unarmed rather than armed. Possession of a side-arm is a highly visible symbol of power and safety. In small town

policing, the symbol is certainly more important than direct use since constables very seldom draw their revolver in the line of duty and most have not fired it except in practice. Nevertheless, considerable importance is attached, by the officers themselves and by the Police Commission, to the preparedness represented by qualifying on the firing range. Officers who fail to qualify, that is, obtain a certain score on the annual "shoot", are not permitted to wear the firearm. This would certainly be a serious issue in terms of personal and departmental prestige. In practice, officers shoot until they qualify, although this is seldom a problem and officers maintain considerable pride in their fire arm accomplishments.

In each department in the region, an officer is designated for firearms training. In Middleton, Constable Beard was designated as the Firearms Instructor in 1983 and the department participated in three range target practice sessions in that year. On April 10th, a qualifying shoot was held (a score of 220/300 needed for crossed pistols) and four of seven members (including Special Constable Martyn) qualified.

In 1983 the departmental shotgun was fitted with a full time storage case and was carried in the trunk of police car 38 (the marked car). Constable Beard anticipated that a practice session in early 1984 "will familiarize members with the use of the police shotgun" ("Firearms Instructors Report for the Year 1983", Middleton Police Department, 4 January 1984).

In 1984, Chief Cook reissued members of the department with the Ruger Security Six .357 Magnum hand gun. This model replaced the previously used light weight Smith and Wesson .38 calibre handgun, of which the department possessed two. The question of appropriate hand-guns has been a controversial for years in Canadian policing, with many officers complaining that the standard .38 calibre pistols are inadequate to provide protection. In Nova Scotia, the most common police weapon is the Smith and Wesson .38. The Canadian Police Association, however, meeting in January 1989, concluded that the .38 Smith and Wesson was inadequate. "Our uniformed police officers are often the first on the scene of violent occurrences, yet the weapon they are provided with may be unsafe to discharge the ammunition that is necessary to incapacitate a violent person or destroy a vicious animal. In place of the .38, the C.P.A. recommended the .357 Magnum or the 9 mm semi-automatic self-loading pistol, which carries between 12 and 20 rounds, and is "the weapon of choice" in "specialized units" authorized to carry other weapons (James M. Kingston, "President's Report", C.P.A. Express, no date, p. 3).

In his justification for the switch in handguns, Beard made reference to information from the Atlantic Police Academy which indicated that the lighter weapon could explode when, in the words of Firearms Training Officer Beard, "plus P standard issue .38 calibre ammunition was fired". "The members of this department are using only the standard plus P .38 calibre ammunition in these weapons as per department policy." In addition, problems with the Smith & Wesson had emerged during practice shoots. Consequently, Beard recommended "that these hands guns presently belonging to the Middleton Police Department be replaced as soon as possible before a serious accident resulted, either through misfire in a crisis situation or the possibility of an explosion during firing due to

improper cylinder action which usually results in severe injury or possible death to the shooter." Beard recommended the 357 Magnum which was, in his opinion, "one of the finest and most durable hand guns in production". Beard concluded: "The issuing of this suburb and dependable weapon, in the light of the trend for violence in today's society, has been received by the members of this department with much appreciation" ("Firearms Instructors Report for the Year 1984", Middleton Police Department, 16 January 1985, pp. 1-2).

In 1985, each member was "issued with the new hollow point Plus P 38 calibre ammunition, which is now also standard issue with the R.C.M.P" (Memorandum to Chief of Police, Middleton Police Department, from Cst. Richard Beard, Firearms Officer, Middleton Police Department, 4 February 1986, Re: 1985 Firearms and Range Report). A familiarization shoot was held on 2 February 1986 using the new Ruger handguns. (Memorandum to the Middleton Police Department, from Cst. Richard Beard, Firearms Officer, Middleton Police Department, 21 January 1987).

#### (iv) Other Equipment

In 1977, Middleton and Berwick police departments shared radar equipment, but the model was old and of "doubtful serviceability" (p. 14). The N.S.P.C. recommended a hand-held radar unit with metric calibration (p. 16).

In 1977, the breathalysers in the Kingston or Bridgewater R.C.M.P. detachments were used by Middleton Police, a service which was "not always immediately available" (p. 14). The N.S.P.C. recommended that these arrangements be continued, but that the Town plan a future purchase of a breathalyser (p. 16). This had not been done by 1980. The N.S.P.C. argued that using facilities in other towns was unreasonable and recommended that the Middleton Department "be supplied with its own breathalyser as soon as practicable" (NSPC, 1980, p. 18). According to the Halifax Chronicle Herald: "The town contends that as long as fines from impaired driving charges are collected by the province, such a move does not make economic sense" (Halifax Chronicle Herald).

C.P.I.C. was also only available at the Detachments. After 5 p. m. calls had to be made to Halifax. The department could query by telephone, but no input could be made to C.P.I.C. in this manner (p. 15). The size of the Middleton Department did not justify the use of a C.P.I.C. machine (p. 17). By 1980, the Middleton Police could "put information into the system by telephone" (NSPC, 1980, p. 19).

In 1989 Chief Cook was successful in having a C.P.I.C. terminal located in Middleton, greatly simplifying procedures for the department.

## **II SUPERVISION AND ORGANIZATION**

### (1) N.S.P.C. Assessment

The Police Act of 1977 had attempted to delineate the roles of the municipality, the Board of Commissioners and the Police Chief. In the words of the Act: "Notwithstanding the right of a municipality to direct its own police operations, the function of any board shall primarily relate to the administrative direction, organization and policy required to maintain an efficient and adequate police force" (Subsection 20 [2]). The Chief was responsible for the "actual day to day direction of the police force with respect to the enforcement of law and the maintenance of discipline within the force" (Subsection 15 [2]). "The [Nova Scotia Police] Commission interprets the intention of the Police Act to be that the Chief of Police is responsible for the general administration, direction, and discipline of the force, subject to the authority of the Board" (p. 1).

Accordingly, the "Assessment" attempted to delineate the functions in its first recommendations, with the Board acting in the role of a "Board of Directors or policy makers of the Department", while the Chief acts as the "general manager or implementer of policy for the Department" (p. 3). The procedure for directions to the Chief from the Board were formalized, to be written in minutes and delivered to the Chief in writing.

The role of the Chief, according to the Commission, included ensuring that all statutes are uniformly enforced, developing "crime prevention and other programs to enhance police-community relations", being "responsible for the welfare and professional development of the other members of the force", providing information to the Board concerning the operation of the police department, and being the "disciplinary authority", "ensuring that the disciplinary procedures laid down in the Regulations are followed".

According to the N.S.P.C., these recommendations were put into effect. The original problem of the role of the Board of Police Commissioners had "disappeared", and the Chief "zealously guards his area of responsibility" and implements Board policy (NSPC, 1980, p. 1). Directions to the Police come from the Chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners "and the previous problem of having various other Council or Board members giving direction has been eliminated" (NSPC 1980, p. 2).

The 1977 "Assessment" of Chief Boutilier concluded that he had extensive experience (22 years as Chief of Mahone Bay, and a period of time serving with the Police Department in Truro), had "availed himself of training whenever the opportunity arose", and related "well with his subordinates". He was a "capable and respected police officer". The primary short-coming of Boutilier's tenure, according to the "Assessment", was that he should "give more personal time to street duty and less to office duties", thereby giving citizens "an opportunity of meeting their chief". Town officials wanted the Chief to become town Traffic Authority and become involved in the Emergency Measures Organization (p. 4). Chief Boutilier resisted these directions, believing that "the need to meet and be in the public eye was not necessary....[H]is feelings on 'main-streeting' have not changed." The 1980 Assessment noted that "the Board must set policy for the Chief of Police in areas where they wish change and take the necessary action to bring about implementation of these changes" (NSPC, 1980, pp. 2-3).

With respect to daily management of the department, the N.S.P.C. found that the department, in 1977, was "operating without written departmental orders or standard operational procedures other than a night patrol checklist of businesses to be patrolled.

"This lack of written orders and procedures leaves personnel in a position where they make their own individual decisions as to methods and procedures which may or may not be suitable for the Department and/or the public." Consequently, the N.S.P.C. recommended that the Chief "establish in writing, the normal daily duties required to be performed by subordinates as well as procedures and policies to be followed" (p. 12). By 1980 the N.S.P.C. noted that this recommendation had "only been partially implemented", and they reiterated the original recommendation (NSPC, 1980, p. 15). As will be noted below, under Chief Cook, these administrative changes have been implemented.

## (2) Management Practices

As has been noted in reports of the R.C.M.P., the work of police officers has a relatively high degree of autonomy. To a considerable extent it is unsupervised and unsupervisable (Lundman 1980). "For most of his/her eight-hour shift, a patrol officer is out on the street. Hence, police supervisors have no reliable method for determining what their officers are doing" (Eitzen and Timmer, 1985: 390).

Consequently, Eitzen and Timmer argue, police departments "have devised an alternate system for assessing police officer accountability and efficiency" (1985: 390). One of these means entails considerable paper work. The primary means for judging the efficiency of an officer has been the monitoring of statistics and performance records. Since supervisors are absent for the patrol period, in most cases the officer's shift is monitored by a written account of the activity during a shift. Eitzen and Timmer claim that:

"[P]atrol officers must document when they go on duty and when they leave, when they go to the toilet, when they take a coffee break, weather conditions, radio calls when they are assigned, mileage driven during their shift, and the traffic citations they issue. There are also forms to be filled out for criminal incidents, accident reports, arrest reports; special forms are required if the officer is involved in an accident him/herself, uses physical force, or fires a gun. This incessant documentation and paperwork overload is a real determinant of police activity and behavior." (Eitzen and Timmer, 1985: 390)

Not all of these onerous tasks are required of members of the Municipal Police Departments. There are various means by which the Chief is able to supervise the work of his constables. During the day shift the Chief is able to monitor the activities of his officers to some extent by listening to the radio. Other valley chiefs have been known to take a portable home with them, or purchase a scanner, to listen to the chatter during the evening shift.

A major way to supervise the day-to-day work of the constables, as indicated above, is through the use of a patrol sheet. Besides indicating which car was used and how many kilometres were driven, these sheets (referred to as "spy sheets" by some valley constables) provide, in Middleton, a break-down of the shift activities by half hours. They are not very detailed in the reporting, however. For example, constables will mark in "foot patrol", or "office" for various allocations of time, the latter of which, in particular, provides a wide latitude of activities.

The constables are required to check private properties as part of the department's house-check programme. This is an important part of the public relations effort of the department and it is greatly appreciated by the citizens. Patrol officers have to indicate the time they checked each house on the list which is written on their "Patrol & Car Report".

### (3) Recording Procedures

In 1977, the Department used a Log Book for a permanent record of happenings and duty personnel. "Occurrence reports while available are seldom used." The N.S.P.C. found that the department was not keeping sufficient statistics: "the Department is more actively engaged with complaints and investigations than indicated and it is not receiving credit for the volume of work being performed." They recommended the standard use of occurrence forms (p. 11) and the development of a filing system. The Chief should "include all reportable complaints or infractions in the monthly report to ... Statistics Canada to give a more accurate picture of the volume of work being carried out by the Department" (p. 12).

The Log Book System was still employed in 1980, while occurrence and follow-up reports were increasingly used. A filing system had also been set up. The majority of offenses were being reported, although "on occasions some petty offenses are not included. The Chief of Police [had in 1980] only recently attended a training session along with other Chiefs of Police in the Annapolis Valley Area on the proper use of the Judicial Statistical Report and from this it is expected that further improvement will be made" (NSPC, 1980, p. 15). In many respects, the nature of much police work was being changed even in small towns by these more bureaucratic thrusts originating outside the departments.

The present Chief said that when he started in Middleton there was no filing system and no occurrence numbers. Everything was simply kept in a log book. One of the most significant ways in which policing has been modernized is through the maintenance of regular files (the increased "paper-work" another valley chief alluded to in an interview with the Kentville Advertiser).

In Middleton, all matters which are recorded are hand-written by the constable, typed by the secretary, and then given to the Chief for review. If it is a matter which requires continuation, the Chief assigns a diary date, and decides whether the matter should be handled by the originating officer or handed over to the full-time investigator. At the time

of the diary date the Chief reassess the file and check on the progress which has been made. If necessary, he will brief the detailed member on the file and offer advice on the conduct of the case. If the member has "concluded" the file, the Chief requires that he explain why it has been concluded; this decision must be supported by a reason. If it has not been concluded by the diary date, another is assigned. Cases could be concluded, but still be on-going, for example, should an offender not show up at court and a warrant be issued. The occurrences are filed by occurrence number.

This procedure allows the Chief some knowledge about the activities of his officers. Similarly, he receives information about their activities through their S.O.T.s. The issuing of tickets provides a measure of productivity. There is considerable unevenness about the issuing of tickets. Some officers prefer to give verbal warnings and state that they have not encountered violators. At the time of the study, of the four patrol constables (the fifth member is G.I.S.), two wrote the most tickets. The Chief takes the marked car and a S.O.T. book about once a month and, in the process, has at times nearly doubled the month's tickets. The Chief claims that he is demonstrating, by force of example, that there are numerous violators in the town and ticket production could be increased. The unevenness in "ticket production" is a long-standing issue in the department. As mentioned elsewhere in these reports, the issuing of tickets is a touchy political issue. On the one hand, the Chief does not want to harass the citizens and many tickets are issued to people who live out of town. On the other hand, tickets generate revenue for the town. In another town, for example, the Department was expected to help pay for the increase in staff by an increase in the number of traffic violation tickets. Ultimately, the difference in the level of S.O.T. production has as much to do with the differing modes or styles of policing among the individual officers in the Department as with management practices. A more informal, service oriented approach to small town policing is consistent with a community-based policing strategy, as opposed to a more legalistic, enforcement style. For any department, the problem of management is to maintain an appropriate balance between these imperatives -- enforcement and community rapport -- and to utilize the differing abilities and styles of the various officers to maximum advantage.

#### (4) Performance Evaluation

The result of the Chief's evaluation of the members of the Middleton Police Force is summarized in semi-annual assessments which he initiated in 1983. As the Chief noted in his Annual report of 1983: "To further increase the efficiency of the police department, all members will be evaluated every six months" (Middleton Police Department, 1983 Annual Report, 18 January 1984, p. 1). Currently, evaluations take place annually. The Chief is solely responsible for these assessments.

In 1981 the Department held exams for promotion to corporal. At that time Chief Boutilier was charged with, essentially, a breach of trust offense involving a sexual assault, was fined \$500 and placed on two years probation. Members of the department at that time report that they were "devastated" and that the department had been unaware of the situation. The Chief's resignation left both senior positions in the department open. Cook had been successful in the promotional routine and, as a Corporal, became acting-

Chief. There were 17 to 20 applicants for the Chief's position, from as far away as B.C. This was narrowed down to six, and Cook was offered the appointment.

At first, Cook indicated, the Department attempted to act as a team and held together. At the time, he was the youngest chief in the province and some of his staff were older. At the time the Department was youthful. Cook, therefore, thought it necessary to hire some older, experienced people to balance the department, giving them the opportunity to work as professional police officers. (See the discussion above on the hiring practices of the Department).

Cook said that, when he became Chief, his major task was to improve the standing of the Department in the eye of the public and create better morale within the department. He emphasized house and business property checks, programmes which had started previously, but had not been emphasized. He created the plain clothes position and said that the reputation of the department was enhanced by its success in apprehending criminals. The department was to emphasize high visibility and quick response. The changes in equipment, communications and recording practices, mentioned above, were implemented. Over the course of his tenure, Chief Cook has undertaken training in management. Among other Police Departments in the Valley, Middleton had a reputation of being relatively cohesive. Over the long course of an ethnographic study, it doesn't take long for the disagreements and personality clashes which are inevitable in any small organization to surface. In this respect the Middleton department is not unlike other small police departments in the Valley. Disagreements have persisted with the Chief and some of the older members, and even among the newest recruits. In many respects, it is a very volatile mix of members. In addition, as noted above, conflicts reflect the differing styles of policing found in the orientation to day-to-day policing of individual officers and, when this style conflicts with that of the Chief, conflict is exacerbated. Opposition to the department's practices, as elsewhere in Nova Scotia policing, becomes centred in the Police Union. The main point, however, is that the police force maintain professional standards and that internal disagreements are worked out on an equitable basis.

#### (5) Rank Structure

The rank structure of the Middleton force in 1977 consisted of a Chief and three constables. Consequently, as the only ranking member, the Chief was "on call 24 hours a day, 7 days a week". In his absence, there is no "direct supervision", which is an "undesirable situation as a ranking member should be available for decision making and control at all times" (p. 5). Consequently, the N.S.P.C. recommended that a promotional routine be held to promote one of the constables to the rank of corporal. The N.S.P.C. recommended that the promotional routine "should be based on a combination of written and oral testing of general police and supervisory skills, suitable mental ability testing and an assessment by the Chief of Police of each candidate's past service and work record." The N.S.P.C. offered to assist the process.

The rank of Corporal in the Department would be a "working rank", according to the N.S.P.C. That is, the Corporal would carry out both his former duties as well as "the

supervisory duties of his new position" (p. 6). No further job description was provided. By 1980 the Board of Police Commissioners was "actively considering" this recommendation (NSPC, 1980, p. 6). As noted above, the routine was held in 1981, coincidentally about the time Chief Boutilier faced criminal charges. Following Cook's hiring as Chief, a second promotional routine was run in the department and then-Constable Brown was the successful candidate.

The Middleton Police Department is a six-man force. Consequently, it does not have a platoon structure, and only a simple order of ranks. In addition to the Chief, there is a corporal and four constables. The corporal assumes the position of acting-chief in the absence of the Chief. He is consulted by the Chief with respect to internal matters of discipline and complaints against the police force. For example, the resignation of one member was prompted by allegations which resulted, first, in an internal investigation conducted by Brown, and then an independent review by Chief Crowell from Kentville. Although he holds the rank of Corporal, Brown does not actively supervise the constables and does not write assessments of them. He is not an "operational supervisor" with respect to the day-to-day assignments, activities, call-outs, overtime or sick calls experienced by the department. Neither does he review all the files. All these duties are handled by the Chief. The rank of Corporal is a recognition of the close working relationship between these two senior members of the Department and an inducement to remain with the department, more than a working rank.

Among constables, seniority is an important principle. However, since in most cases members work alone, the assignment of day-to-day duties by seniority does not take place. Prior to the resignation of Smith, of the four constables, three were senior and two were relatively old with respect to the average for street policemen. With six years service, the junior man does not treat the other members with great deference. Since 1989, with the hiring of two young constables, seniority is again an important differentiating factor in the Department.

Seniority does not seem to be the crucial determinant with respect to the allocation of training courses. More pragmatic concerns are paramount, such as the availability of money to send members to training. Throughout the valley, members of the police union contend that the various Chiefs allocate training priorities on the basis of rewards for those officers they deem most productive. During the 1980s, training was a priority. During the study it was found that there was little if any difference among R.C.M.P. and Municipal Police officers with respect to the amount of on-the-job training they received. More recently, however, budget deficits and cut-backs have affected police budgets, and training is a frequent casualty of these cuts.

#### (6) Internal Investigations

As would be expected, public complaints about police misconduct are handled according to the Police Act. Most commonly, however, the first stage is sufficient -- the informal resolution. Consequently, few complaints get to the stage of a formal written statement.

Public complaints about the police departments in the valley are usually done indirectly, to a town councillor or member of the police commission. They use their discretion about whether the matter is brought up to the Chief. At times, people complain to the Chief directly. An example of the type of complaint which the department receive and which is handled informally involved a tip from a jewellery store about two suspicious males parked outside in a truck. An officer investigated, going first into the store and then going up to the individuals in the truck to speak with them. The clerk in the store complained that this action was "unprofessional" because "they didn't wish to get involved to that extent". They felt that the officer should have acted more discretely, especially in light of the outcome, since the two men were apparently not involved in any wrong-doing. This matter was resolved by the officer, in the sense that no formal complaint resulted.

Day-to-day policing often involves the police in confrontations with people other than offenders. The manner in which these matters are handled reflect on the professionalism of the members. One constable stopped a car which contained a known trouble-maker and abuser. This known individual was not driving, however, and was verbally abusive to the officer, finally advising him to go chase real "trouble-makers". The problem with this abuse, he later said, was that you couldn't strike back "or you would have a lawyer on your tail". The history of small town policing is replete with routine incidents of "curb-side justice", in which police officers intimidate offenders and handle situations physically rather than legally. Such incidents are difficult to prove because of the absence of other witnesses, the likelihood that other officers will protect their own, and because of the relatively low status of most offenders so treated. Over the last decade police officers have learned to be more careful in their physical handling of offenders and suspects, or at least in managing the situation to ensure that public complaints are not forthcoming.

The most common complaints come from citizens who feel that they were treated disrespectfully by the police. Again, the officers are learning to be more circumspect about their routine enforcement practices including their use of language.

Should complaints come to the attention of the Police Chief, the first step is informal resolution. Under the Police Act, the Chief is responsible for discipline in the department. In some circumstances, Chiefs have broadened internal investigations by calling in other Chiefs to investigate. This impartiality sometimes leads to hard feelings among the Chiefs if the interpretations of wrong-doing conflict. If necessary, matters involving public complaints as well as internal matters can be investigated by the Police Commission.

#### (7) Shift Schedule

According to Cook, making the shift schedule is a co-operative endeavour between himself and the other members of the department. He establishes certain parameters, such as that the shifts be 8-hours, that a constable is on duty until 5 A. M., and that there be double coverage for the busiest evenings. The members work out the schedule which he approves.

The department works on an 8-hour shift system and 40-hour week. The Chief works day-shift, usually 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. At times he may work in the evening when the department is especially short staffed, although this is extremely rare. The department has a full-time investigator's position which is also primarily day-shift. Frequently the plain clothes officer works from 10 a.m. to 6 pm. Shifts vary from time to time. During the study, the following was typical: Over the course of a 28-day rotation, a constable would normally work 7 days, 14 nights, and have 7 days off.

On week-days, the day shift is 11 A. M. to 7 P. M.; and two constables work the evening shifts: 7 P. M. to 3 A. M. and 9 P. M. to 5 A. M. On Saturday, the day shift is 10 A. M. to 6 P. M., coinciding with the opening of the majority of the stores, and the evening man comes in to work from 6 P. M. to 2 A. M. Sunday is the least busy day, with one day shift (beginning at 12 noon) and one evening shift, 8 P. M. to 4 A. M.

For the seven days off, each constable is ensured in the time-table of having one long week-end (four days).

This is the 28-day plan. In practice, there are many modifications of the schedule, to accommodate courses, court, vacations and illness. These ad hoc changes can be very extensive. Given their degree of influence in the development of a schedule, it is not surprising that the constables generally reported themselves satisfied with the shifts. However, there was considerable dissatisfaction voiced over the changes. Part of the problem was in the length of time notice was received and some constables said that they believed that they should receive more adequate notice of shift changes. Members had the option, according to the contract, of taking this extra-time in money or time off. In the latter case, further changes to the schedule were often required.

Major complaints about the shifts occurred between the resignation of Constable Smith in August 1989 and the hiring of the Police Academy cadet, Timothy Carrigan, early in November 1989. The attractions of additional overtime were quickly out-weighted by the loss of days-off and the re-scheduling of shifts to increase evening and night coverage. When Constable Beard was placed on sick-leave in October because of a problem with his hand, the Chief was obliged to work some night shifts and the schedule of Corporal Brown was also altered. These temporary adjustments, however, were no longer required when the department reached full strength.

#### (8) Constable-Generalist

Two of the basic general role designations in policing concern the concepts of the constable generalist and the specialist. As policing became increasingly professionalized, there was an accompanying proliferation of specialties, such as the detective, and a corresponding restriction of the role of the patrol constable to routine matters of enforcement and peace keeping. The bureaucratization of which this specialization is illustrative, shaped policing most profoundly in large metropolitan areas where the size of the policing establishment lent itself to such "rationalization". 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 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. One of the objectives of the present study is to determine the extent to which there is some correspondence between the actual policing of the small town forces, the R.C.M.P. and the newer constable generalist in metropolitan policing.

The small town policeman is almost, by definition, a model of the general constable. When police from larger centres apply for positions in small town forces one of the reasons frequently cited is the opportunity to do the range of police work rather than remaining in one narrow aspect. This is most true of those constables in the highways division. In the R.C.M.P. it was noted that for the majority of constables, highway patrol was a part of the service which should be short-term because members were quickly burned out from the self-generated activity. For example, the ex-member of the New Brunswick Highway Patrol who applied in Middleton cited the opportunities to get into all aspects of police work as a main reason for his interest in the department

Some of this is certainly unrealistic. The actual crime rate may be small, the opportunities to investigate criminal code matters is infrequent, and most activities quickly settle into a quiet routine.

In many respects, however, the Middleton police department does not offer a pure model of the constable generalist role. This is because the structure of the department is modelled after a larger force. As I shall discuss in the section on G.I.S., the Middleton department has a full-time, plain clothes investigator's position. This means that the other members are primarily patrol constables. They investigate matters that come under provincial statutes (motor vehicle and liquor), and are commonly the first on the scene of more serious occurrences, but once their reports are written up and placed on the Chief's desk, he decides which files are assigned to the plain clothes officer.

#### (9) G.I.S.

One of the problems associated with the constable generalist role is that investigations opened by an officer get temporarily derailed while the officer is off duty unless the investigation is handed over to another officer. This is one of the reasons that larger departments have tried to implement an investigator's position, with a member who works mostly on day shifts to follow up investigations. Developing this detective function is largely a matter of manpower and budget and the option is normally not available in very small departments.

The Middleton Police Department initiated a plain clothes section at the beginning of 1984. According to the Annual Report, the officer in plain clothes would "handle all investigations. This will relieve the uniform members from doing investigations". What

was established, then, was a systematic degree of specialization between a (primarily) criminal investigative section and routine patrol officers, reproducing the division of labour of a large, traditional police department. At least with respect to the 1983 Annual Report, this new division was justified on the grounds that patrol officers would be freed from time-consuming investigations and therefore be more visible and available in the town. The main policing need identified in the document was to reduce the number of injuries sustained in motor vehicle accidents, with a reported increase of 500% in the number of injuries from one year to the next. Consequently, the creation of the plain clothes section would man "allow[ing] these [uniform] members to concentrate more on motor vehicle act and other provincial and municipal statutes, and in the end, hoping to reduce motor vehicle accidents and injuries." "It is anticipated that this change will create more efficient and productive work within the force, resulting in better police protection for the citizens of the town" (Middleton Police Department, 1983 Annual Report, 18 January 1984, p. 1).

According to a commonly held view among policemen, it is much better working as a detective than in uniform. You work regular hours, handle only the more interesting investigations, and do not have to deal with the petty matters which make up so many of the complaints. Another of the benefits of plain clothes work is the regular hours, usually 8:30 to 4. However, this is sometimes deceptive in practice. It is not uncommon for plainclothes constables to put in plenty of overtime, but this often amounts to an hour here and an hour there, which might not be claimed for, but adds up.

In the view of Ericson, detectives have a high degree of autonomy and considerable freedom to pursue their objectives (Ellis 1987: 143). Generally speaking, plain clothes work has a higher status attached to it than uniform work. One Valley constable thought that uniformed members may perceive that such is the case, but that it was not necessarily true. It was more a case of different duty appearing more desirable. The point remains that many members perceive this work as desirable.

The Middleton police force was the first in the area to implement a full-time investigator's position. Plain clothes duty is, in principle, rotated every two years. Kentville has a similar position and principle. However, when the department was down one member, the plain clothes officer went back to uniformed shift work. In Middleton, the investigator's role has had benefits and problems. It is regarded by most members as desirable and apparently improves morale. However, this is partly off-set by a decline in morale as the officer gets shifted back to patrol work. In order to work, the Chief said, the uniformed officers have to accept their roles as patrol officers and do a good job but this was not always happening. According to the Chief, when a former plain clothes officer reverts to uniform, their work tends to suffer and they write few tickets (while in plain clothes, this is not an expectation). On the other hand, having the possibility of working in the plain clothes position may provide an incentive for increased productivity among patrol officers.

Among the advantages of a full-time investigator which were mentioned were continuity of investigations and the factor of motivation. Plain clothes work is largely day-shift

work and regular time off compensates for the loss of overtime which the investigator's position entails.

The G.I.S. position has been rotated in the Middleton Police Department since it was created. Constables McNeil and Beard have each occupied the position. Currently, Corporal Brown is the detective in the department. He has remained in the position for the longest time to date, and in 1990 was in his second year. Brown is perceived to be a loyal and hard-working officer who does not want to return to uniformed duties and night shifts.

The main perquisite of the position is the chance to avoid night and week-end work. The investigator works a 40-hour week, 8-hour day, beginning at 10 A.M., 11 A.M. or noon. He has use of an unmarked patrol car. The Chief allows him relatively free rein, but he must inform the Chief if departmental business takes him out of town. Most discussions between the chief and the investigator are informal and occur regularly during the shift. However, the Chief at one point instituted a meeting at the end of each week when he is briefed by the investigator of the progress made on the files.

There is a question whether Middleton requires a full-time plain clothes investigator. The conclusion in Berwick was that the work-load did not warrant such a position. At any rate, the decision to expand the force to six members was predicated on the assumption of 24-hour policing by the force. Accordingly, manpower was allocated to cover the shifts and remains more committed to evening and nights than day shift. In Middleton, departmental policy favoured the investigative position and slightly reduced coverage. Observation suggests that there is sufficient investigative work in Middleton to warrant retention of the investigator. The issue is one of departmental priority and decision-making.

#### (10) Patrol

Considerable time is spent in small towns on patrol. Officers patrol the streets of the town numerous times during the day. The general argument is that, by so doing, they increase their visibility and act as an effective deterrent against crime and public order violations. The actual effectiveness of patrol may be in question according to a variety of studies, but it is regarded as an essential component of small town policing. Furthermore, in so far as the police department is responsive to citizen demands for service, traffic complaints make up a considerable number of citizen-initiated police contacts. This includes speeding cars, squealing tires, and improper parking.

The slowness of the work is often perceived by the public or Town Council. Patrol appears to be unessential. What is not seen, a member replied, is the work that would be required in the absence of a police presence. Patrol work is defined as preventive, as acting as a deterrent to criminal activity. However, there is not easy way to indicate the amount of crime that would occur in the absence of the police. Only the chaos which accompanies a police strike gives an indication of the amount of trouble which a police presence is able to contain.

The structure of the department, or more precisely the role definitions imposed by the Chief, obliges most of the members to work as patrol officers and watchmen. During the string of six or seven day shifts, during which the most common work-time is 10 a. m. to 6 p. m., the early and late parts of the shift are spent on foot patrol. Foot patrol is not accorded high priority, although it is done. More time during the day is spent in the police cruiser. Part of this time is a closely monitored check of vacant houses, with the time of each check being listed in the daily shift report. Calls are not frequent in the day shift. Often they come in before 10 in the morning. In this case they are taken by the plain clothes member or the Chief.

The evening shift runs from 6 p. m. to 2 a. m. Usually the evening member takes the cruiser out immediately and patrols the town. This would primarily be a check of the outer businesses (that is, outside the down-town core which is checked on foot patrol). During the busy part of the week, near the end of the working week, a second constable is on duty from 9 p. m. to 5 a. m. When he comes on duty the routine is to go on foot patrol and check the downtown properties, physically rattling the doors.

In Middleton the "outer checks", which are done in the car, seldom involve physically checking locks. The premises are surveyed from the car. Constables sometimes ask whether the R.C.M.P. have to perform these checks. One R.C.M.P. officer indicated that, when he was in charge of a municipal unit, constables were instructed to physically rattle doors. He said that they didn't do it every night, but "it was done". He added that he heard of an NCO in another municipal detachment who offered to give a day off for every door that a constable found open. He thought that this story was very unlikely, however, since days off for these reasons would interfere with the shift schedule.

### **III COMMUNITY POLICING**

In the recent past, the standard police emphasis on professionalization implied a policy of the maximum separation of the police from the community. This policy was implemented to free the police from political interference, to limit opportunities for favouritism and graft, and avoid favouritism in the use of discretion. More recently, police forces in many western societies have developed a newer model of community-police relations. There are many reasons for this. One is to achieve better enforcement. This involves cultivating informants, receiving community assistance, and generally creating a more positive image of the police which increases the satisfaction of doing the work.

Eitzen and Timmer (1985: 383) argue that: "The police are convinced of the utility of informal, personal, and trusting relationships in securing" information and social control. This means "developing personal and trusting relationships in ... bars and neighbourhoods ... [and] with on-the-street informants such as bartenders or particular juveniles who know `who's hanging around.'"

Greater community involvement in policing is controversial and is beset by certain contradictions. One concerns the community demands for law and order and, simultaneously, demands for civil rights and liberties. A second concerns the community

demand for effective crime control and "the increasing requests by community members for police intervention in an ever-widening array of noncriminal matters." (Eitzen and Timmer, 1985: 403). In general, Ellis argues: "The police in Canada appear to be highly regarded by themselves, the media and the public" (1987: 133). The public survey completed as part of the valley police project indicated that citizens in the area have high regard for their police departments.

One trait which is commonly attributed to small town policing is the extent of knowledge about townspeople possessed by the police. In one case, for example, a report of suspected child abuse was received by the Middleton Police Department. One constable commented on the file that he had "personal knowledge of problems with the child" and noted that the family was seeking professional help. He concluded, on the basis of his existing knowledge, that the child has: "Not now or never has been" abused, "to the best of [his] knowledge". In another case, a mother complained that her son seemed to have more money than was reasonable. The police investigated and received several stories, one of which was that he had stolen the money from his mother. He was described as "slow", in his 30s, as never having been in trouble and as a "nice, likeable person" who wants to be a policeman. The police decided that the matter was best handled by the mother who had "raised eight children, two of them retarded".

Police Community Relations are also at issue when constables issue tickets. One Constable in Kentville noted that townspeople get exceptionally irate over the issuing of parking tickets, and one \$5 fine issued by the police can un-do a great deal of positive public relations through other types of pro-active policing. While police in other valley towns seldom issue parking tickets, moving violations can create the same types of image problems. One constable in Middleton complained about an officer in another town who handed out "Chicken-Shit S.O.T.s" and was "in love with the radio". There was a problem, he concluded, in giving out too many Summary Offense Tickets, and living in the same town.

Part of the community is composed of former offenders. There is a form of joking relationship between some of these petty and chronic offenders and some members of the town police. For example, during coffee one evening officers sat next to a table occupied by a local family (a mother, her two sons and two young women). The loudest youth knew the officers well and dominated the conversation recounting times he had been arrested, or checked for drunken diving. It was treated as a joke and as a contest between him and the local police. There were stories, for example, about where the beer had been found and where it hadn't been found. Similarly, encounters on the street between youths (who had been drinking) and some officers can also be very familiar. The officer, for example, is often called by his first name by youths on the street.

#### **IV CALLS FOR SERVICE**

The towns of Berwick and Middleton are quite similar with respect to population, police department size, and demographics. This is reflected in the similarities in the occurrences

between the two towns. Many of the comments concerning calls for service in the two towns, then, would be similar.

In 1980 Chief Boutilier released the following figures to the press during the controversy over police expenditures and the threat of loss of police manpower: Between 1978 and 1979, total Criminal Code offenses dropped from 157 to 101 (-35.7%). Break and enters had declined about 74%, from 57 to 15, and the clearance rate had increased from 24.6% to 60%. Thefts of Motor Vehicles declined by 3, while the clearance rate rose from 0% to 66%. There were nine frauds in 1978 and only two in 1979. "Other Criminal Code offenses" also dropped, 13.5%. There were two categories in which the number of offenses increased: drugs (from 7 to 14), and Liquor Control Act charges, from 68 to 150. The latter was a direct result of increased manpower and, likely as well, a change in police practice from informal to formal handling of liquor offenses. Finally, Boutilier told the newspaper that the amount of fines levied had increased from \$5,970 to \$14,315 (Middleton Mirror, 23 April 1980, p. 3).

Boutilier was responding to concerns about the enlarged police force, arguing that criminal offenses had dropped dramatically, particularly the number of break and enters, and the clearance rate had increased substantially.

The Annual Reports of the Middleton Police Department summarize the activities of the department according to several general categories. The Annual statistics generated by the Department are summarized in the following tables.

With the change in Chiefs, the reporting style was basically fixed by 1983. What is immediately apparent in Table IV-2 is that complaints have remained relatively stable over the 5-year period (1983-1987). There is variation, year by year, but no pattern of change emerges.

This stability is somewhat less apparent in an examination of charges laid, within the 5-year period, and more particularly, if account is taken of statistics from two years previously. While over the 5-year period (1983-1987), the total number of charges has remained relatively constant, this total obscures some adjustments within categories over this period. Criminal Code charges increased from 57 in 1983 to 92 in 1987; motor vehicle charges increased from 199 to 250 over the same period. These increases, however, are offset by a decrease in the charges laid under the Liquor Control Act.

Furthermore, despite this general pattern of stability, the number of persons before the court has increased, from 386 in 1983 to 591 in 1987.

Taking a slightly longer-term view, from the available statistics, criminal charges were equally high in 1981 as they were in 1987; motor vehicle charges were actually higher in 1981 and 1982; and Liquor Control Act charges have steadily decreased and have remained steady for the past three years. Accordingly, the number of persons appearing before the courts were highest in 1981 (n = 655). They declined from this number and, then, gradually began to increase during the remainder of the decade. Table 1 Complaints

and Assistance, Middleton P. D., 1981-1987

Year	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Criminal Code	159	303	277	268	325	306	260
General Compl'ts	236						
Motor Veh. Act	21	85	91	90	87	116	108
Liquor Cont. Act	5	21	43	40	29	35	41
Town By-Laws	16	12	9	26	27	20	28
Private Prop Act				3	1	8	7
TOTAL	437	421	420	427	469	485	447
General	174	261					
Assist Pub + Pol		541	796	864	910	994	849
Vacant House Chk	60	108	141	137	140	133	115
Security Alrms				76	25	42	43
Warnings issu'd					179	153	188

From 1981, then, there has been a decrease in charges laid, although, as pointed out above, the overall number has remained steady over the 1983-1987 period.

Between 1982 and 1987, there was a slight general increase in the number of complaints recorded. While Criminal Code complaints varied inconsistently, there were some increases in Provincial complaints (M.V.A. and L.C.A.) as well as in complaints concerning Municipal By-Laws.

The records of assistance to the public and to other police departments also increased, principally reflecting the recording of messages received from other police departments. Such assistance can amount to patrolling outside of the town boundaries in response to a request from the R.C.M.P. to investigate an accident, to simply noting the receipt of a message about an offense in another part of the province.

These statistics indicate that the House Security Check programme has been well utilized by the citizens. Towards the end of the period, the police department also began noting the number of warnings given and the responses to security alarms. This may have been prompted by the large number of such alarms in 1984 as more businesses installed alarm devices.

Table 2 indicates the number of charges which were laid during the 1981-1987 period. Overall, there has been a decrease in the number of charges, from 744 in 1981 to 396 in 1987. Most of this decrease can be attributed to a decline in the number of charges under the Liquor Control Act. Criminal charges vary year to year, being highest in 1981 and

1985, then dropping in 1987. The pattern of charges under the M.V.A. reflects an initial drop followed by a subsequent rise (see Table 4, following page).

Table 2 Charges Laid, Middleton P. D., 1981-1987

YEAR	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Criminal Chrg	108	70	57	64	112	101	92
Motor Veh. Chrg	380	340	199	250	179	231	250
Liquor Act Chrg	228	152	82	62	37	37	37
Narcotic Act	8	17	8	6	3	0	5
Town By-Law Chrg	20	18	17	2	7	5	7
Private Prop Act	1	1	1	5			
TOTAL	744	597	363	385	339	375	396

Table 3 indicates a few interesting trends. There has been a decline in the number of persons arrested, reflecting more than anything the removal of the Town Cells and Table 3 Other Occurrences, Middleton P. D., 1981-1987

YEAR	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Pers in Lock Up	111	64	48	47			
Persons Arrested					42	25	20
Arrest for Oth Dep	6	10	9	8	5	3	3
# M. V. Accident	63	50	57	55	40	48	56
Pers Injured	7	2	10	4	1	2	2
Pers Killed	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Pers Reptd Missng	9	8	18	6	20	24	13
Persons Located	8	8	18	6	20	24	12
# Before Court	655	611	386	278	367	446	591
Outstand Warrant	54	66	64	65	60	67	43
FA Certif Proces			7	21	9	6	15

the requirement to transport prisoners to Annapolis Royal for jail. The number of persons before the court reflects the charge practices above, decreasing in the middle of the decade and rising again towards the end. As indicated above, the Summary Offence Ticket statistics reflect the sharp decline in the number of charges under the L.C.A. This change is common throughout the Valley and does not reflect specifically on the

Middleton force. It is unclear from the statistic whether there are fewer intoxicated persons on the streets, or there is a general relaxation about public drinking. The final Table provides information on the value of goods stolen in the town and the amount recovered by the police. With the exception of 1987, the police recover something less than 50% of the stolen property.

Table 4 Summary Offence Tickets, Middleton P. D., 1981-1987

YEAR	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87
M.V.A. SOT	354	260	380	340	198	250	177	231	245
L.C.A. SOT	161	249	228	152	75	56	37	37	35
TOTAL	515	509	608	492	273	306	214	268	280

Table 5 Value of Goods Stolen and Recovered, Middleton P. D., 1981-1987

YEAR	Value of Goods Stolen	Value of Goods Recov'd
1981	\$9,470.14	\$4,543.00
1982	\$9,053.25	\$4,009.90
1983	\$8,211.00	\$2,970.80
1984	\$11,737.10	\$5,493.99
1986	\$11,559.86	\$3,277.80
1987	\$4,406.95	\$3,602.04

The Annual Reports seldom discuss these statistics. Unlike those written in Berwick, there is very little discussion and the Report mostly relies on year-end statistics, which summarize the monthly reports given to the Police Commission. In his 1983 Report, however, Chief Cook noted a "slight decrease in criminal activity during the year 1983, as well as a substantial decrease in provincial statute offenses", compared with 1982 (Middleton Police Department, 1983 Annual Report, 18 January 1984, p. 1).

Like most small town police departments in the province, the Middleton force has not been granted the jurisdiction over all criminal code offenses. Such areas as homicide, for example, are the preserve of the R.C.M.P. Some chiefs favour a system of accreditation according to which departments would be assessed on the basis of training, size and resources, and classified in terms of the offenses which could be investigated. This would provide an incentive for keeping standards high. One contentious matter in this regard was who would perform the assessment. The R.C.M.P., the N.S.P.C. and the Canadian

Association of Chiefs of Police were regarded as potential assessors, with the last names receiving the highest recommendation by the Valley Chiefs.

## V POLICE RELATIONS

### (1) Training

Training is almost synonymous with modernization of policing. One of the most commonly cited differences between the traditional town police forces and the R.C.M.P. was that the latter were highly trained professionals while town police were hired off the street, requiring only the assets of physical size and political connections. Towns which adopted the professional model, then, inevitably had to demonstrate modernization by funding the up-grading of the police force through in-service training programmes. It is worth noting, however, that training is often seen as a "frill" which can be cut from tight police budgets. Even in normal circumstances, a commonly voiced complaint among constables is that the town allows only a minimum daily allowance during training sessions.

The N.S.P.C. concluded in 1977 that "the overall picture of training" in the department was "good". In late 1977, the Department consisted of Chief Boutilier, who was experienced and had taken some training, but who "had no management courses", a senior constable, Roland Smith, who was formerly "a part-time municipal constable in another community [Mahone Bay] but has had no formal police training", and two replacement constables who were graduates of the Atlantic Police Academy (p. 7). In addition to recommending that the department continue the practice of hiring "only trained or experienced personnel", the N.S.P.C. suggested that Constable Smith attend a course of formal police training (p. 8).

Constable Smith successfully completed the general Police Science Course at the Atlantic Police Academy in 1979 and was scheduled for the Advanced Police Science Course in 1981. Over the next three years, each member would be attending upgrading courses (NSPC, 1980, p. 9).

Valley Chiefs now claim that their departments, in many cases, are better trained than the R.C.M.P. Not only has training been made a priority, but courses for R.C.M.P. officers have been somewhat curtailed in a cost-cutting move. The valley Chiefs have commented, for example, that R.C.M.P. constables complain about the unavailability of courses and now compare themselves unfavourably with town police in this regard.

While "training" encompasses a wide range of activities, from 6-week sessions at the Police College in Ottawa for the Senior Supervisors Course to one-day seminars on drugs, between 1983 and 1987 members of the Middleton Police Force undertook a considerable amount of upgrading. This is illustrated in the Appendix, which is taken from the Annual Reports. In fact, one of the questions which is raised by contemporary training is the degree to which it is suitable for small town policing. Minimally, such courses as hostage negotiation and advanced firearms training (involving video scenarios

and 'shoot-or-don't-shoot' situations) provide job variety. There is no evidence from the valley that increased firearms training, which sensitizes police officers to the necessity of survival in a hostile urban environment, has had a negative impact on police-community relations or resulted in an increased use of force.

## (2) Police Use of Force

### (i) Disturbances

An important aspect of police training concerns the physical aspects of the work. The police are authorized for the legitimate use of force and they are compelled to exercise this in a number of ways. For example, people frequently resist arrest; the police are called to break up brawls and often have to do so with the exercise of force, and officers risk being assaulted. On the other hand, as past public complaints have indicated, police officers in some towns have a reputation for the capricious use of violence. Most constables are able to recite the criminal code wording with respect to force which stresses the use of only as much force as necessary under the circumstances. Furthermore, they are aware that complaints about excessive force are serious and damaging to the police department. Nevertheless, part of the nature of policing is that it is largely unsupervised and often complainants have little corroborating evidence. It is ironic that police chiefs will recall anecdotes of their previous exercise of excessive force and then say that, were their officers to act similarly, they would "crucify them." As Chief, the public reputation of the department is at issue, which makes for the different evaluation. This indicates that the use of force which non-police personnel would recognize as excessive is relatively normal within the profession.

It is true that the great majority of policing is peaceful. Officers can go for considerable periods without drawing, let alone firing their revolvers. The valley is unlike some other parts of the province, such as the south shore and Cape Breton, where gun complaints are more frequent and the police have to deal with such emergencies on a somewhat regular basis.

On the other hand, relatively frequently, town police in the valley encounter situations which they believe offers potential violence. While, in the majority of cases, the violence does not materialize, the officers have to be prepared and believe that the best approach is to be ready to deal with violence since any other course opens them to threats. In the course of their career, the constables have been in violent situations. Some, though few, can recount incidents of being fired upon, for example, or having to confront an armed and potentially dangerous man. Even in the absence of this direct experience, officers can relate the details of incidents in which their colleagues have been killed or injured, for example, the 1987 case of the member New Brunswick High Patrol who was murdered while writing out a ticket.

This attitude about the physical aspect of the work came through in one interview. Routinely, officers back each other up. This policy extends across police jurisdictions. One valley police officer said, however, that it would be his policy to go into a trouble

spot without waiting for back-up. "What would people think", he said, "if I held back waiting for help? Maybe someone would get hurt in the time I was waiting and this would be bad. Rather, you go in and do what you can", he concluded. "I always look the people over", he said, "and there are always some people I know there. I don't think they would let anything happen to me." Another constable from another town, however, was injured during a fight when he was tossed off the front steps and sustained a back injury. Fortunately, it was not chronic.

Town police frequently work alone and have to deal with disturbances involving many people. One constable said that "the first step is to stand back and size-up the situation. Then you pick out one or two of the guys you know, walk up to them, and ask what's going on. Pretty soon you have a couple of people on your side and you are able to begin bringing some order to the situation." He said that he did not carry a night stick because it could get into the wrong hands. "If you approached a situation aggressively, then you were asking for aggression in return. Most of the time you have to use the muscle between your teeth. Otherwise you provoke something you don't want."

As indicated, police lore about the use of violence is a frequent topic of conversation. It appeared, however, that there was much less of this talk among the R.C.M.P.. Getting into "a good fight" seems to be a desirable thing for some of the officers in town forces. At least, it provides some of the topics for informal conversations. This may be a result of a lack of training, or different training, or the type of policing that is done in small towns. I think it has something to do with the proclivity and training of the officers and perhaps also something to do with the attitude of the townspeople towards police officers. They are more regular guys and therefore more a target for a fight. On the other hand, R.C.M.P. officers report that their recently retired colleagues with long service have many stories from their service which emphasize the physical side of police work. Certain senior constables in the Valley have a reputation for toughness which is admired by other members. The stories may be embellished, but they may reflect the difference between current town police officers and the R.C.M.P.

With respect to contemporary trends in the debate concerning the deadly use of force there appears to be two somewhat contradictory movements. While the Canadian Police Association attempts to increase the calibre of the standard police issue revolver and ammunition, they are also pursuing alternatives to the use of deadly force. (This was discussed above under "equipment"). These alternatives include "Mace, Taser Public Defender, Stun Guns, Tranquillizer Darts, Plastic or Rubber Bullets" (James M. Kingston, President C.P.A., "President's Report", C.P.A. Express, date unknown, p. 3).

#### (ii) Mace

The Middleton Department sought and received permission from the Police Commission, in 1983, "to train it's members in the use of Aerosol Irritation Devices and the proper procedure in the decontamination after it's use." The course "was put on by the police departments in the Valley" and took place in Wolfville. "The course was given by a Staff Sergeant of the Dartmouth City Police and a representative of the Nova Scotia Police

Commission sat in on the training as an observer." Five members of the Middleton department received training in 1983 and the Chief expected that the remainder of the force would receive training in 1984. The Chief stressed that "only those who have successfully passed the course have been issued with chemical mace." (Middleton Police Department, 1983 Annual Report, 18 January 1984, p. 9).

As had been the case in Berwick, however, the use of Mace has been temporarily suspended in Middleton. Generally speaking, the main limitation on the use of mace is in the Police Act regulations concerning the measures which must be taken after its use. These include having the victim taken to a physician and having his eyes immediately flushed with water or saline.

### (3) Opportunities in Policing

One of the main difficulties in a small police force is the lack of structured, internal opportunities. The chances of becoming the Chief of Police are quite slim, especially in the smaller towns which have no NCO rank. While slim, some valley constables actively aspire to receive promotions. Another source of job mobility involves lateral movement to another department in which opportunities are greater. Some constables have worked in the valley for a few years and then moved to city policing in Dartmouth. The problem with such lateral "transfers" is that, while they belong to the same union with a single pension plan and benefits, they enter their new employment at the bottom of the seniority ladder.

Small forces also don't have desk positions for senior men who are no longer motivated or increasingly unable or unwilling to work the streets. A large force might have positions in communications, or training or dispatch. One member of a valley force thought that there ought to be a position in dispatch for an officer who could postpone retirement and remain in police work.

Recently, both the Ontario Provincial Police and the Metro Toronto Police Force have conducted recruitment drives in metro. One constable thought that Maritimers make good policemen and are therefore in demand in upper Canada. However, most wish to stay in the province and are not actively looking for work elsewhere. One constable said that he would like to work in a busier spot, like Halifax, but he had heard that Halifax City Police, like the R.C.M.P., were not interested in hiring policemen from small towns.

### (4) Unionization

In 1978, the Middleton force was unionized in local 1187 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. During the contract negotiations that year, however, members were dissatisfied with CUPE's representation. According to Constable Roland Smith, a CUPE representative "had made unreasonable demands in contract negotiations with the town". He added "that policemen have been well treated by the town and they feel it would be unfair of them to go along with the union demands." Smith did not elaborate on details to the media, however the members of local 1187 voted unanimously to apply to the

NSLRB for decertification of the local (Halifax Chronicle Herald, 9 December 1978, p. 21). The Middleton force is now a member of the Police Association of Nova Scotia. Contract negotiations have been relatively non-conflictual in recent years.

#### (5) Relations with Other Police Forces

The issue of the R.C.M.P. is an important, simmering factor in the context of policing in small towns in Nova Scotia. While for some of the larger towns, replacement by the R.C.M.P. does not appear an issue, some constables remember when towns the size of Yarmouth had municipal policing. In Yarmouth, the R.C.M.P. were employed in the context of a bitter police strike. In Kentville there was some discussion of disbanding the police force entirely at the time of the Inquiry. For the smaller towns, such as Hantsport and Berwick, the R.C.M.P. threat may be more real and certain prominent individuals in the town may be under the impression that federal policing is less expensive. However, this emerges as a serious issue only at specific times and occasions, for example, when there is a need for a new police Chief.

The decision by the Chief in Hantsport to accept the post in Kentville placed the Police Department in Hantsport in jeopardy, reviving the old arguments about replacing municipal police with the R.C.M.P.. While they decided to remain with the status quo, and hired a new Chief, negotiations about alternative coverage plans from the Windsor Rural detachment did proceed.

According to Chief Cook, the Middleton Town Council has made an effort to improve policing in the town by increasing the supply of money, improving wages and providing equipment and training. The police force represents, he says, identity, authority and power. While the municipality bears the entire burden of the expense, town councils do not usually wish to lose their police force. In Middleton, he concluded, local politicians decided that they wanted a professional police force and that they would have to deal with it in a professional way. This is the real alternative to having the R.C.M.P. take over policing in the town.

There does not appear to be any immediate threat in Middleton so there are no hidden agendas behind R.C.M.P. presence in the town. Relations between the Middleton P.D. and the Bridgetown R.C.M.P. contrasts sharply with the situation in Kings County. The Bridgetown detachment of the R.C.M.P. is responsible for the entire county of Annapolis and is located roughly in the middle of the County. The largest population concentration is in the eastern end, in Middleton and Nictaugh across the Annapolis River. Since it is a small detachment, there are sometimes only two officers working a night shift and covering the entire county. Consequently, it is in the interests of the R.C.M.P. to cultivate a working relationship with the town police. The Middleton Police have a more relaxed policy about travelling outside the town. They routinely handle accidents on the 101 Highway at the request of the R.C.M.P. (although overtime for the purpose will likely not be authorized). The two forces provide back-up for each other in the eastern end of the county. The drug co-ordinator in Bridgetown is in frequent contact with a constable in Middleton who has a special interest in drug enforcement and there is considerable

sharing of information. On one occasion, a Middleton constable was invited on the spur of the moment to assist a drug search in Nictaugh. Both the Middleton Police and Bridgetown R.C.M.P. regularly scan each other's radio channels. In addition, one constable in Middleton said that they try to handle all matters themselves and only call for back-up if it is definitely needed. He contrasted this situation with that prevailing in other towns which, he said, leads to a lack of respect for town police. R.C.M.P. are frequent visitors at the Middleton Police Department and regularly have coffee breaks with the town police. Since they routinely monitor the Middleton channel, the Bridgetown R.C.M.P. often show up without being requested when assistance is required.

The close relationship between the R.C.M.P. and the Middleton force is also partly a consequence of recruitment. Three members of the M.P.D. were former auxiliary officers with the force: Dick Beard, Burt McNeil and Marty Leddicote. Beard explained the relationship simply: "The uniform didn't matter; they were both police officers."

Because of the nature of town boundaries as well as general public unawareness concerning jurisdiction, the Middleton force receives some calls for service which are outside its jurisdiction. Normally the procedure is to hand these over to the R.C.M.P. Sometimes the request is made that the municipal unit assist these cases. In one example, someone from the County called the M.P.D. concerning a cow on the road. The duty constable in Middleton instructed dispatch to call the Animal Control Officer rather than trouble the R.C.M.P. who would take the same action. "Another occurrence completed for the R.C.M.P.", he said.

During the Months of May and June 1989, on nine occasions the Middleton Police Force registered R.C.M.P. assistance. These occurrences included performing breathalyser tests, attending an accident on highway 201, responding to disturbances out of town, attempts to locate persons or vehicles in town, borrowing a blood sample kit, and assisting a foot chase.

Sometimes it is very convenient to hand cases over to the R.C.M.P. Two officers in Middleton came across a stolen car which had been taken by an under-age son. (The car had not been reported stolen, and the initiating constable recognized the state of affairs). The youths were questioned and one officer was preparing to take a statement from a 12-year old youth when he realized that this was a young offender and his parents had to be present. It became very important that the offense had been initiated in the County and, accordingly, the R.C.M.P. were notified.

Changes in the organization of R.C.M.P. policing in the Valley may alter this relationship to some degree. One plan which has been proposed calls for the expansion of the Kingston detachment. This would preclude the growth of Bridgetown and involve a decrease in the jurisdiction of that detachment. The Kingston area would be expanded to Highway 10, which runs North/South through the west end of Middleton. Both detachments, then, would be actively involved with the Middleton Police Department. This change would mean that Kingston R.C.M.P. would have to deal with two court systems (Annapolis and Kings Counties), and there would be a change in the boundaries

of two sub-divisions (Halifax and Yarmouth). More positively, from the point of view of Middleton, such a change would mean that the R.C.M.P. Ident section in New Minas would extend coverage to Middleton. Response time for this service, then, would be quicker. This development, however, has not materialized.

Much of this cooperation between the R.C.M.P. and the Middleton Police Department was regarded as a matter of constable-to-constable assistance. Valley Chiefs continue to complain about the R.C.M.P. at the level of the organization. The relationship between the federal and municipal forces was being undermined by changes in R.C.M.P. policy. For example, the Crime Lab in Halifax was accepting specimens on a priority basis. In one case, a specimen from a Valley Police Department was sent to a civilian lab, where the test was done, and the bill then presented to the municipality. User-pay schemes involving the use of R.C.M.P. services such as the Identification Unit and tracking dogs are likely to be forthcoming. In addition, Valley Chiefs complained that the Canadian Police College had initially been set up as an institution which was separate from the R.C.M.P. but that recently stationery from the C.P.C. had been imprinted with the Buffalo and the R.C.M.P. logo.

Bridgetown R.C.M.P. also has some relationship with the Police Force in Annapolis Royal, at the other end of Annapolis County. While Middleton had established some degree of independence between town officials and the functioning of the Police Department, the town of Annapolis Royal is frequently cited as a case which demonstrates the more traditional relationship between the Town and the Police. Some municipal officers, who otherwise are supportive of town police, say that Annapolis Royal should not have a municipal police force because of the poor relationship between the Council and the police. Annapolis Royal was described as being ripe for an R.C.M.P. take-over. One officer commented that that would be the best thing for the town. This rumour is also current in the detachment. When the post of detachment commander came open in Bridgetown, Annapolis County, I was suggested that, within two years, it would be up-graded to a staff sergeant's detachment because two more constables would be added when Annapolis Royal came "on-stream".

"In Annapolis Royal now, the chief added, "the people have said that they want their own police department. If you want a police force, make it a good one. Give them training and equipment.... If you want the service, OK, you have to pay for it. Don't go second best."

Town police forces are generally feeling more secure in the light of the R.C.M.P. decision to recover the majority of their costs from municipalities they police. Some valley Chiefs believe, for example, that town such as Liverpool, Pictou and Yarmouth are seriously contemplating re-establishing municipal police forces in the early 1990s. The main draw-back appears to be the high start-up cost for equipment. Even in Kentville there is reason for optimism. To the west of the town, stretching along the Highway One, the village of Coldbrook is a growth centre in Kings County and may be regarded as a site for future incorporation. Less probable in the future, although still discussed, is the merger of Kentville and New Minas. In this scenario, according to police officials in Kentville, municipal policing would prevail. However, given the current political

priorities, a form of regionalization of government services in Nova Scotia is likely to affect policing and alter the current practices, perhaps breaking the link between a given police force and a specific municipality.

#### (6) Regionalization

One idea, which was championed earlier by former-Chief Innes in Kentville, was for the development of a regional police force. Regionalization would provide certain benefits. One constable, for example, cited the waste involved in having six small departments in the Valley, each with a Chief of Police. One Chief, who also favoured regionalization, said that he would be quite willing to become a detachment commander and allow the role of "Chief" to be filled by someone in the whole region. The main benefits of regionalization, he thought, would be specialization and motivation. Officers could specialize in certain areas, such as drug enforcement or traffic. In addition, a constable could be transferred from one town, where he had worked for a number of years, to another in order to give his career a boost.

Certain steps had been taken in this direction prior to the death of Innes. For example, the centralizing of the answering service in Kentville had been followed by the Valley Crime Prevention Van initiative. The Valley Investigator's Meeting was another example of regional co-operation. Discussions of joining the Provincial Radio Grid system, and common purchases of cars are further examples. In addition, there has occurred some informal swapping of constables. Constables from Middleton, for example, have worked shifts in Kentville during the Annapolis Valley Festival. Not all Chiefs agree with this practice. One problem is that there does not exist common policies across the departments. Certain tentative steps had been taken to establish regional policies, but these had not amounted to anything in some initial meetings. It was agreed that formulating such common policies was an important step, and that this would entail dedication of a lengthy period of time, but no concrete steps were taken to realize this ambition.

Another problem with the unofficial swapping of constables concerned the possibility that an out-of-town constable could act in such a way as to bring about a public complaint. In such a situation it would not be immediately clear who would investigate and which policies would be enforced. Whether any further steps are taken in the direction of cooperation with respect to such temporary transfers and the development of common policies will depend on inter-departmental cooperation and interest.

#### (7) Relations With the Crown

The Court system in Annapolis County is conducted in two centres, Middleton and Annapolis Royal. This makes the disposition of cases more convenient for the Middleton force. The main threat in Middleton is that the court in that town will be closed and all business conducted in the county seat at Annapolis Royal. This would greatly complicate policing in Middleton, require considerable more overtime, and mean that police would spend considerably more time out of the town. Currently, this threat has not been

actualized, but it is a decision which would have a direct impact on the police force. In the long run, under regionalization, such centralization would be more practical.

Generally, constables report a cordial relationship with the Crown Prosecutor, although they do not indicate the close cooperation nor great respect which is shown Jack Buntain in Kings County.

One common complaint in Middleton, as in the other valley towns, concerns the way in which information is provided to municipal police units. A case in point concerns Bill 50, an amendment to the Public Highways Act which, among other things, increases the fines for parking in a handicapped zone to \$75 and imposes fines for squealing tires. While some police forces were reportedly enforcing these amendments (such as Bedford), Valley Chiefs were unsure whether they had been proclaimed or given Royal assent. The main complaint concerned the way in which such information was passed along. Chiefs complained that the information was sent directly to R.C.M.P. detachments by the department of the Solicitor General with a notice to "advise local police departments". Town police had to go through the Crown Attorneys to get information on the law.

### **CRIME STATISTICS, MIDDLETON, 1980-1990**

Table 6 provides a summary of all offense categories between 1980 and 1990. The highest total number of offenses occurred in 1980, 81 and 82. Offenses then dropped until 1986, when they began again to rise at the end of the period (1990). Inspection of the Table indicates that this u-shaped curve is indicative of Criminal Code offenses

TABLE 6

#### **CRIME STATISTICS, MIDDLETON, 1980-1989**

Year	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
Violent Crimes	5	15	17	12	6	6	7	12	18	13	29
Property Crimes	74	109	93	98	104	105	99	93	137	106	118
Other Crimes	13	111	123	90	92	81	86	84	89	131	133
Total Crim. Code	92	235	233	200	202	192	192	189	244	250	280
Drugs	7	13	17	6	8	4	0	4	-	3	2
Oth. Fed. Stat.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Federal Stat.	7	14	17	6	8	4	0	4	-	3	2
Prov. Stat.	252	232	154	82	65	42	52	47	31	50	58
Municip By-Law	5	23	15	14	3	-	2	3	19	9	13
Total Offenses	356	504	419	302	278	238	246	243	294	312	353

(total), and in particular, of the "Other Criminal Code" category as well as crimes of violence, which are small in number. Property crimes, however, were less consistent and

were highest in 1987. The primary change which can be detected is in the sharp decline of provincial statute offenses (M.V.A. and L.C.A.)

A better way to see the differences over time is to divide the statistics into two periods. In Table 7, below, both the total number of offenses as well as the yearly average is calculated for the periods 1983-1986 and 1987-1990. As can be seen, while all Code categories increased (22.6%), the largest percentage jump was in crimes of violence, from 9.5 per year to 21, a 132% increase overall. Property crimes experiences the smallest increase, about 12%. This is an actual increase in crime since the population of Middleton remained the same during the period in question. On the other hand, the towns surrounding Middleton experienced considerable growth in this period and the increase in the size of the "policed population", rather than the number of citizens in the town, may account for the increased crime rate in Middleton.

TABLE 7

Amount and Yearly Average of Criminal Code Offenses, Middleton, 1983-86, 1987-90

	1983-1986 (n)	83-86 (avg)	1987-1990 (n)	87-90 (avg)	% Increase
Violent Crime	31	9.5	72	21	132.3
Property Crim	406	126.3	454	136.8	11.8
Other Code	349	108.8	437	130.3	25.2
Total C. C.	786	196.5	963	240.8	22.6

Table 8 provides the breakdown of all violent Criminal Code offenses between 1980 and 1990. Overall, violent offenses peaked in 1982, then dropped, rising again to a significantly higher number (29) in 1990. No homicides or attempted murders occurred in the town in this decade. There was also only one robbery, in which an offensive weapon was not used. The increase in violent crimes, then, are accounted for by a greater number of assaults, which peaked in 1982 (16), declined to 5 in 1985, and then increased sharply in 1990 to 28. The great majority of these assaults are indicated to be Level 1 (24). The other four offenses involved Bodily Harm or Assault with a Weapon. To a degree, then, the increase in assault was both quantitative and qualitative (more serious). Violent crimes comprised only about 9% of total code offenses in 1990. Property crimes made up a greater proportion (see Table 9).

The pattern of property offenses has been inconsistent during the decade. A bar graph would indicate this more clearly, but there were relatively high peaks in 1981, 1983-84, 1988 and again in 1990. Looking individually at the offenses, break and enters follow the same inconsistent pattern. They were very high in 1981, and again in 1989, but the fewest of any years were recorded for 1987 and 1988. The most alarming part of this statistic, however, is that the character of the offense appears to have changed. In 1981, 15 of the 25 were breaks into business premises; in 1989 and 1990, the most common target was a



Other Robbery									1		
TTL VIOLENT CR.	5	15	17	12	6	6	7	12	18	13	29

TABLE 9

PROPERTY CRIMES, MIDDLETON, 1980-1989

Year	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
Break & Enter (T)	7	25	12	9	8	12	9	5	5	16	10
Business Prem.	5	15	4	2	6	7	5	3	1	4	2
Residence	1	4	3	1	2	3	3		2	8	7
Other B & E	1	6	5	6		2	1	2	2	4	1
Theft MVA	7	6	6	2	3	1	0	4	1	0	3
Automobile	7	4	6	2	2			2	1		3
Trucks		2						2			
Motorcycles					1						
Other M V						1					
Theft Over \$1000							3	-	-	2	1
Theft Over \$200	9	14	6	7	9	8					
Bicycles											
From Motor Veh	3	4	2	4	1	2	1				
Shoplifting		2					1				
Other Theft Over	6	8	4	3	8	6	1			2	1
Theft \$1000 or Un							52	51	84	51	84
Theft \$200 or Und	41	53	43	61	57	58					
Bicycles	12	19	6	10	7	9	6	6	5	5	8
From Motor Veh	4	14	9	21	10	11	20	11	30	8	15
Shoplifting	5	2	3	10	8	10	6	13	19	16	25
Other Theft Und	20	18	25	20	32	28	20	21	30	22	36
Poss Stolen Goods	-	1	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-
Frauds - total	10	10	26	19	24	25	34	33	47	37	20
Cheques	9	5	7	16	23	20	27	28	40	29	18
Credit Cards		1								3	
Other Frauds	1	4	19	3	1	5	7	5	7	5	2
PROP CRIMES (T)	74	109	93	98	104	105	99	93	137	106	118

The "Other" category of Criminal Code offenses have also grown in Middleton. The largest number of such offenses occurred in 1989 and 1990. The second largest category of such offenses is disturbing the peace, which has followed a "U" shaped pattern, peaking at the beginning and the end of the decade. The majority of "Other"



Other Drugs (T)	-	-	2	-	1	-	0	-	-	-	-
Cannabis (T)	7	12	15	5	7	4	-	4	-	3	2
Possession	6	12	6	5	6	4		4		3	2
Trafficking	1		9		1						-
Importation											-
Cultivation											-
Cont Drug Traf-T	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Restricted Dr (T)	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Possession		1		1							-
Trafficking											-
DRUGS - TOTAL	7	13	17	6	8	4	0	4	-	3	2
Oth Fed Stat (T)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Juv Delinq Act		1									
Prov Statutes (T)	252	232	154	82	65	42	52	47	31	50	58
Liquor Act	252	232	154	81	62	41	47	42	27	46	54
Securities Act											
Oth Prov Statute				1	3	1	5	5	4	4	4
Municipal By-Law	5	23	15	14	3	-	2	3	19	9	13

decade. Most cases involve possession of cannabis, although in 1982, 9 cases of trafficking were recorded, a figure which amounts to a considerable anomaly. The decline in Provincial Statutes, noted above, is also evident in this Table.

## CONCLUSION

The traditional model of policing in small towns is characterized by general order maintenance and a service style (Wilson, 1970) of policing which involves a wide definition of the "police function" and includes a number of services, which in urban centres have been separated from police work (Murphy, 1986). In small towns, members of the public are quick to call the town police about such things as loitering, squealing tires and barking dogs. In Middleton, as in most of the small town police departments in the area, the police not only take seriously all requests for either law enforcement or order maintenance" (Wilson, 1970 p. 200), but respond to most calls for service. This is one major factor which distinguishes the practice of small town policing from both that of metropolitan forces and of the R.C.M.P.

Traditional models of small town policing suggest that officers are recruited on the basis of physical size and local citizenship. While both factors may be taken into consideration, they do not constitute the main hiring requirements (Loree *et al.*, 1989). Increasingly in Middleton, recruitment has been broadened beyond the town, a tendency which was strengthened by recent recruitment from the Police Academy. The following observation increasingly holds true throughout the Valley: "Given mandated and centralized training

institutions, local constables often no longer have their roots in the community they police" (Loree *et al.*, 1989, p. 128). In Middleton only one officer is from the town itself, although the other members are from Nova Scotia.

Attitudes which condone the routine use of force as a deterrent, as symbolic of community outrage or as a routine part of order maintenance, tend to be associated in the literature on police styles with more traditional and less professional policing styles. A tendency to enforce rules physically may have reflected past recruitment practises (for example, an emphasis on size) and lack of training. Many contemporary town police officers, however, approach potentially dangerous situations more discreetly as they are likely to be working alone or, at most, have a single partner. Presumably, greater professionalism will reduce the need for physical prowess, but the latter will always be an aspect of the job especially in a situation where the use of weapons is unlikely or counter-productive. Prowess, however, does not only mean size and in Middleton the department has put some training emphasis on hand-to-hand combat, pressure point tactics and the careful use of mace.

Part of the justification for town policing is that it can provide a model which combines the professionalism commonly associated with the R.C.M.P. 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. At present, the generalization that town police are basically untrained seems to be largely unfounded in the Valley towns. While not all full-time members of the Middleton force have received formal pre-occupational training, such as that obtained through the Police Academy, over the last decade they have had a significant number of post-employment training courses.

In Middleton, as in other Valley police departments, modernization of policing was enhanced by unionization. It was not simply that the town was being asked to pay higher salaries for police officers but rather to pay for more professional policing. Unionization entailed a commitment on the part of municipal governments to increase the police budget in other areas as well, such as training, equipment and quarters.

One concern is whether specialized training and equipment will, in fact, be used in a small town. Training in the extensive use of firearms, in emergency response and hostage negotiation, may contribute to heightened expectations of the job and, in the long run, 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. For example, 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. Chiefs have the benefit of training courses but also operate as part of wider networks, such as the Association of Chiefs of Police in Nova Scotia.

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 decade. 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 the social change and social mobility in small towns.

Traditionally, the maintenance of good community relations in small town policing involved the use of informal, non-arrest sanctions whenever possible. In the Valley, informal dispute settlement is routinely used. In the standard comparison between bureaucratic, legalistic policing and small town models, it is common to assert that legalistic policing involves the imposition of a justice model on disputes which may have been resolved, or "smoothed over", in less formal ways. The assumption that the R.C.M.P. employ a more legalistic style of policing style may be qualified by the actions of individual town police officers who are equally legalistic and the possibility that some R.C.M.P. officers may informally resolve certain problems. Other factors may lead to informal resolution across jurisdictions. For example, the complex procedures of the Young Offender's Act may compel officers, whether R.C.M.P. or municipal, to handle complaints informally as much as possible to avoid the lengthy paper-work involved. More significantly, over the last decade and a half, demands for police accountability have greatly increased the importance of record keeping, statistical compilations, and formal practices, changing, to a degree, the nature of police work.

At the level of ethnographic research the matter of informal or formal handling seems to relate to individual styles of policing and the proclivities of chiefs and supervisors. Muir's attitudinal models (1977), using the "passion" and "perspective" measures, explained individual variation in terms of the inherent belief systems of police officers. Certainly, in the Valley, there is observable variation with respect to selective enforcement, for example, of the Liquor Control Act. The definition of public intoxication and illegal possession are subject to considerable interpretation.

When statistical information on charges laid is taken into account, there is evidence to suggest that the town police continue to handle some matters informally. For example, cheque frauds are frequently resolved without the laying of charges. Evidence also exists which suggests that domestic disputes are frequently resolved informally.

To some extent, a small town style is unlikely to correspond flawlessly with any particular policing model. In fact, despite the similarities among the small town Valley police departments, there is also considerable variation in policing style brought about by the characteristics of the towns, the philosophy of the chiefs, and the personalities of individual officers. The smaller the organization, the more particularistic factors appear to contribute to the development of a specific policing style.

Beyond these specific factors, small town policing is similar to Wilson's (1970) "watch-style" policing as it is highly discretionary, although not necessarily discriminatory. The service-style model can also be used to depict small town policing, although in Middleton

policing is less proactive and community-oriented than in some other small towns. Certainly, there is less ideological emphasis on community-based policing in Middleton than some of the other towns in the area. Furthermore, professionalization of policing has meant greater attention to legalistic practices. The professionalization of small town policing has tended to place a greater emphasis on the legalistic aspects of policing, with its accent on laying charges and enforcement, although when compared to the R.C.M.P. small towns are still less enforcement-oriented.

While some larger cities are adopting elements of a service style in their community-based policing initiatives (often interpreted as a small town policing model) in many ways the direction of influence has been the reverse. Small town police departments have developed G.I.S. functions, for example, and to some extent copied big city models of specialization. Middleton was the first to create this specialization in the Valley. While constables are still generalists, a degree of specialization has developed with officers serving fundamentally a patrol function. All officers are expected to contribute to positive police-community relations and other tasks, although there tends to be less of this activity than in other towns. In general, then, more than the other towns, Middleton has adopted a more traditional policing style based on the degree of specialization which is practicable, while not laying emphasis, either in ideology or practice, on the newer policies associated with community-based policing. For example, compared to other towns, there appears to be less emphasis on crime prevention, although this observation should be qualified by noting that crime prevention initiatives are primarily significant in Kentville which has a larger force and therefore more officers to expand the police role.

Political interference in municipal policing has been reduced by the introduction of local Boards of Police Commissioners (Police Act, 1976), to which police departments report and to which they are accountable. However, the Council retains control over the police budget. Political interference, however, is not confined to municipal forces. One factor that is said to allow the R.C.M.P. less political interference is funding. Despite this, as the Marshall Inquiry indicated, the R.C.M.P. is not immune to political pressure from the Province. In Middleton, while individual members of the Police Commission or Town Council may be critical of police expenditures and seek to reduce police service, at the time of the study there was a close relationship between the Town and the Chief, on a basis which left the day-to-day management of the force with the Chief.

The level of political interference varies from town to town. As Murphy (1986) indicates, police organizations are dependent on the local municipality for resources. Towns with municipal police departments presently fund 87% of the total cost of such services, with the remaining 13% provided by the province. Consequently, the police chief is required to be politically sensitive in his discussions with local power brokers in the effort to have his budget approved as the acceptance or rejection of the budget "can be used to reward or punish the performance of the entire police department" (Murphy, 1986, p. 198).

While police professionalism and unionism have helped to distance police departments from political influence, "resource dependence" demands at least some degree of "political responsiveness" (Murphy, 1986, p. 188). One consequence of increased

demands for revenue is the reciprocal demand from Council for accountability, quantifiable evidence of police productivity. This means that policing styles are, necessarily, transformed from a peace-keeping function to a more legalistic style emphasizing close monitoring of complaints and calls for assistance, as well as proactive management of public order complaints. Although they ask the advice of local political authorities, and meet with them both formally and informally, the style and level of policing is, at the explicit level, determined by central authorities within the department more than by the local municipalities. Concern about the precise role of extra-departmental authorities was expressed in the recent Marshall Inquiry report on public policing in Nova Scotia.

The limited resources of many small town departments has necessitated a certain degree of dependence on the R.C.M.P. Specialized R.C.M.P. services are available to all municipal Valley police departments. In major criminal investigations, such as murder, the R.C.M.P. have official jurisdiction. All of the small towns police departments in the Valley utilize the R.C.M.P. identification (forensic) services. As federal and provincial budgets tighten, however, these services will be provided increasingly at cost. For example, identification services, the use of tracking dogs and lab work may well, in the future, be billed to the municipal police departments.

In a very fundamental way the dependence of the town police on political authority and the resources of the R.C.M.P. is reflected in the potential threat to disband the municipal police force and bring in the federal force. In some departments this threat has surfaced on occasion, especially during contract negotiations and departmental problems. In Middleton the threat of R.C.M.P. takeover has been less conspicuous. On the contrary, political discussion of municipal regionalization may presage a reverse of this relationship, with an expanded regional or provincial force threatening R.C.M.P. presence in all or parts of now-rural policing.

The most obvious advantage of the municipal R.C.M.P. contracts has been the high level of subsidization of town policing by the government. However, as the federal government moves to recover an increasing proportion of its expenditure from the municipalities, the cost benefits of an R.C.M.P. contract will diminish and subsequently the importance of local control over police forces will heighten.

The appropriate role for the community to play in this control, in particular, in determining policy and supervising policing, is very controversial and the police departments themselves have been emphasizing organizational autonomy to avoid political interference. Certain reformers, however, who envisage a democratic community structure, believe that the police should be responsive to the needs and demands of their constituency. Chiefs guard their autonomy from the elected officials, public interference, media misrepresentation and even threats from other police departments, for example, in the case of some proposals for regionalization.

Small town policing is likely to continue to experience change in the next decade. The question of police budget will be pivotal. Financially strapped municipalities are

suffering a decline in revenue from provincial bodies and in towns like Middleton, bare-bones budgets allow for basic subsistence of the police department, at the expense of some of the hallmarks of modern, professional policing, such as training and crime prevention. Town citizens pay taxes directly for policing, as well as other municipal services. These special taxes are not paid to the same extent by County residents who are policed by rural R.C.M.P. under provincial contracts. Municipal politicians are likely to take on the challenge of this unfair tax burden and, in the process, changes in provincial policing will be high on their agenda. Some forms of regionalization of policing in areas such as the Valley may well be one of the consequences of the Marshall Inquiry. The essential problem for towns such as Middleton would be to make some changes while retaining the traditional strengths of small town policing. It will be a delicate balancing act pushed by forces outside the municipalities which may have a more legalistic and intrusive style of policing in mind.

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