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**ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE
NEW MINAS DETACHMENT:
STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION**

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and

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I. INTRODUCTION¹

Policing may be one of the most frequently studied occupations in North America. This attention derives from a number of sources, not the least of which is the inherent ambiguity of policing in a liberal democratic state. Most studies, however, have concentrated on the experience of police departments in large urban settings (Ericson, 1982). In Nova Scotia, Richard Apostle and Philip Stenning conducted a research study on public policing in the province under the auspices of the Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall, Jr., Prosecution (1988). Since 1986, Donald Clairmont has been studying the implementation of a Community Policing Model in the City of Halifax.

Among the least studied police populations are police forces which operate in small towns or in rural parts of the province. In Nova Scotia, the majority of police departments are small organizations. Of the twenty-six municipal police departments in the province in 1987, eighteen were small departments having fewer than fifteen officers. These departments, however, account for only 18.4% of municipal police officers. Of the 723 municipal officers in Nova Scotia in 1987, 263 (36.4%) were in Halifax, 142 (19.6%) in Dartmouth and 67 (9.3%) in Sydney (Apostle and Stenning 1989).²

Rural policing in Canada has been the object of some analysis since most provincial policing is done by the federal force, the R.C.M.P. In Nova Scotia, the R.C.M.P. had a total establishment of 921 positions (1987), although not all of these were in rural areas (Apostle and Stenning, 1989, p. 2). This report is essentially a description of the structure and operation of policing in one rural R.C.M.P. detachment. The findings are derived from information obtained during an ethnographic phase of a study of policing styles and community linkages in the Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia.

1. Policing Styles

The concept of policing styles is a way to classify departments and differentiate between contrasting elements in different policing environments. For example, Brown defined operational policing style as,

how a patrol man will go about working the street and how he adapts to the contradictory requirements of behaving as a professional performing an uncertain task and as a bureaucrat subject to the stringent but uncertain discipline of the police bureaucracy (Brown, 1981, p. 223).

On the one hand, policing involves considerable discretion on the part of officers who are frequently unsupervised in their day-to-day work. On the other hand, police departments

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² Similarly, Victor Sims (1988) claims that 90% of police departments in the United States have fewer than ten officers.

operate in a quasi-military fashion and have often devised detailed operational procedures and rules for officers to follow.

The basic statement of organizational police style was developed by Wilson (1970) who distinguished between three policing styles characteristic of specific types of urban settings. The "watch-style" of policing, which is highly discretionary and discriminatory and oriented towards order maintenance, occurs in inner cities controlled by machine politics. Legalistic policing, which is professional, obtrusive and emphasizes enforcement as a dominant quality, is characteristic of newer cities administered by professional city managers. Finally, service-style policing typically occurs in homogeneous communities. Departments take all calls for police intervention seriously and are more proactive in the sense of developing a positive community-police relationship. This style is characterized by informality and leniency.

These models are seldom, if ever, encountered in such ideal forms (Muir, 1977; Wilson, 1970). Nor is it always the case that one model is predominate in the various types (rural, small town, urban) of police organizations, or indeed, within a single department. However, Wilson's typology utilizes a number of dichotomies which help describe, for a specific case, the style of policing. Departments, for example, may permit wide discretionary powers or attempt to circumscribe the work of officers by bureaucratic regulations.

Police officers, as "street-level" bureaucrats, exercise discretion as they are relatively unsupervised, yet are "structured by the work situations and the organizational and client-based demands faced by these officials in their day-to-day work" (Phyne, 1988, p. 1). Alternatively police departments can emphasize strict enforcement of regulations or advocate leniency and informal resolution of disputes (Lipsky, 1980; Wilson, 1970). With greater discretion may come the possibility of discriminatory policing. It has been argued that to some extent, in Nova Scotia as elsewhere, there has been a three-tier system of justice: a preferential system for the powerful, an obtrusive one for minority groups and another for the majority of the citizenry. Nevertheless, the majority of people in the province appear to have very positive attitudes towards the police. As the Royal Commission on Public Policing in Nova Scotia concluded: "Even where stereotypes [concerning the police] encourage positive images (about honesty, hard work, intelligence, and the like), problems may emerge" (Apostle and Stenning 1989, p. 119).

To a significant degree, a particular policing style is influenced by a host of external factors, such as the relationship between political authorities and the police force. In municipal policing, the size of the department is also an important variable and is, in part, a function of the size of the policed population (which is, in turn, related to the organization of police services, for example, the extent to which a form of regionalization has developed). Within the population, socio-demographic factors such as occupational and ethnic structures, shape policing style. The style of policing has also been found to vary according to the type of municipal contract, whether policing is done by an independent municipal police department or through contract with a provincial or federal force such as the R.C.M.P. However, all the above factors taken together do not minimize the impact, on municipal policing style, of a myriad of internal considerations such as the

personality and management skills of the chief administrator, the degree and character of unionization, the level of professionalism of the officers, the peculiarities of the department history and the make-up of the police force.

Given these varied determinants, whether rural policing represents a distinct and identifiable model is by no means certain. Whereas, traditionally, small town policing has emphasized the order-maintenance police function rather than crime-fighting, the R.C.M.P. model has tended to be the reverse. More recently, with the advent of Community-Based policing and the adoption of this form of policing nationally by the R.C.M.P., the traditional image of has been somewhat modified in the direction of a service model. This development, however, is not adequately conceptualized using Wilson's typology, in which the service model is described as a policy according to which police "intervene frequently but not formally" and "there is a high level of apparent agreement among citizens on the need for and definition of public order but in which there is no administrative demand for a legalistic style". This style incorporates "informal, non-arrest sanctions" (Wilson, 1970, p. 200).

The R.C.M.P. have traditionally followed a legalistic style of policing in Canada which has emphasized strict recruitment policies, specialized professional training, centralized command, bureaucratic, impersonal rules and military structure. Emphasizing aggressive law enforcement, the legalistic style emphasizes the application of legal rules and attempts to limit discretionary decision making (Murphy, 1986, p. 24). The distinctive military organization of the R.C.M.P. was developed in the context of the need for a centralized military force to maintain order in a potentially rebellious frontier society. Modelled after the Royal Irish Constabulary, the North West Mounted Police (created in 1873) was placed under centralized, federal control and emphasized military training, structure and internal discipline. Murphy contends that this high level of organizational control and the great commitment of the members to the organization, continues to characterize the R.C.M.P. (1986, p. 118).

There have been two main changes which have occurred to federal policing in Canada since the 1960s. The first of these was easily adapted to the centralized structure of the R.C.M.P. By the 1960s, internal and external demands for greater accountability in policing led to the development of detailed operational procedures, the adoption of the latest technology in crime fighting, and the creation of new policies for file maintenance and data collection. This modernization of the police function was well suited to a centralized, tightly controlled, militaristic policing establishment, and led to considerable organizational growth as municipal units across the country contracted policing services from the federal force.

At the same time, however, Canadian society has also undergone great changes which have affected policing. Large immigrant populations have moved into the larger cities making them more cosmopolitan and increasingly heterogeneous. The Canadian population has grown more cognizant of political and social rights as Canada has adopted an increasingly American model of individual liberties, incorporated into a formal Constitution. Definitions of work and leisure have undergone significant modification and altered individual's expectations of their careers and work responsibilities. As demands

for state services increased, governments at all levels have been faced with fiscal crises of various degrees of severity. These changes have all helped shape context of federal policing in the country and the attitudes of the members of the R.C.M.P.

As expectations external and internal to the federal force have changed, so has the policing style. The most recent change has been the formal adoption of a community Policing model by the R.C.M.P. Unlike the substantial changes in procedures and accounting which occurred earlier, this new role is not as consistent with the centralized bureaucratic structure of the R.C.M.P. which emphasized professional, independent policing by members which were loyal to the organization and relatively detached from the communities within which they enforced the laws.

These changes in the formal approach to policing have been paralleled in municipal policing. During the same period, larger police departments implemented a number of programs to modify their styles of policing. Team policing models, store-front operations, increased foot patrol, enhanced police-community relations and new crime prevention programmes have modified the image and practice of urban policing. The most ambitious of these changes has been community-based policing, a style which embraces many of these modifications. A tendency towards emphasizing general police skills rather than specialization can potentially represent a very different style of policing (D. Clairmont, 1988).

Ultimately, we are faced with the reality of social change and social mobility in rural areas of the province as well as in small towns and the impact of these changes on policing style. The intention of this report is to describe the style and functioning of policing in one rural R.C.M.P. detachment. While the report is specific to one detachment, some of the discussion is more general to policing in the larger area included in the research project. The context indicates whether the description is specific to the detachment, to R.C.M.P. policing, or is characteristic of the Annapolis Valley area.

2. Kings County and New Minas: A Snapshot

As a social geographical area, the Valley extends from the town of Windsor (population 3,665) in the East to the town of Digby (population 2,525) in the West.

There are several towns in Kings County, Kentville, Wolfville and Berwick, which provide their own policing. In addition, there are several incorporated villages within the Municipality of Kings County, including Port Williams, Coldbrook, Canning and New Minas. In these areas, as well as in the rural parts of the county, policing is provided by the Municipality as part of the provincial contract with the R.C.M.P.

The most significant area in terms of policing is New Minas. Despite its village status, New Minas has been a rapidly growing, essentially suburban centre, resembling the strip development found on the outskirts of larger urban areas. Commercial developments have spread along one long, main street, with residential sub-divisions spreading north to the provincial highway, Number 101, and south to the Cornwallis River, occupying what was at one time agricultural land. In this development, New Minas is more reminiscent of Sackville or Cole Harbour, in Halifax County, than a traditional small town, such as neighbouring Kentville, which had 5,200 residents in 1986. Kentville is

the largest town in the area. Between 1981 and 1986, Kings County had a modest population increase of 7.1% which was considerably higher than the provincial average (3.0%). Some of this growth can be attributed to the establishment of the Michelin Tire Corporation plant in Waterville, Kings County. Although Kings County is primarily an agricultural area, (with apples being the single most important crop), it has the third highest population density in the province, at 24.4 persons per square kilometre.³ The population is not evenly distributed. There are more urbanized areas in the western end of the county (Kingston-Greenwood) as well as in the eastern part, including Kentville, which has about double its "town" population when the surrounding "urban area", including New Minas, is included.

Traditionally, Kentville has been the service centre for the county, housing department stores for low and middle income customers, grocery chains, as well as numerous taverns. Commercial enterprises, however, have largely moved to the village of New Minas, which contains two enclosed mall developments, anchored by national chain stores, as well as a series of other strip malls and retail or service outlets.

Kentville is the Shiretown of Kings County and, correspondingly, it is the site of the large service industry in the County which includes municipal government offices, a technical college as well as the County Law Courts. The federal Kentville Agriculture Centre in Kentville is an important employer in the town, as is the local hospital. The new Valley Regional Hospital in Kentville (under construction 1989 - 1990) will also contribute significantly to the economic viability of the area.

The main industries in the County are agricultural-based. In addition to apple raising and processing, hog and chicken farming support profitable farms. Processing plants, such as Cobi Foods and Hostess Potato Chips contract with local farmers who supply produce. Some light manufacturing plants have been established in the Kentville Industrial Park. The major industrial employer in the County is the Michelin Tire Corporation which established a plant in Waterville, west of Kentville.

³ Halifax and Cape Breton counties have slightly more than twice this density.

SECTION II

1. An Overview of the Development of R.C.M.P. Policing in Nova Scotia

The development of early provincial policing and the establishment of the R.C.M.P. is summarized by Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989). Under the British North America Act (1867), jurisdiction over the creation and enforcement of criminal laws was split between the federal and provincial governments. The provinces were to establish agencies for law enforcement, as well as a court system.

The R.C.M.P. resulted from the amalgamation in 1920 of two distinct federal police forces. One was the Dominion Police Force, established in 1868 to protect federal property in Canada. The other was the North West Mounted Police, formed in 1873 to police the north-west frontier. In 1920, there were 25 R.C.M.P. members in Halifax whose duties were to enforce federal statutes and protect the naval facilities. According to C. D. La Nauze,⁴ the force led a "somewhat placid existence in the Maritimes" until 1932. During these 12 years it was "rarely disturbed by provincial police duties, although there were no regular provincial police in the province" (1982:13).

While enacting criminal law was a federal responsibility, enforcing the statute devolved to the provinces. Outside the incorporated towns and cities, which formed their own municipal police forces, the provinces in Canada generally enacted legislation to form provincial police forces, although between 1905 and 1917, the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta contracted with the Royal North West/Royal Canadian Mounted Police to perform provincial policing.

In the early part of the 20th century, policing in Nova Scotia was local and there were few police resources. Such policing may have been sufficient for order maintenance in small communities, but 20th century social conditions would make this type of policing obsolete. As early as 1921, rural Nova Scotia felt threatened by a small band of automobile bandits who operated in Pictou, Colchester and Cumberland Counties.⁵ This case is interesting because of the involvement of the R. C. M. P. in the investigation and arrest, and also because of the role of the press in helping to create public apprehension.

Over several weeks, numerous breaks into country stores were attributed to this band of mobile thieves, as well as a major fire in the village of Millsville which was caused by burglars.⁶ The gang travelled "from place to place in automobiles", and "has caused something akin to panic to spread throughout the countryside."⁷ Chief Fraser, of the Truro Municipal force, lacked the resources to pursue the matter alone. The Province asked for the assistance of the R.C.M.P. and Sergeant F. Lucas, of Saint John, N.B., was assigned the

⁴ Superintendent La Nauze joined the RNWMP in 1908. From 1920 to 1928, he commanded the new Maritimes district of the R.C.M.P. In 1932 he returned to Halifax (following the absorption of the NS Police), where he was in charge of the Nova Scotia Sub-District, under an Assistant Commissioner for the maritime Provinces. He was posted to Toronto in 1934. (See La Nauze, 1982:11n).

⁵ *Halifax Herald*, 16 July 1921, pp. 1-2; 20 July 1921, p. 1; 22 July 1921, p. 1.

⁶ *Halifax Herald*, 29 July 1921, pp. 1-2.

⁷ *Halifax herald*, 29 July 1921, pp. 1-2.

case (La Nauze 1982:13). By the second of August, five men had been apprehended and charged. The *Halifax Herald* then announced that the R. C. M. P. had been investigating the case and that the men had been arrested by five members of the federal force and Chief Fraser.⁸ According to the *Herald*, "the lion's share of the credit for the capture" must go "to Sergeant Detective Lucas and his men.... Working for days and nights Detective Lucas with the men of the Mounties finally succeeded in rounding up their quarry.

"The work of the 'Mounties' in this case is in keeping with the best traditions of their force. Chief Fraser, of Truro, was with the men of the Mounted Police when the arrests were made and Inspector Lucas speaks in high terms of the assistance rendered by local police."⁹

As this example shows, in the age of the automobile, criminals were not confined to single jurisdictions. Legislation authorizing the appointment of provincial police officers was passed as early as 1910 (Toner and Perrier 1982: 33), but it was not until 1930, in the context of a revised Nova Scotia Liquor Control Act, that a provincial force, the Nova Scotia Police, was formed (*Ibid.*:35). It was not only concern with crime and alcohol which was behind this force. During the 1920s in Cape Breton, Provincial Constables were appointed on several occasions to help suppress the industrial actions of the United Mine Workers. Local police often sympathize with workers in such community-based disputes. A provincial police force could be expected to be less sympathetic and therefore a more reliable tool for the maintenance of order and the suppression of industrial disputes.

From the outset, the Nova Scotia Police had connections with the R.C.M.P. The Commissioner of the NSP, F. A. Blake, had been seconded from the federal force and returned as a commissioned officer to the R.C.M.P. in 1932 (Toner and Perrier, 1982:37). Initial training for the provincial police was organized by another former R.C.M.P. constable, L. H. Nicholson, later Commissioner of the federal force. The drill instructors were ex-British army NCOs (*Ibid.*:38-39).

The Nova Scotia Police were organized into seven districts, the smallest of which was "D" District, headquartered in Kentville (three members and stenographer), with detachments in Windsor (2 members) and Bridgetown (1 member) (Toner and Perrier 1982: 44-45).

On 1 April 1932, however, the Nova Scotia Police force was absorbed by the R.C.M.P. Toner and Perrier (1982:43) suggest that the economic situation of the province compelled Premier Harrington to turn to the R.C.M.P. for provincial policing. Most members of the Nova Scotia Police were absorbed by the federal force, with most of these retaining their rank (*Ibid.*) Detachments continued to be operated out of Kentville, Bridgetown and Windsor.

Provincial policing is presently done under contract to the federal force. Nationally, the R.C.M.P. is organized into 16 divisions, which operate in the ten provinces and two territories as well as the Capital City, and include a training centre in Ottawa and Depot (Training) in Regina. Nova Scotia is designated "H" Division, headquartered in Halifax,

⁸ *Halifax Herald*, 2 August 1921, p. 1.

⁹ *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1921, p. 1.

and is itself divided into four Subdivisions: Halifax, Truro, Sydney and Yarmouth. The New Minas Detachment is part of Halifax Sub-Division, which extends beyond Halifax County to Bridgewater on the South Shore, and Kings County in the Annapolis Valley.

Apostle and Stenning have outlined the legislative framework of policing in the province (1988, p. 1).

Since the 1960s, Murphy argues, policing in Nova Scotia has been characterized by rapid structural change caused by dramatic changes in socio-economic conditions (1986, p. 114). Consequently, police interest groups demanded a more professional style of policing. In some cases, modernization of existing municipal police departments occurred. In other cases, "internal organizational change" was perceived by some communities "as either organizationally impossible or politically hazardous" and, consequently, they chose to replace the existing municipal force by contracting directly with the R.C.M.P. (Murphy, 1986, p. 115). This change was facilitated by two developments: the R.C.M.P. was undergoing a period of sustained growth, and the federal government made the option financially attractive.

The R.C.M.P. currently provides policing to ten municipalities in Nova Scotia under contracts negotiated between the Municipal government and the Solicitor General of Canada. Such agreements are in force for the following towns: Port Hawkesbury, Pictou, Parrsboro, Oxford, Antigonish, Windsor, Yarmouth, Shelburne, Liverpool and Digby. Initially, the amount billed to the municipality for policing services amounted to about 50% of the total contract cost. R.C.M.P. policing, then, was heavily subsidized by the provincial government. Under the terms of the 1981-1991 agreement, however, the proportion increased by 2% per annum, reaching a total of 70% by the expiration of the contract, in March 1991 (Apostle and Stenning, 1988, p. 14n). This agreement is currently under negotiation and it is expected that the proportion billed to the municipality will again be increased. Funding formulas are complicated; furthermore, not all services are reported in municipal policing budgets which include a variety of costs. Cross-jurisdictional comparisons, then, are difficult to make (Apostle and Stenning, 1988, p. 14).

The R.C.M.P. also provides provincial policing under the terms of the Provincial Policing Agreement, negotiated between the federal and provincial governments. There are 41 rural detachments in Nova Scotia, of which New Minas is the third largest (following Cole Harbour and Lower Sackville, both in Halifax County). The cost of provincial policing is borne by general provincial revenues, unlike municipalities which also assess a direct cost for policing services.

2. Style of Policing

In the past decade the function(s) of police departments across Canada have broadened to include problems and issues beyond the traditional law enforcement role. In small town departments which are not exclusively focused on traditional enforcement activity, the police are less likely to work in isolation from both the community and other segments of the criminal justice system. This has not been the model which characterized R.C.M.P. policing although, as noted above, the orientation of the federal force has increasingly come to emphasize community contacts. In general in Canada police-role

functions have been modified in terms of both substance and priority. Criminologists and researchers have put forward a number of paradigms to conceptualize police functions in terms of order-maintenance, service, "information giving" and law enforcement (Vanagunas, 1977; Shearing, 1974).

A definitive model of police function is difficult to ascertain in as much as the role of police in Canadian society is imprecise. In a discussion of the role of police Blake (1987) notes:

We have role definitions for police by police. Some definitions go further and become tenets, generally accepted and acted upon by most police, while others are merely policy, leaving the individual policeman to interpret for himself exactly what he should be doing. In addition, there are role definitions of the police formulated by the public and the public's expectations, which may be quite different from those defined by the police (Blake, 1987, p. 77).

Wilson's 1968 typology of policing styles (watchman, legalistic and service) has been persistently utilized by scholars. At one end of the scale the 'watchman' style of policing is characterised by the maintenance of the status quo with limited law enforcement objectives. At the other end of the continuum is the legalistic style which emphasizes law enforcement. The service style of policing is in essence a compromise style accentuating service to the community (Wilson 1970).

With respect to the kind of policing which the force does, the RCMP has many different models. In Burnaby, B.C., for example, they have a detachment with several hundred officers basically doing urban policing. A constable said that he was stationed in the West Edmonton detachment where, for two years, he rode around in a patrol car and gave out tickets, handing any other investigation over to GIS constables. It was a very alienating experience, he said, and similar to what city policing is like.

One constable thought that a major difference between rural and urban policing was response time. Given the size of the area covered by a rural detachment, the police were unable to respond as quickly to a call for service. The irony here is that most studies indicate that only a small percentage of police time is spent responding to calls, although this is a major component of the police ideology. People in rural areas, he said, are easier to get along with, and accept the slow response time. In a rural area, he said, there is less pressure. It is more difficult to learn a rural than an urban area since street addresses are less precise, a factor which effects response time.

In urban areas, a constable noted, the officer usually patrols a small, designated area. In rural policing, the constable could be conducting an investigation in any part of the entire detachment area. He preferred this style because it increases the freedom of the job; some areas are slow and boring.

Manning (1989) defines community based policing in terms of a four-level model, namely ideological, programmatic, pragmatic and organizational. Community-based policing (C.B.P.) as an ideological system is consistent with the traditional small town policing model. Manning asserts that "communities in previous times were more unitary, the police were a more legitimate and accepted part of communities" (1989, p. 396). How

much of this ideology is based on wishful thinking, a return to simpler times, or a utopian rationalization as Manning notes, is unclear.

On a second level C.B.P. embraces a programmatic facet which serves to bridge the gulf between ideology and reality in the sense that it furnishes the vehicles that "restore police "closeness" to the community" (*Ibid.*). In many jurisdictions, analogous procedures are evident, for example, the accent on foot patrol. Police forces are now involved in many areas in the community; with youth, seniors, schools and various other organizations. As we will discuss below, the New Minas detachment has undertaken these programmatic aspects of the Community-based Policing model.

In a pragmatic sense C.B.P. endeavours are, in part, responses to community discontent and expectations traceable to events which generated the McDonald Inquiry (1981). Lastly, C.B.P. means the development of organizational structures to facilitate specific community programs. In "H" Division, the manifestation of C.B.P. in terms of an organizational structure has been the development of a two-man Community Relations/Crime Prevention Officer unit which is available to assist detachments across the province in crime prevention and public relations work. In the New Minas Detachment, one position is reserved for a full-time Crime Prevention, Community Relations Officer. The community relations coordinator systematizes various crime prevention programs and departmental activities.

Research indicates that, in most Canadian and American police departments, a definition of C.B.P. is obfuscated by the numerous interpretations, the broad ideological basis and the variant number of programs defined as "community-based". In New Minas, the detachment's C.B.P. efforts arise from a federal mandate in that direction. Without doubt, the public relations aspect of community-based policing is a crucial component of the model.

3. The New Minas Detachment Area

The New Minas Detachment provides provincial and federal policing in the eastern and central sections of Kings County (see Fig. 1, Map of Kings County). Within the detachment area are three incorporated towns which provide local municipal policing, Wolfville, Kentville and Berwick, as well as C.F.B. Aldershot. This Armed Forces Base is primarily used in the summer to train militia, and is policed by the Military Police headquartered in C.F.B. Greenwood.

The detachment area is bounded in the north by the bay of Fundy, in the west by the Minas Basin and the Hants County line (policed by the Windsor Rural Detachment of the R.C.M.P.), and in the south by the Lunenburg County line (policed by the Chester Rural Detachment of the R.C.M.P. (see Figure 2, RCMP Reporting Zones, New Minas Detachment). In the western end of the county, the jurisdiction of the New Minas detachment extends to the Parker Road north of Highway 1, and the Lake George Road south of Highway 1. The western portion of the County is within the jurisdiction of the Kingston Detachment of the R.C.M.P. There is also a military base, complete with Married Quarters, C.F.B. Greenwood, within this area which is policed by Military Police from the base.

FIGURE 1**RCMP REPORTING ZONES, NEW MINAS DETACHMENT**

If complaint not in zone indicated, place in quarter which occurred. All Sots and 19Gs go in quarters.

ZONE	AREA	ZONE	AREA
KIN	Kingsport	COL	Coldbrook
CAN	Canning	CAM	Cambridge
PW	Port Williams	WAT	Waterville
GP	Grand Pre	KN	Kentville North
AVO	Avonport	CEN	Centreville
HOR	Hortonville	MOR	Morristown
NM	New Minas	SB	South Berwick
GAS	Gaspereau Valley	SM	Sheffield Mills
WR	White Rock	GRE	Greenwich
NA	North Alton	SA	South Alton

members point to the continuing need to handle situations physically and the degree to which members who are "street-smart" will survive better, and be able to protect themselves, the public and other members. The preference for university-trained recruits is currently under review in the force.

However, other factors have come to play an even more important role in recruitment. The commitment of the Federal government to encouraging bilingualism in the country has been implemented most consistently in the federal bureaucracies, and this policy also applies to the R.C.M.P. Bilingual recruits are given preference. New recruits are sometimes sent for immersion in the other official language (usually French) before training in Depot. Other federal initiatives also affect the Force's recruitment policies. Before the 1960s, the Force was exclusively male. Traditionally the force has also been predominantly white. Currently there is a preference for the selection of female and minority group members. For example, the R.C.M.P. recently changed its policy on uniforms to allow Sikhs to wear their traditional turbans and for Aboriginal Canadians to wear their hair in braids. The preference for minorities and for women is largely the result of a political initiative originating outside the force. Increasingly, Canada is an immigrant country and large pockets of traditional culture not only survive in larger urban centres but are growing and becoming more autonomous. For example, schooling may be provided in non-official language. In these communities, policing is hampered by language and cultural barriers and the recruitment of minority group members may enhance the policing of these communities. The best example of this is in the R.C.M.P.'s native constable programme. As aboriginal people demand more autonomy from the government, native policing is being devolved to the reserves within the R.C.M.P.

However, minority policing is not specific to certain minority groups. A Sikh who is a regular member is a member and polices the public, regardless of status. Problems will continue to arise until the majority community can be resolved to be policed by visible minorities. It should also be recognized that the experience of minority police officers in minority communities has not always been positive. There are few black officers in Nova Scotia, for example, and some of these officers find policing black communities difficult because they are subject to criticism and ostracism by members of the minority community. The fundamental problem is two-fold: until minority recruitment reaches a higher level, it will continue to be tainted by the appearance of tokenism; and as long as minority communities continue to be disadvantaged economically and socially, law enforcement will still be seen as entailing an element of external domination, represented by the police and other social agencies. In the process, minority police officers will represent intrusive and external authority.

Despite the preference for non-traditional applicants, the majority of new recruits continue to be white males. The selection process begins with the assigning of a "score" based on such qualities as level of education, age, gender and ethnic group status. There is an initial interview, and a security check, followed by a long written test. Members will frequently claim that they can tell whether a candidate will be accepted on initial inspection. If the process is positive at this point, an investigation is undertaken into the applicant's background and history, and interviews are conducted with people in the

community who have knowledge of the applicant's character and history. The make-or-break point is a lengthy interview with Staffing in HQ. At this point the main question is the suitability of the applicant in the eyes of the recruiter. Successful candidates must then pass a rigorous medical examination. They are then placed on the waiting list, which is likely to be for a minimum of six months, during which time they are counselled to improve their chances, for example, by further study or language training.

Late in 1990 this policy was altered to place more emphasis on the physical requirements. Before they will be initially interviewed, the potential applicant must pass an organized physical training exercise (which they are required to arrange and pay for themselves). This represents a shift in priorities and a new emphasis on the physical nature of some of the duties of a police officer.

Even after a person is selected as a member and placed on the waiting list to be sent to Depot, there are no guarantees. At the time of this writing there was a waiting list of about 500 in Nova Scotia, and about 50 are sent annually to Depot. There is no seniority on the waiting list, however, and a recruit can be leap-frogged by another recruit who is better qualified. In the context of the 1991 Federal Budget and the necessity to cut money from the R.C.M.P., a temporary freeze was placed on recruitment and, for a period of time, no new troops were sent to Regina. At the time of writing this report, the freeze was still intact, although it was likely to be temporary. In particular, with the federal/provincial negotiations on the cost of R.C.M.P. services to the provinces nearing some compromise, there would again be long term stability. Interestingly, however, for the first time rumours about actual lay-offs were apparent.

5. Promotion and Transfers

Traditionally, the career of an R.C.M.P. officer involved frequent transfers -- averaging one every two or three years -- as well as a career profile which assumed regular promotions.

The transfer policy was designed with several objectives in mind. From Depot, new members were permitted to state their divisional preferences, which could not include a return to their home province (although such a transfer could be arranged later in their career). The main reason for this policy was to achieve the maximum separation of the R.C.M.P. from the community. In an era when local policing was tainted by close political connections and favouritism, the professionalization of policing stressed the independence of the Force from the community and from community influences.

Until the 1960s, recruits had to be unmarried and could not marry until they had served about three years in the Force. New members assigned to detachments frequently lived in R.C.M.P. quarters and this barracks-like continuation of their experience in Depot helped to solidify their attachment to the Force and to their fellow members and tended to isolate them from the community. Older members will frequently claim that they were "married to the Force". This policy went hand-in-hand with an emphasis on a legalistic style of policing and the primary task of law enforcement.

Frequent transfers, then, helped to maintain this separateness and emphasis on objective enforcement of statutes and reinforced the development of a close-knit R.C.M.P.

sub-culture within which officers primarily interacted with each other. Pulled out of one detachment area every two or three years, the member re-entered another similar R.C.M.P. sub-culture in a different community. The expectation was that the "public" would be undifferentiated and treated on the basis of objective, enforcement standards.

The policy of frequent transfers also was designed to provide variety and prevent the growth of complacency. Since much of daily police work is routine, transfers of location provide a change for the member.

Before the 1960s and 1970s, these transfers were arranged by Staffing at HQ and the member might be the last to know about his own transfer. The main objective was the needs of the Force and the preference of the member was a secondary consideration, if it was considered at all. Since then, however, the transfer policy has undergone considerable change. Basically the system now has more elements of give-and-take. Members can indicate in the annual Parade Sheets their preferences for transfers and some degree of negotiation enters the process.

Younger, unattached members were and still are relatively easy to transfer from detachment to detachment, or from Division to Division. Early periods of time spent guarding V.I.P.s in Ottawa might be followed by a period of time in the North or in a small rural detachment. The young member had few strings attaching him to any particular locality, recognized the right of the Force to move him from location to location as the need arose, and may have joined with the expectation of these opportunities. If there were no quarters provided by the force, the norm was to rent accommodations. At any rate, the salaries were not very high and only more senior members could contemplate purchasing property.

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

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

conditions which make the selling of a house difficult. More often, however, the inability to sell is a detriment to a member's career advancement.

From the point of view of management, this new policy creates problems as well. For example, the detachment has at times been under-staffed awaiting members who have been transferred but who are unable for a considerable time to sell their home. From the point of view of the interests of the detachment, if the waiting period gets too long the appropriate policy is to cancel the transfer and open the detachment up for another member. It sometimes happens that a member is transferred from one detachment to another where a vacancy exists. Before he is able to move, his own replacement arrives. That detachment, then, has surplus manpower while the detachment in which the vacancy occurred is short. Many of these issues also arise in the case of promotions.

The "senior constable phenomenon" is prevalent in the RCMP now. Prior to the present situation, the members would not expect to remain a constable as long as they do now, but there are few promotional opportunities. This has clearly been recognized as a problem. There is a constable on the force, who was described by one NCO as excellent, with 20 years service. The detachment has added a number of new recruits recently. With these aside, no one had under 11 years (the junior constable in highways had 8). The lack of promotional opportunity was attributed to a lower degree of turn-over and the replacement of RCMP policing in some towns and on highways in the region. The lack of promotion was attributed by one constable with over 15 years service to the fact that members are not routinely retiring the way they used to. This might be linked to greater benefits such as pay and working conditions, and the gradual drying up of opportunities in civilian employment.

Another NCO, who says he was lucky to be promoted early in his career, said that ten years ago a member was likely to retire after 20 years and "get a good job on civy street". Now members routinely stay in for 35 years and, with the Charter, can stay in longer. He said that some members are applying for a polygraph position which they hope will lead to a promotion.

At one time there was automatic promotion for those who passed the Identification section training, so this was an internal route for promotion. Once in this specialized position, however, a corporal can get locked in and locked out of the general stream. Consequently, opportunities for further promotion are restricted.

One constable had been at an interview at HQ. The interviewer had told him that the way things were going in the RCMP he should not expect to be promoted until he had 31 years service. As a consequence he thinks that he will likely retire after 20 years, at the expiration of his mortgage, and find another line of work. He attributed part of the problem to a major expansion which occurred in the force 12 years previously at the time of the Olympic Games. In addition, there was also a lack of turn-over. A few years ago the training camp at Regina had been shut down for the first time in RCMP history, he said. The constable concluded that unless you are a native person, a member of another minority group, a female, have university education or speak French, the chances are you will not get into the RCMP. There is some evidence that the RCMP is reviewing this recruitment policy, especially with respect to preference for University training.

Another NCO mentioned that he had noticed that many of the men are becoming disgruntled by the lack of promotion. He feels that if something is not done it will be too late and the men will not be as keen to do a good job. Promotion is foremost on the mind of many members, especially those who have served many years and had anticipated promotion by this stage in their careers. Constables frequently know where they stand on the ladder of the Division and are able to quantify their position out of a roster of about 200.

While the RCMP does not have a union, the DSSR (divisional representative) serves the same purpose. It represents all members rather than a specific rank. There are sub-division representatives and a full-time DSSR for the Division whose responsibilities include dealing with grievances, sitting on promotion boards and being involved in such issues as pay scales, transfers and raises.

According to the "RCMP Staff News", a publication of the DSSR at HQ, there is a concern about what is termed centralized discrimination concerning job opportunities: "It is perceived that linguistic qualifications are too restrictive and that desirable qualifications automatically excludes the detachment man." At present, according to the "RCMP Staff News", "a short list of candidates is being presented for the consideration of promotion boards by Staffing Section". Promotion rankings are determined by a five year average of P.E.R.R. scores (minimum of 75% for promotion to Corporal, for example), a policy which "has automatically eliminated a number of senior personnel from being short listed. While the promotion board "can accept or reject this criteria, prior promotion boards have accepted this promotional criteria."

An individual's score is determined on the basis of an assessment. A Constable complained about the evaluation forms which are used by the NCOs when making their assessments of the members. It is a highly subjective evaluation, he said, and the main problem was that it was not standard from one detachment to another. You could have a rating from one supervisor which would not be comparable to a rating given by another supervisor in another detachment. This would affect promotion chances, for example. An NCO countered by saying that greater weight was attached to a number of good assessments from different supervisors compared with an excellent rating from only one. Some members indicated that they were in favour of a union in the RCMP, although this was very much a minority sentiment.

How much even the, perhaps, overly subjective assessment scores counted in promotion is also an issue. Even in bureaucratic organizations, favouritism may be perceived as an important basis for advancement. In a related grievance, it was reported in the *RCMP Staff News* that: "A considerable number of members feel that Job Opportunity Bulletins in this division are written by Staffing and Personnel to accommodate *their* choice for successful candidate", a situation which discriminates against uniformed members.

When it comes to promotions, you had to blow your own horn, one Constable said, because no one was going to do it for you. Some members included in their reports to supervisors personal letters of appreciation from the public. The trouble with this kind of feedback was that only the detachment supervisors would see them.

Some constables occupy relatively more specialized positions in the detachment and, at times, rumours circulate that some of these positions may become automatic routes for promotion. It is not always the case, however, that the incumbent in the position would receive the benefit of this promotion. Rather, someone higher up the promotion scale would be transferred in and automatically "get his hooks". This potentially leads to poor morale. One constable suggested a five year waiting period would be more appropriate.

Usually, the RCMP promotes and transfers at the same time, with the transfer often taking the member to a less desirable location. One informant, with over 20 years service, was routinely moved very two or three years when he first joined the force. Members are not moved around as much now as then, he said. The benefit of moving, he said, was that the member would be able to have a "fresh start" every few years.

Members devote considerable thought and time to the issue of transfers. The *RCMP Staff News* complained that "most uniformed members viewed transfers to specialized sections as being a closed shop, which discriminates against the uniformed personnel.

A member called HQ on another matter and then spent ten to fifteen minutes chatting mostly about who was where, who was rumoured going where, and who was being transferred. Then he spent five minutes relaying this information to two other members. When asked where he would prefer to be transferred, he named his home town, which, he said, had excellent schools for his children. There was no job related reason for wishing to go there. Many members see their present detachment as being a desirable location. It is close to a metropolitan area while having the advantages of a small community.

Transfers are, to a degree, negotiated by the member and his superiors. Each member fills out an annual parade sheet listing what he would like to do, for example in the way of training, what unit he would prefer, and where he would like to go. These are taken into consideration, although one member referred to it as a lottery. Another thought that individual politics was more important. It is likely that new recruits are given the least consideration with respect to postings, although not all detachments, as noted above, are designated for field training. The more senior a member is, the more input he has with respect to his posting. This input is often more negative than positive, however, since it is easier to resist being transferred against your will than receive the transfer you wish. As one constable said, he would not like to take a transfer, but would if it meant a promotion. An NCO said that, at this stage of his career, he would take a lateral transfer only if it meant having his own detachment.

One constable accepted posting to a small, isolated detachment in the province under the impression that it would be for two years and that he would then be transferred to his choice of duty. However, when the two years were up, his I/C NCO was also due for transfer, and this commitment was on paper. The constable was 2 I/C and the other two members were very junior. It was also difficult to get a corporal to go to this detachment. Consequently, he agreed to stay for a third year, but then received the posting that was first on his list.

For obvious reasons, principally having to do with morale, people are not transferred willy nilly, and some personal consideration is given to movement within the Force. One unit in the detachment, for example, was a man short because the one who was supposed to be filling the vacancy was having trouble selling his house, which delayed things to the point where the transfer was cancelled.

Nevertheless, it can still take some time to get the posting that is desired. One constable from the province tried right from the start to get back to his home province after joining in 1975. He finally received a transfer to this detachment in 1985. Generally speaking, it is easier to get a transfer than a promotion. This allows for some changes in job location and duty which, in the absence of promotion, creates additional variety in the job and can increase job satisfaction.

6. The Uniform 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 specialities, 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 RCMP and the newer constable generalist in metropolitan policing.

In addition to small town and metropolitan policing, there is the rural model implemented by the RCMP. In fact, the RCMP is engaged in several different styles of policing depending on the characteristics of the particular environment. In some places, such as the detachment area covered by the present study, they police large rural areas. In this case they provide an example of a highly bureaucratic police force, with several layers of supervision, which has several specialist positions, while, at the same time, the majority of members occupy a generalist position. Rural policing, however, could be approached using more of a specialist model with an emphasis on highway patrol and specialized investigators. The patrol officer, for example, would likely be the first on the scene of an occurrence but, if warranted, would hand the investigation over to an investigating officer and return relatively quickly to patrol.

According to the Standard role descriptions, RCMP constables are responsible for all aspects of investigation and enforcement relative to the various Acts, from general investigation to prosecution. "The investigator is expected to take initial action on all investigations of offences committed, considering evidence available to warrant

prosecution, applicable charge, exhibits to be seized, arrest, etc." In addition, a "major responsibility" is to provide "advice, guidance and general assistance to the general public on both criminal and domestic matters". The fact that constables are responsible for their investigations from start to finish is a facet of the work which several constables stated made the job more interesting.

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

In the detachment, while the first officer who responds will be responsible for that file, he will be helped by his supervisor and, if his supervisor decides, by GIS. Unless it is assigned to another, specialized unit, he will be responsible for completing the report and for maintaining the continuity of the investigation. In this case, GIS is a support service. They might be assigned to do the follow-up of an investigation which was drying up or consuming excessive time. If they uncover any additional leads, the first officer whose file it was would expect to be made aware of it. Certain complaints, such as insurance fraud, are more likely to be handed over directly to GIS.

Constables are responsible for preparing their court cases and for taking cases to court, but the Supervisor is responsible for the court dockets. This entails checking them for errors, delivering them to the court house, swearing to them and reviewing the crown sheet. If there are a lot of exhibits, for example in a murder trial, an exhibits man may be appointed. This is handled by the supervisor because it avoids the problems associated with one constable trying to assign additional duties to another.

According to one NCO, the advantage of the constable generalist is that an experienced officer has a better understanding of how the whole system works. The disadvantage is that there is a great deal to learn. For example, constables will take pictures at a crime or accident site, although there will be tremendous variation in the quality of the product. In the detachment, however, such work is routinely handled by the Identification unit.

The watch constables in the detachment, then, are relatively good models of the constable generalist role, although they are restricted somewhat in the kinds of investigations they can pursue. Some of this is simply common sense. Generally, an investigation which requires plain clothes work would be handed over to GIS such as a case of employee theft.

Police officers, even those at the lowest ranks, possess a considerable degree of freedom in the exercise of their job (Bittner 1970). According to Eitzen and Timmer (1985), this is because of a general absence of supervision, part of which is attributable to the fact that police work on the street is difficult to supervise (Lundman 1980).

7. Autonomy and Work Satisfaction

Certain aspects of the work of policing are common, regardless of the location, although the frequency and form of the exercise of authority and discretion, for example, will vary considerably from environment to environment. The degree to which members of the RCMP experience relative autonomy on the job, and the work satisfaction they experience, are affected by numerous factors in the detachment area, the detachment itself, and in the larger Division. Some of these factors determining the quality of working life were discussed in the exploratory interviews.

According to Ellis (1987), case-law has defined a police officer's legal status as not that between a servant and master, but that of "the holder of a public office" in a "state which he is said to serve.... His [the constable's] authority is original, not delegated, and is exercised at his own discretion by virtue of his office: he is a ministerial officer exercising statutory rights independently of contract." (:130; Ellis cites Shearing 1981b). Specifically, the officer is independent of direction from a Minister of the Crown: "The responsibility for law enforcement lies on him. He is answerable to the law and to the law alone." In sum, "neither politicians nor members of interest groups have a legal basis for attempting to regulate the exercise of discretion by police chiefs. Only the courts can do this." (: 130)

The amount of autonomy an individual has over her or his work is a key element in job satisfaction. As the literature cited above would suggest, most of the members interviewed reported that they exercised a considerable degree of control over their job. According to the Standard role descriptions, the constable normally performs work under supervision "with freedom to make on-the-spot decisions involved in routine investigations".

As I indicated above, constables have some say over the amount of work that they do, and keen officers can take on a heavy load, while others can "sluff off" work on to other members. With regard to general detachment duty, as one member declared: "You can make it as challenging as you want or you can slide". While work that is self-generating is often more satisfying, such work is also very demanding and creates a great deal of pressure.

At times, constables receive calls from individuals or agencies with whom they have established some liaison. The first time the detachment will hear of the case is when someone is brought in for questioning. This was referred to as a "scoop".

The decision to lay charges is the police officers', subject to input from the supervisor and crown prosecutor. Because enforcement of the law is a separate function from the judiciary -- constables normally do not determine the punishment culprits are to receive -- members must come to terms with the disposition received in a case, with which they may not be in agreement. According to an NCO, the decision to lay charges "is made here; what happens after charges are laid is on the other side of the street." In fact, police generally exercise some voice in plea bargaining (although they are divided in their opinions about this method of cutting down on court time) and try to influence the crown prosecutor with respect to requested punishment.

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

An important aspect of job satisfaction concerns the relationship members have with each other. One NCO commented that the men are good to work with. One constable commented that the detachment is close-knit and the atmosphere is relaxed. Observation during the initial observation phase suggested to us that members discuss problems and cases with each other, although there are some apparent exceptions to this. The positive image of the detachment was reinforced by an NCO who described the atmosphere as relaxed. There was a humourous, light side to the detachment, he said. He liked the constables he worked with and described the other members as the best part of the job. Another NCO also reported that he enjoyed the working environment in the detachment, attributing this in part to the fact that many of the members were senior and had been together at the detachment for a number of years. This may also relate to the relatively small numbers involved compared with city policing. Other members, however, were less positive about the relations at work seeing this detachment as less close than others in their experience.

The RCMP members all refer to themselves as members, regardless of rank. This makes the ranking structure appear less regimented than some urban forces, although this may only be an appearance. Constables frequently use the first names of the NCOs. More frequently, perhaps, they avoid using titles.

One important aspect of the work of policing is that it involves shifts, some of which may be more desirable than others. This applies more to the generalist than the specialist. The Watch NCOs work opposite shifts (day/night). The day shift is usually busier. The night shift is preferred by many because there are fewer phone calls and it is less busy. Presumably this means that they are more free to determine their activities and they are not closely supervised. According to one constable, the day shift is more sociable while the night shift has more calls for service. He said that this was not really predictable and there were ups and downs. There is, however, a great deal of time at night spent on random patrol, which tends to be less interesting. At night constables sometimes double up, as much for the company as for the protection or the need to have more than one member to break up fights. In cases of disturbances, however, constables routinely back each other up.

It is often asserted that the policeman is never off duty. Certain emergencies will result in a call-back at any time. However, there is also a more routine call system operating at the detachment. On the night shift, from 7 pm to 4 am, the constable is on call until 6 am, at which time the on-coming day- shift member is on call. These calls come through from HQ. One constable complained about the difficulties of just getting to sleep

after a late shift and then being called, although he noted that the dispatcher at HQ only calls them out if it really cannot wait. This happens about once or twice a month. In the highways unit, where shifts end at mid-night except for Friday and Saturday when they end at 2 am, one man is on call during the off hours. On Highways, there is generally one man on duty during the day and two men at night, meaning that there is more shift work during the evening hours.

The NCOs are responsible for seeing that overtime is maintained at an acceptable level. If there are lengthy investigations at any time, the schedule is altered. Although 48 hours notice is required for a shift change, this formal requirement is often overlooked in practice if the individuals agree. The RCMP socialization and absence of formal grievance procedures compel compliance to most requests for changes. Although the shift schedule is established for the month, it does go through modifications as things come up. For example, one Constable had gone to his former detachment on other business (in connection with an investigation there). So numerous modifications are made. I asked an NCO whether this causes problems, and he said that it did not. They are not in a union situation, he said. It would be possible for someone to make this difficult but it rarely happened.

Recently in the detachment, however, budgetary short-falls have taken the toll on overtime. Requests for overtime must be authorized by an NCO. Corporals, in turn, are answerable to the Sergeants for this authorization. This sometimes places the corporals in the position of having to judge whether a matter can be handled during regular hours or whether overtime is required. If a decision is made to authorize overtime, justifications must be made to the Operational Sergeant. The tighter the attempt to hold the reins on overtime in order to reduce costs, the more difficult the position of the corporal becomes.

However, for major investigations, such as homicide, when large amounts of overtime are required for the investigation, when many police officers are involved in the investigation, or with exhibits, and consequently costs are high, the Division is likely to compile a bill and submit it to the Provincial government for the exceptional services rendered.

The shift schedule is taken to the Crown Prosecutor's office so that he can schedule court appearances for times when the officer is on duty. This helps to avoid overtime. Changes in the shift schedule are also taken to the prosecutor.

Overtime work has two contradictory aspects. On the one hand, it can interfere with a member's private life. On the other hand, it is the main way for a constable to earn additional income. For example, it is common in police departments now for a female member to be called back to search a female suspect. In a busy detachment there can be a fair amount of overtime involved here, especially while the number of female constables remains low. This balance has altered over the last four years and, currently, with one female officer on each watch, such specialized tasks seldom would require overtime. There is a crucial trade-off involved in overtime. One member worked at HQ for two years in an undercover surveillance group working with customs. In this position, he could be called away at any time for unspecified lengths of time, and put in tremendous amounts of overtime. At times, he regarded both the amount of extra work and the irregularities in

the call-back as unpleasant aspects of this duty for which the extra money did not compensate.

The fundamental point is that, the working of shifts aside, constables can keep flexible hours, a situation which indicates that supervision is not routinely onerous. One constable, for example, rescheduled his Friday night shift because of an educational commitment.

Autonomy on the job is also affected by the number of calls for service. When they are low, constables can determine their allocation of time. In this detachment, however, the workload is heavy. Members carry dozens of files at a time. At times one constable noted, you feel as though you are on a yo-yo. You are called out of the office to answer a complaint. You return to the office and hardly have time to write up the report or do follow-up when you are called out on the next complaint. This tendency to be at the beck and call of dispatch also intrudes on the lunch hour. During their lunch hour, members are subject to dispatch calls and they make a judgement whether the matter is urgent or can wait. While doing this, they are aware that the call for service was likely to have been monitored by an NCO in the detachment. A problem only arises, one constable said, if a serious complaint does not get prompt attention. This does not happen so frequently to pose a problem for the constables or to induce feelings of being overly directed by dispatch.

It is not only calls for service or over-time which can induce a feeling of being over-worked. One of the occupational constants is that constables do not have control over the number of complaints they receive, although they do exercise some discretion over how they handle them. One NCO noted that this was a relatively busy detachment. At one time, for example, the detachment had double the number of complaints as another detachment of identical size. While this work-load was used as ammunition for making the case for additional members, the work-load remains relatively heavy. How absolutely heavy the work load is, of course, another question. The amount of work and the perception of appropriate workload also differs according to the specialty of the member. With respect to workload, one member said that he should handle three to five cases at a time, but that currently he was handling 35.

Frequently an investigation needs to be continued even though a member has time off. In that case it is handed over to another member. If the second member does more work than the first, he will frequently assume responsibility for the investigation. In this situation it is possible for a member to pass on (or "sluff off") difficult work. One of the NCOs said that one constable had a case load which was three or four times greater than some others. He attributed this to his being keen but had cautioned him about taking on too much because he would have a difficult time handling the case load. This suggests that members may have considerable discretion over the amount of work they do, subject to some monitoring. At night, for example, when a call comes through dispatch, several constables may hear the call, but that does not mean they all respond. There may be some hesitation to see if someone else takes it, or some informal negotiation with respect to location of the complaint and members' work loads at the time.

The RCMP work in one-officer cars. Nevertheless, it is the norm to double up for the night shift, especially later in the evening. One constable preferred the one-officer cars because it was easier to get the work done and you can do what you want. However, the constables back each other up, checking on the radio and routinely showing up when the situation requires it, and waiting for back-up before going in to a difficult situation.

The amount of random patrol varies. During the day shift the watch constables more often conduct investigations and patrol is more incidental to this work. In the evening, as investigations become more difficult, the amount of random patrol increases. Another reason for the absence of random patrol during the day is the great distance covered by the detachment.

One constable indicated that he did not take his files with him on Friday and Saturday nights because he wanted to be free to attend calls and give back-up. Highway patrol is more likely to do random patrol during the day. If there is perceived to be a particular problem in one area, the RCMP will saturate it and create a noticeable police presence, termed "waving the flag".

The crucial difficulty which, has led to some specialization even in smaller police departments, is the need for continuity of some investigations. Particularly in the evening, there are only a limited number of hours during which investigations can be handled, interviews held, witnesses contacted, and so on. Consequently, there is an arrangement by which one officer on the detachment night shift is freed from answering the routine complaints and is expected to work on investigations. This arrangement is sometimes difficult if cases of assistance come up, for example, responding to a domestic dispute, or if there are problems among officers on a shift. Some give and take and accommodation is required.

Community-based policing, in general, is designed to increase the autonomy of the officer by making the job more complex and varied. It has been pointed out that, in traditional reactive policing, the officer is compelled to respond to any public complaint. This has been referred to as a more democratic model of policing since police contact with the public is not affected by the class of the complainant. In practice, judgements are made in city policing about calls and there is some class bias in response. The point here, however, is that the more the constable is free to determine the quantity and type of community contact, the more likely they are to choose contact with a more narrowly defined range of the population, increasing the class bias.

One constable had some views on the merits and otherwise of neighbourhood policing. In his view, the obvious good point was that you knew people. He recalled going into an urban neighbourhood with a long-time officer and being impressed by how many people he knew and who knew him. The other problem he mentioned, however, was that people who were too familiar would do two things: they would make presumptions about offences and offenders with too little evidence and they would tend to let too much illegal activity slide. He didn't add the possibility of corruption.

According to one constable, while he was in another detachment, the RCMP instituted a zone policing model, dividing the area in half with a common area in the middle. Constables would be responsible for the central area and either work on one side

or other of a river. Later on a new detachment was formed. He liked the system because each constable got to know his area very well. He said that he had recommended doing the same thing in his present detachment because of the great distance covered in the county. There would be a common area, and the river would divide the detachment area, with two villages being the centre of activity, respectively, on one side and on the other. However, the other members were not keen on this proposal. All he could do, the constable said, was talk about it and hope to persuade people. Some of his ideas, he said were accepted, but not all.

Zone policing may be practical in the present detachment because of the great distance covered in the county. There could be a common area centred on the major population centre where the detachment is located, and a river would divide the detachment area, with two villages being the centre of activity, respectively, on one side and on the other. However, there is very little perceived need in the detachment to divide the policing service in this manner, nor to provide "village constables" or store-front operations in some of the smaller communities in the county. From the point of view of the constables, designated patrol zones would restrict their mobility and make the job of policing more isolated, particularly from other officers. From the point of view of supervisors, a more decentralized operation would make the job of supervision more difficult. The detachment is the centre of policing, from access to PIRS and CPIC, to informal briefings from the NCOs, to information gathering and sharing between members of the watch, the plain clothes unit, and Identification, as well as proximity of the files. In short, some of the more formal aspects of policing, such as investigations and paper work, are enhanced in the present more centralized structure and are more important to the detachment than any potentially enhanced public relations and community contact which may result from a zone policing, or village constable model.

One exception to zone policing may result from the amalgamation of highway patrol units. This has occurred among south shore detachments in Nova Scotia. Should the highway patrols of adjacent detachments be merged into one, more centralized operation, the great distances involved would necessitate the division of the territory into zones, and one or more cars would be responsible for a certain zone within the jurisdiction.

With shift work, there is sometimes a problem of communication and continuity of investigations. There are no briefings in the detachment. Over the years many approaches to information-sharing have been implemented out of which the present system has evolved. Generally there is a brief overlap of shift-on and shift-off; a few minutes each day. Otherwise they men are briefed by the corporal or supervisor. For example, there may be a dance at a high school and this would be communicated by the supervisor. In the period prior to computerization, members reviewed the pink slips which represented complaints prior to their shift. There is a bulletin board for urgent messages as well as a reading basket. Notices, such as situations about which members should be aware, or requests for information, are also placed in strategic spots in order that attention may be drawn to them. Word of mouth is important for sharing information. Briefing meetings occur very rarely, only when major things are happening. These would occur during the shift changes. Otherwise communication is informally structured. The Corporal tells the

Supervisor who comes on at night. There are some controls to make sure that communication occurs.

A relatively new element in the dynamics of inter-personal relationships in the RCMP, as for most police departments, has been the introduction of female constables. There are not too few female constables, nor are they too recent, for the issue of promotion to have become problematic. One constable said that, when he entered training in 1972 there were no female recruits. "Now some of them are walking around with corporal stripes." He thought that there were even some female sergeants now, although another member said that this was not the case. Along with minority hiring, then, members may perceive a discriminatory preference for other visual groups within the force. Members stress that none of their general criticisms apply to the female members at the detachment, but one said that there had been some real duds among female RCMP recruits, telling a story about a recruit in Regina who didn't have the upper body strength to be able to pull herself out of the swimming pool. (Another quickly added that the same thing could be said about some men who are also "real duds" but get through the screening. No one ever fails training, he said. You are either persuaded to withdraw or they stick with you, giving you all the time you need to get through). With the exception of promotion, male officers who work with female officers are generally positive about their work and abilities. This does not prevent many of them from harbouring, and voicing sexist views. One female constable in another detachment, one officer said, was afraid to drive after dark and on icy roads. Another constable said that he respected female members who had common sense which is something you either have or don't have. One problem he mentioned is fairly standard among male police officers: the concern that a female officer will not provide as good a back-up because male officers will take a protective attitude. "It's only natural", said the respondent. He agreed that female officers have a great deal to prove because people will not only look at them as police officers but also as women and make judgements on all female officers based on their individual performances. He also mentioned that female officers present other problems, such as jealousy between an officer and his wife. It is also possible for the development of jealousy between fellow officers which can break down morale. On the whole, however, such hypothetical situations had not materialized in the detachment.

In sum, relative to most occupations, RCMP members exercise considerable autonomy on the job, an aspect which is heightened by the tendency for members to work alone, without partners. Most appreciate this aspect of the work. At the same time, there is a very heavy, formal hierarchy of command and supervision.

8. The General Investigative Services (G.I.S.)

The GIS members, in theory, do more complex investigations than watch constables because they work primarily day shifts when investigations can be undertaken more conveniently, have more time because they do not have to respond to routine complaints, are more specialized in the complaints they investigate and do not wear a uniform. They are also able to spend time cultivating informants which aid investigations. This observation, in practice, is subject to qualification. For example, some uniformed

highway patrol officers, who make the largest number of citizen contacts per shift, are also in a position to cultivate informants. Detachment officers may follow up complex investigations they encounter on the scene, if they have the time, but they have many other peace keeping functions to perform which GIS does not. On the other hand, GIS work involves many of the same criminal (as opposed to public order) complaints as those handled by uniformed constables.

They also receive complaints in the same way. In some cases, these complaints come directly to GIS constables. Some agency workers, for example, contact specific officers directly, whether in GIS or not. In addition, supervisors may decide to involve GIS in an investigation or a constable who receives a complaint may make a decision to hand the file over. This decision is often made on the basis of the type of investigation necessary, for example, whether it is logical that it be conducted in plain clothes.

Certain officers, by the nature of their experience, character and inclination, are better at some investigations than others. Sexual assaults in the detachment are not necessarily handled by the female members (all of whom, to date, have been uniformed), although they appear to do more than their share of this work. At times they are assigned these cases because it is deemed more appropriate for a woman to investigate personal assaults of this nature. At other times they are called to assist male officers in the investigation. However, it is also the case that male officers have handled these types of complaints and the supervisors in the detachment have expressed full confidence in the abilities of some male officers in these sensitive areas. As mentioned above, agency complaints about maltreatment of children were routinely made to specific GIS constables who had developed the necessary skills and had the requisite rapport to deal with child victims.

It has to be noted, however, that even major investigations can be conducted by the uniformed constables. For example, as the statistical analysis will show, murders are infrequent in the detachment area. Murder investigations involve large numbers of officers. In the most recent case, however, the constable who had the job of coordinating the investigation was a uniformed officer. The detachment has the flexibility to place a uniformed officer on day shift for a period of time. Conducting such an investigation is important for a member's experience and should also be reflected in assessments and, hence, in career moves. The fact that major investigations need not be handled by the GIS unit highlights the point that the RCMP officer is a very good example of the constable generalist.

GIS, however, does become involved in these cases, such as the murder investigation. The primary interrogation of the suspect, for example, was handled in the GIS unit. Other complex investigations are done by GIS, usually in cooperation with the uniformed constable who initially investigated. For example, break and enters are often related, whether they involve a series of breaks in cottages at one time, or a number of breaks over a distance one evening, or a connected series of breaks over a period of time. In these cases, GIS may conduct the bulk of the investigative work following the initial response to the scene. The detachment has had considerable success in solving break-ins involving local people, including cottage breaks which can be very difficult to clear. In

another major case, thieves broke into a bank and removed thousands of dollars from the automatic teller machine. From a situation with very few leads, the investigator was able to lay charges in the case a few months later. Most of this detective work involves cultivating informants -- people with knowledge of how the events transpired and by whom.

Unlike some more specialized units, such as Ident. or some of the "special" units for surveillance or electronic monitoring, GIS is generally another short-term posting. It is advantageous to rotate constables through the GIS unit to give more members this experience. Transfers to this unit, however, are formal Divisional matters and cannot be done informally within a single detachment: the men would have to be formally transferred which would involve a great deal of paper work. Furthermore, if the members work in GIS was not officially recorded this would not benefit and may hurt their career pattern. It is generally understood that Divisional HQ moved officers into GIS positions based on their experience as well as assessments.

GIS work is a desirable posting. Many constables want GIS work because it releases them from some of the public order complaints and because the hours are better. According to this view, 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 stuff which made 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 overtime, but this often amounts to an hour here and an hour there, which might not be claimed for, but adds up. In practice the opportunity for paid overtime in the GIS position is less than for the uniformed constables. In this respect, then, a transfer to a GIS unit may mean that a constable takes a drop in monthly income. Since much of the overtime is voluntary or is accumulated in small segments, one response is to attempt to arrange some informal juggling of the schedule: if you work late you can come in late or take time off. If such an arrangement were to be made, it would be informally agreed to by the members involved and the NCO.

With the exception of the Ident. positions, however, the tendency for an RCMP career to entail numerous transfers of detachment and duties means that, over a number of years, constables will perform a wide variety of more specialized as well as more general duties. Not every constable will be transferred into a GIS unit, but many will. Even in the absence of this more specialized form of investigation, they will handle even complex criminal code violations, and will likely serve some time in a smaller detachment which will be without routine access to specialists.

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. While uniformed members may perceive that such is the case, it is not necessarily true. It may also be a case of different duty appearing more desirable. The point remains that members perceive this work as desirable. Any member may, on occasion, work in plain clothes. However, if plain clothes are required for part of an investigation, the NCOs would have to give permission.

The GIS unit, which works primarily day shifts, sometimes alters its schedule because of the nature of the work. The unit needs to be fairly flexible "to accommodate things that need to be done".

One of the NCOs had made a detailed suggestion to HQ about rotating the GIS unit to give more members this experience. However, he was told that this could not be done even in a single detachment. The main objection raised was a technical one: the men would have to be formally transferred which would involve a great deal of paper work. If the members work in GIS was not recorded this would hurt their career pattern. The supervisor who had requested the change said that HQ moved men into GIS positions based on merit and that constables wanted GIS work because it freed them from some of the public order complaints and because the hours were better. Plain clothes GIS work was considered a very desirable transfer within the RCMP.

According to this view, 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 stuff which made 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. One response to this is to attempt to arrange some informal juggling of the schedule: if you work late you can come in late or take time off. If such an arrangement were to be made, it would be informally agreed to by the members involved and the NCO.

In some of the small towns in the detachment area, some specialization has also occurred in the area of plain clothes investigations. In the nearest town, for example, there is one full-time investigator. The town police have jurisdiction over most of the criminal activity which occurs within the town boundaries. In cases of murder or attempted murder, however, the town plain clothes investigator would work with the R.C.M.P. which would conduct the investigation with the cooperation of the town police. As Apostle and Stenning noted: "As a general policy, the police department having jurisdiction in the area where an offence was committed is responsible for the investigation" (1989, p. 3). This policy is not adhered to in some of the larger municipalities in the province. "An exception is made for murder and attempted murder in some areas. Municipal police departments in Bedford, Bridgewater, Dartmouth, Halifax, Sydney and Truro are empowered to carry out their own murder and attempted murder investigations" (*Ibid*).

As Apostle and Stenning note, these are the main municipalities in the province. In the case of smaller towns on this list of exceptions, they claim that the fact the Chief of Police was formerly a member of the R.C.M.P. may have a bearing on their status.

Relations between the local R.C.M.P. detachment and the investigator in the town police force were described as much improved over past years. Typically contact between the R.C.M.P. and town police involves information exchange, case discussion/familiarization, and informal interaction. Formal meetings between the R.C.M.P. and town police occur sporadically. The G.I.S. constable normally attends the monthly Criminal

Intelligence Service (C.I.S. - N.S.) Metro and Area Meeting held in Halifax (municipal and R.C.M. police). Valley Criminal Intelligence Meetings are held less regularly.

9. Crime Prevention/Police Community Relations (CP/PCR)

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 parochialism 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 just generally creating a positive image for the police which increases the satisfaction of doing the work. It is also significant to point out the general disrespect with which the police came to be held in the 1960s and early 1970s. An erosion of the public's image of the police also affected the RCMP, particularly when revelations of illegal operations, mail-openings, and arson surfaced involving the separation movement in Quebec as well as other radical groups in Canada. Reinterpretations of the RCMP history appeared which challenged the status of the force as a national symbol. Partly as a consequence of these developments, as well as a more general reform of policing which occurred in the western world, the RCMP began to pay more attention to police community relations.

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. Canada has traditionally been oriented towards law and order, placing the rights of the community to protection above the rights of the accused. Since the 1960s and 1970s, and in particular since the Constitution Act which includes the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the situation has been somewhat reversed. The Courts are, more frequently, stressing the importance of the rights of the accused, for example, by requiring the police caution (and specifying that the police have to offer those detained some assistance in acquiring a lawyer), and by dismissing cases because of unreasonable delay.

A second problem concerns the community demand for effective crime control, and "the increasing requests by community members for police intervention in an ever-widening array of non-criminal matters" (Eitzen and Timmer, 1985: 403). Studies indicate that the majority of police time is spent on non-criminal matters. The more the police force adopts a community model, the more time is spent on matters which have, in more traditional departments, been defined as non-police matters. In the detachment area, more of this work is done by the town police who offer a more community-based service. Nevertheless, the evolution of RCMP policing has been in the same direction. While the

RCMP still refuses to handle some public complaints because it is not police work, in other areas the mandate of the police has expanded. It is not to the point where the police are actually more like social workers, but this is the perceived direction of change, according to the officers. In fact, some officers complain that the policy of the detachment is overly solicitous to the public, to the point where they are "pampered". This is significant not only because of what it reveals about the attitudes concerning real police work, but also in terms of calls for service. The more responsive the police department is, the more the public will turn to the police for assistance, increasing calls for service, and hence the workload of the reactive units. There are still differences between the levels of service offered in the towns and by the rural detachment. For example, the RCMP will compile a listing of vacant houses and contact persons, but they will not maintain special watch over this personal property. Furthermore, unlike the town police which maintains a monitored policy of business checks, the RCMP does not perform this task systematically in the detachment, although it should be noted that this, kind of service is offered in many towns policed by the RCMP through municipal contracts.

The more negative image of policing occurred 15 to 20 years ago and has little bearing on most present attitudes. In general, Ellis argues: "The police in Canada appear to be highly regarded by themselves, the media and the public" (1987: 133). This respect is particularly true of the RCMP which maintains its rounds of public ceremonial performances, complete with red serge. The RCMP is prominent during official visits and, more locally, during community events. In one respect, as a symbol of the nation, the prestige of the RCMP remains high.

Nevertheless, the RCMP was not content to leave the maintenance of this image outside the force. Within the RCMP the position of the public relations Co-Ordinator was created in the early 70s. One member said that the RCMP had always emphasized community relations but this was the beginning of the formalization process. The CP/PCR position in the detachment was created in 1982. Since that year, four constables have occupied the position.

Operating as a one-man unit, the Co-Ordinator in the detachment exercises a great deal of discretion over his use of time and his work. The crime prevention officer (Detachment CP/PCR Co-Ordinator) is responsible to the Staff Sergeant, and required to send quarterly reports to the Sub-Division OC and the Division CP/PCR Co-Ordinator, at the HQ. The relationship with HQ is not necessarily close. For example, HQ has little say over which programmes are organized in the area and is viewed as a resource centre. On the other hand, the unit is audited from divisional HQ. In addition, certain programmes have established objectives and procedures, such as neighbourhood watch and block parents, and the issue is one of setting them up in communities. The position requires a multitude of community contacts, through which talks and presentations are requested and supplied. The CP/PCR Co-Ordinator has sat as a member of more than half a dozen County Committees, including one on Child Sexual Abuse and one on Crisis Intervention (which is becoming an Inter-Agency co-ordinating body). This involvement is not necessarily in his job description and indicates the flexibility in the job.

This kind of community involvement is not new to the RCMP, nor unique to the CP/PCR member. Traditionally RCMP officers have been involved in community groups, such as minor hockey or baseball. Members serve on their own time on such organizations as Big Brothers/Big Sisters or are active members of local service clubs. Often, in small communities, this type of involvement was crucial to the formation and continuance of service and sport groups.

The CP/PCR Co-Ordinator is given a long, detailed manual setting out procedures and programmes. It is also an indication of the relative job control of the position that this manual only offers guidelines rather than detailed operational procedures. The Quarterly Reports, for example, detail the major and minor programmes undertaken, but may not closely follow the style or formal analysis/ objectives/ alternatives/ evaluation outline of the manual.

The CP/PCR Co-Ordinator has most frequently been a three-year posting after which the officer returns to regular police duty. This term has not always been consistently followed. During this day-shift job, the co-ordinator specializes in crime prevention work. On the other hand, as indicated, each member is expected to do some community liaison work, which would be part of the Constable- Generalist role. The point of this specialized position, however, is that the bulk of this work is carried out by the detachment Co-Ordinator. The job entails a lot of evening and week-end work. Under very loose supervision, the officer is sometimes amounts to a flexible time schedule. The co-ordinators have each taken their work seriously. There is a degree of commitment to the role.

There is a difference of opinion among police officers about the value of this unit. Some other members have expressed more negative attitudes, believing that it is not real police work. Apparently, the first Detachment CP/PCR Co-Ordinator had to break new ground. There was some initial concern that the position not be seen as suitable only for someone who was not well respected along more standard police lines.

While the CP/PCR is a specialist position, according to the Standard role description, all members are responsible for participating in the detachment's crime prevention/ community relations work. In addition, senior NCOs have a special interest in community relations and the impetus for this work in the detachment comes from supervisory level. Each constable is assigned one of the 15 schools in the detachment's area. It is expected that officers will visit schools about once a month and meet with the principal. This depends on the actual relationship between the individual principal involved and the individual officer assigned to a particular school. Some principals are very cooperative. "In other schools, they don't want to see us", a member said.

Constables conduct station tours. Other lectures or presentations are assigned by the CP/PCR. Some officers do many while others do very few. There are obviously some personal dynamics involved in the assignment of community work. There are instances of refusal and negative interaction, which the co-ordinator tries to avoid by choosing his approach carefully. He described the participation rate as being high, with just a few members avoiding community work.

One constable gives about 15-20 talks per year to class in the assigned school, which he visits about two or three times per month. The schools are assigned by the CP/PCR co-ordinator, although he takes preferences into consideration. This constable prefers older children and has a high school assigned to him. However, he said, he does not like to be told he has to do something and prefers to initiate things himself. One member, for example, who indicated that he enjoyed doing community and crime prevention work, gave over 70 talks on drug awareness to grade four and five children in every school in the county. Another member, who also said he liked doing talks, does two or three a year. Even the senior NCOs in the detachment will give public presentations. For example, the Staff Sergeant gives an annual report to the Municipality of Kings County on policing, using the annual statistics as part of this presentation.

The training depot in Regina now emphasizes community relations more than in the past. Cadets are taught to do a more community oriented style of policing involving walking and talking, and being very friendly. This style must be subordinated to the officer's need for maintaining authority and professionalism. For example, while on highway work, constables will frequently give out warnings, on the grounds that they have the same preventative effect as tickets and are better for public relations, there is also a clear sense of what constitutes a violation. Nevertheless, even traffic tickets need not lead to ill will on the part of the public. This depends on the reasons for the charge and how these reasons are conveyed to the offender. In many circumstances, several charges could be laid and officers sell out the options, especially in situations where they intend to apply a less onerous one. In most cases in this detachment area, these encounters are polite. Drivers have thanked officers for their ticket, a result of the member taking time with the driver. As one constable said: "the force is big on PR work".

Most members appear to be acquainted with a large number of people in the community, which is probably related to the emphasis on community relations and the rural environment. It also reflected the considerable number of senior members with long service in the detachment which characterized the detachment at the commencement of the study period. Many constables are aware of public relations. A member will usually respond in person to a minor complaint, such as the theft of lawn ornaments, or egg-throwing. Most of the time people liked to see a member even if they knew nothing could be done about it. One constable said that he is always conscious of public relations, but that all the good work of most of the constables can be lost by the poor judgement of one officer. "Some constables", he said, "don't give a damn; they are burnt out and, for the sake of everyone, including themselves, they should get out."

One constable recounted an anecdote to illustrate both the perception of the service orientation of the RCMP which the public perceives the force to have, and the actual relations with the community. While driving home he was flagged down by a man in his early 50s who wanted to talk. He had seen the member at the Musical Ride and liked the way he had talked to the public at this event. The officer invited him in the car and the man poured out a story about losing his wife and finally finding god. There was no obvious police business but the member let him talk for about 15 minutes. In the end the constable advised him to see his minister, to whom he apparently related quite well, and

gave him a pat on the shoulder. He planned to call the minister to tell him of the meeting and felt that he may have perhaps helped prevent a suicide attempt. He wanted to tell me this story because it relates to an occurrence which would never be written up, which took time, and which may have prevented a crisis. He had said on another occasion that police did not counsel, and had related the anecdote not so much to show that they do, although sympathetic listening is one of the most important part of counselling, but to demonstrate how the police function to refer people to appropriate agencies. The anecdote is also illustrative of the ability of members to determine how their time is spent. They are not always heavily pressed by detachment duties.

On Remembrance Day, five or six constables in red serge come to a village in the detachment area to march in the "parade" and attend the wreath-laying ceremony. This RCMP involvement is relatively new. The village Legion is the only one in the detachment area. Apparently, the RCMP routinely marched in other provincial towns and, when this was mentioned to the Legion, they were pleased to issue the invitation. It is a voluntary activity and provides a way to "wave the flag" and do some PR work in a community that is, at times, difficult to police. This involvement usually gets positive media coverage, a matter of further useful publicity.

Another annual event which has a high community profile and also provides financial support for the Regional Hospital fund is a benefit hockey game between the RCMP and the Medical Doctors, with the proceeds going to the hospital.

The RCMP, one constable said, also likes to see the member and his family involved in the community. He believed that good community relations helps the police do a better job. Members coach minor ball and other sports in the community, using their own time, although in the past some RCMP time was also spent for this purpose. Several members coach minor hockey. The Standard role description requires an NCO to conduct preventive policing "by participating in promoting and authorizing sports and social activities in the community and encouraging participation by members in local social, service and civil groups." The detachment has had, at various times, a hockey team and a softball team both of which play other teams in the community. Other members are active in the PTA, the Principals Committee and a Committee to keep drugs out of school, service clubs and the local Health Services Detox Programme.

Community involvement sometimes means going an extra distance for a particular individual. One constable took an interest in a young man who had had several recent encounters with the police, after a history of none. This involvement went beyond the role requirements of the job. The problem in the case was that the lad did not have a good home environment and the member was trying to get him into a group home. The member was also on the Board of Big Brothers, indicating a concern to be involved in the community.

Another job which some constables have in their work history, although there is little call for this in the County, is to provide security for VIPs. It is sometimes seen as dull, unimportant (since newer recruits are often assigned), and post-card work. During the major annual festival in the region some constables will accompany the "royal party"

during a week of festivities. This is seen as good for public relations and often involves auxiliary constables and the CP/PCR.

10. Complaints

The official policy of the RCMP is to encourage the public to make their complaints known to the force if they feel they have a legitimate problem with a member. One NCO thought that the force had in fact gone too far with this and were soliciting complaints. This is part of the positive publicity drive that the RCMP is still seeking. The stress on public relations will be discussed below, but it is not unique to the RCMP and is part of a genuine trend in policing in the Western world although it also coincided with the negative publicity the force earned through its counter-intelligence "dirty tricks" of the late 1960s and 1970s.

According to the Manual on complaints: "A common sense approach is to be taken with regard to any incident arising" and if possible should be cleared up at the supervisor or 2 I/C level. One NCO indicated that complaints can often be resolved over the phone, or in a discussion between the member and the complainant with the NCO as a mediator. Complaints which the NCO determines are justified and major are to be reported to HQ, although this is a judgement call.

The discretion involved in the complaint procedure was illustrated by one constable who said that a supervisor had on occasion not stood behind another member for something that he (the constable) had done himself. He attributed this to differences in personalities rather than procedures.

All complaints have to be brought to the attention of the senior NCOs. Corporals handle most routine complaints, following a detailed complaint procedure. HQ will handle any complaint if a member wishes that it not be handled in the detachment. This would occur if the member does not think that the detachment NCO would give him a fair shake. Minor discipline is handled in a discussion involving the member and the NCO. The complainant is not involved at this level, although it is expected that he would be informed that action was taken. He would not be given an indication of the type of discipline administered. This was regarded as an internal matter only. Complainants are also given the option of having the investigation done by a member from HQ if they feel that the detachment NCO will be biased in his report.

The Manual is quite detailed on the procedures to follow and on the steps for a major or minor complaint. Certain types of complaints have to be brought to the attention of HQ, but there is some discretion about whether a complaint is major or minor. For example, any complaint involving an alleged criminal code offence is automatically major, as is a complaint which may lead to adverse publicity for the force. If there is a criminal code offence, the instruction is to treat the member as any other citizen.

From the civilian point of view, this procedure is flawed because it amounts to the force investigating itself. Critics say this violates a principle of natural justice. On the one hand, the force has an interest in effective policing and good relations with the community. This means that complaints will be taken seriously and steps will be taken to minimize future occurrences. On the other hand, what is effective policing and what

constitutes appropriate and inappropriate methods is an in-house decision which may not reflect community norms or standards.

The problem of how to adequately regulate the behaviour of police officers has not been resolved. "One fairly recent solution ... is the creation of community control agencies such as police review commissions and public complaints commissioners. Creators of such agencies believe that citizen complaints would be more fully recorded and more frequently and fairly investigated if a civilian, a public complaints commissioner, was also given responsibility for hearing and processing them." (Ellis 1987: 121).

Critics contend that there is "a built-in bias towards poorly-conducted investigations of civilian complaints and a reluctance to take the appropriate disciplinary action even in those few cases in which police officers are found guilty of misconduct" (Ellis 1987: 131). Reviewing 1983 data from the Metropolitan Toronto Police, Ellis found a very low rate of conviction. Of the 1,062 officers who were the source of civilian complaints, 94 % resulted in no action. Fourteen were charged under the Police Act and four under the criminal code. (1987: 128-129).

Ellis argues "that police deviance is not effectively controlled by either the police bureaucracy itself or by more-or-less independent regulative agencies such as civilian-run complaint boards." He concludes that "it would be more accurate to say that police deviance is as effectively regulated as politicians, property owners and most of the Canadian public want it to be" (1987: 132): hardly at all.

In the view of the police, complaints do not measure police misconduct. Some civilians use the complaint to set up a bargaining situation, agreeing to drop the complaint if charges are lessened (Ellis 1987: 129-130). Complaint agencies have largely been abolished in the United States (Reiner 1980). In Toronto, "the Metro Toronto Police Union has set up a 'war chest' of \$250 000 to abolish the office of the Public Complaints Commissioner. According to Union President, Paul Walter, police officers just want the same rights as criminals, the rights to a fair and impartial trial, to be afforded the full and due process of law in a regular court." (Ellis 1987, p. 154n; citing The Toronto Star, November 21, 1985, page A7).

11. Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs)

As we noted above, 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 RCMP members in the detachment. For example, they do not record daily mileage logged in the cruisers and the details of daily activity are not broken down as finely as in some police departments where, for example, constables account for the time spent on various police duties in units of 15 minutes. Every member has to fill in a Man-hour Daily Work Report and every month this is filed in the detachment and also sent to HQ.

In the RCMP, which is formally structured bureaucratically, there are numerous levels of supervision each of which is responsible to the one immediately above. This supervision not only limits somewhat the autonomy of the constable's work, it is made necessary by the degree of discretion officers exercise as an inevitable part of enforcement and public order maintenance.

In the detachment, although constables are expected to make on-the-spot decisions, according to the Standard Role Description: "Complex matters and courses of action to be taken on involved problems are discussed with a supervisor who is normally readily available".

The Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) complement in the detachment (exclusive of the Identification Unit) consists of a Staff Sergeant (S/Sgt), two Sergeants (Sgt), and three Corporals. The Staff Sergeant is in command of the detachment (I/C) and is responsible for administrative duties as well as overseeing operational duties. While the detachment is one of the larger units in the province (as noted above), it is still small enough to allow the Staff Sergeant to be in touch with on-going investigations of any significance and with supervision in the detachment.

The Operational Sergeant, who is second in command (2 I/C), supervises the day-to-day operations of the detachment and scores the files or reviews the scoring provided by the Corporals. The majority of supervision is done through the review process of case files and files are reviewed by both the Operational Sergeant and by the Detachment Corporals.

As described above in the description of the Structure of the detachment, the unit is divided into four "Watches" with four or five constables assigned to each Watch. Two of the three Corporals work on Detachment as Watch Supervisors. Each is responsible for half of the watch constables. Much of this job entails reviewing the files of the constables. An NCO is also responsible for scoring the files and classifying complaints. According to the Manual, NCOs are: "To read and initial the operational files of the members assigned to them to ensure that proper steps are taken in an investigation and that files are neat and

up to date. This is to be done at least twice a month." The NCO reads and initials each page. He is also responsible for the annual performance assessments of members assigned to his supervision. These assessments are crucial for the career and promotion prospects of the members.

Most of this supervision is done through the review of the files. It is very rare for an NCO to go on patrol with the constables. NCOs routinely examine significant crime scenes but do not normally take over investigations from the responsible constable, although this first-hand experience helps to provide a gauge for assessing the work of the investigating officer. On the other hand, the Corporals do carry some files. These include investigations which are taken over by them either on their own initiative or on the recommendation of the Operational Sergeant, and the investigation of complaints made against members by the public, or of internal defaults. The Corporal in charge of the Highway Unit splits his time between reviewing files from the Highway Unit (in his role as supervisor) and patrolling. Consequently he works normal shifts. While this involvement in routine work may be normal for the Highway Unit, the patrolling is also necessitated by the shortage of members in the unit.

The files ultimately end up on the desk of the Operational Sergeant, who scores them initially or checks the scoring. The Watch Supervisor is the first rank responsible for discipline, with the chain of command proceeding up the rank structure. In cases where there is a difficulty between a constable and a Sergeant, the Corporals can easily feel caught in the middle. In a hierarchical organization this is inevitable. All levels in the detachment above the most recent constables feel that they are in the "middle". The sergeants, for example, stand between the detachment members and HQ. In some circumstances, the sergeant is appreciated according to the degree to which "he will stand up for his men and send some shit back up the pipe."

In fact, each constable has several layers of direct supervision. Not only do the Corporal and the Sergeant review files, the Staff Sergeant does random checks of the files to ensure that the NCOs are properly monitoring the members. All this supervision will be reflected in their assessments. When problems are detected by the officers in charge of the detachment, they are expected to go through the corporals rather than by-passing that level of command and dealing directly with the constables, whether this entails matters of discipline or occurrence reports. In a small detachment, however, with the Staff Sergeant as well as the Sergeant having some direct supervision, this chain is often by-passed in favour of dealing with situations directly.

When a file is opened, the NCO will assign a diary date. On a specified date he will review all the files of a given member, making written comments on the file. These are meant both to assist the officer in the investigation, as well as to keep up to date on the progress of the file. The file review includes such mundane matters as the correct numbering of pages and legibility of the entries, to checking the exhibit forms and indicating that files have not been followed up with sufficient regularity. NCOs will also make suggestions, such as reminding the officer to obtain statements from witnesses. The file is not concluded until the case has been dealt with by the courts and a judgement rendered, and all material returned to the victim. Ideally, the file will conclude with the

notification to the complainant by the investigating officer about the outcome of the complaint.

The NCO keeps an on-going file of the members' achievements and disciplinary problems. In addition to file review, the constables are assessed by observation, as well as on such things as dress, hygiene and how they take care of their equipment. Members are routinely reminded to wear their hats in public. Supervision, then, is largely after the fact. The members "pretty much do their own thing" and, in most cases, are dependable and independent.

The task of reviewing files varied according to the nature of the offence and the experience of the members. In 1987 the detachment consisted primarily of senior members. At that time one NCO said that it was not difficult to review files because most of the constables had considerable experience. Most of the review consisted only in reading over the report and initialling each page and the front of the file folder. It was a much more involved process to supervise a newer member, although this also varied according to the degree of maturity of the newer member and the quality of the field experience training. The detachment is designated for training, and senior constables are assigned recruits for their on-the-job training. This gives the senior constables some direct experience in supervising other members. Since 1987, however, there has been considerable turn-over on the detachment and the average years of service is much more junior. This balance is being modified by the addition of some more senior members to maintain some balance. At one point, a relatively junior member was assigned the task of field training. A great deal rides on the confidence the NCOs have in individual members.

The general logic of personnel management is that the vast majority of supervision should be positive. A supervisor has to give members support and the benefit of his experience. He also has to help the member prepare for the time when he or she becomes a supervisor. It is regarded as inappropriate, for example, to chew a member out if he has not been given sufficient direction. One member remarked that the NCOs do not give him any problems and that no one bothers you as long as you do a competent job. He apparently did not feel over-supervised. Not all members in the detachment had this view. One member complained that the constant supervision was more suitable for children than police officers.

The corporals are themselves subject to supervision. Auditors are sent to the detachment periodically from HQ and they go through a selection of the files carefully with an eye to the details of correct reporting style, investigative procedure, and the care with which the NCO had reviewed the file. If the pages are mis-numbered, for example, then the auditors make note of this deficiency.

On a more routine level, most members complain about the amount of paper-work involved in their job, a complaint also voiced by some of the NCOs whose work is primarily office and paper-bound -- he said he was trapped at his desk and preferred to work more outside. Taking over a few files -- particularly those which may have some element of greater interest -- helps to break up the routine. At times, usually during weekend shifts, the Corporals also do the occasional patrol in the detachment area.

A substantial part of a supervisor's time appears to be spent reviewing constables' files although the routine procedure is for supervisors to check investigation reports twice a month. Time is also spent checking court dockets and crown sheets. The constable prepares his or her own case which is reviewed by the NCO and delivered to the Court. There is no specialist for court and the constable will appear if required. Paper work also entails checking to see that information filed in the computer is accurate and correct it when it is not. An NCO also indicated that he does more than his formal job description specifies, describing his job as a catch-all which requires him to do whatever comes up.

Time is also spent checking court dockets and crown sheets. The constable prepares his or her own case which is reviewed by the NCO and delivered to the Court. There is no specialist for court and the constable will appear if required. Paper work also entails checking to see that information filed in the computer is accurate and correct it when it is not. The job of an NCO may be described as entailing work which goes beyond the formal job description, and may be described at times as a catch-all which requires doing whatever comes up. Observation suggests that the promotion to corporal is prestigious, but that the step from Corporal to Sergeant is more significant. The corporals are closer to the regular members, but promotion to Sergeant brings the member squarely into management and within the community of interest of the higher ranks within the R.C.M.P.

In all of its operations the RCMP are currently devising new regulations. Although the Divisional Representative (DSSR) wrote, in the RCMP Staff News, that "there do not appear to be any devastating changes that will cause us great hardship, apparently the new code of regulations will give the detachment commanders more responsibility and disciplinary control", in short, "new-found power". In a discussion of job satisfaction, one NCO said that the main problem was the tension created by too much supervision. He said auditors would come in and go through the files, criticizing them on the most unreasonable grounds. One NCO, for example, said that the auditors always check to see that the pages are numbered correctly. An NCO complained that there was so much red tape at HQ, you "wonder who you are fighting, bureaucracy or crime".

One aspect of police work which is common for most members is that it is highly visible. With the exception of the GIS unit, members of the detachment are in uniform while on duty. One respondent worked in plain clothes in another detachment prior to his current posting. He said that it took a long time to get used to the change back to uniform. The uniform makes the police a visible minority. At all times a uniformed officer is under observation on the part of the public. If he were to do something wrong in the car, all the civilians would become policemen, he said. It seemed that almost once a week, he added, that an NCO would come out of his office and say that an anonymous caller had reported such and such and that the constables should smarten up.

12. Highway Patrol

In addition to the constable generalists and the NCOs, there are many specialist roles within the RCMP. One man does the polygraph tests in the province, for example. He usually sets up his equipment in a room at a local motel, to provide a more neutral

setting for the test. A Corporal in the detachment is an advanced level accident analyst and he is consulted by other detachments.

The highways unit is also more specialized, dealing primarily with enforcement and violations of Acts concerning the operation of motor vehicles. In the highways unit, members will encounter offences in progress that are technically in the job description of the detachment members, and sometimes they will take calls if it is convenient at the time. The usual procedure is for the highway member to do the initial work and then to pass the case on to a detachment member. Highways members will do other work for detachment members, such as helping to monitor an area and sharing intelligence information. They do not do as many investigations as a detachment member, handling mostly offences that have to do with motor vehicles, although in the course of a year they could encounter many other offences. Over the last few years, the case load of the Highway patrol Officers seems to have grown. In part, this can be attributed to the stepped up enforcement of violations of the impaired driver provisions in the Criminal Code.

On the other hand, watch constables will respond to accidents if they are the nearest unit or if they are needed, and will sometimes assist highways members at the scene, for example, by closing down stretches of the highway.

Although it is likely that work on the highways unit is quite routine, constables in the highway patrol unit do all investigations concerning laws dealing with the highways. Each constable is assigned a vehicle to maintain. Inevitably, maintenance is uneven although some express a certain degree of pride in the vehicles they maintain.

Although one constable said that he liked giving out tickets as much as people liked getting them, members in this unit indicated that they enjoyed the freedom of the job. Some members self-define themselves as highway patrol officers, preferring this work. Another constable said that two years was enough of a tour of duty on highways since you became burnt out quickly by the amount of self-generated work.

One of the benefits of highway work is that the hours are earlier rather than later. While the night shift for detachment officers ends at four in the morning, the highway patrol unit shuts down at two (on the weekends). Their shift may also begin earlier in the morning, at seven, in order to monitor the heavy traffic at that time.

Given the number of kilometres of roads in the County and the relatively small number of highway patrol officers, the county roads are not densely policed. Over the last few years one of the priorities from HQ has been greater visibility, particularly on the larger, 100 series highways. This is primarily a question of catching speeders, a contributing cause to the high accident rate on some stretches of the 100 series highways. This emphasis on visibility has meant a change in some of the police vehicles. The highway patrol unit operates with one unmarked car. A/few years ago, however, additional rear and front coloured lights were added (to the front grill and the back window) of the then highway unmarked car. This was to provide better visibility and safety. Although on the main highways the car was still sufficiently anonymous, it began to look more like a police car and less like an unmarked. Now the R.C.M.P. is moving towards marked, but low-profile, highway vehicles which do not have overhead lights. This provides anonymity on the major highways but also increases the visibility of the

force -- it is unmistakably a police vehicle. A similar type of move, the Ident. vehicles, which are still station wagons, have been equipped with overhead lights, in place of the mobile light which was attached to the front dash.

The emphasis on the major roads is modified by other priorities of highway work. There are many more kilometres of secondary roads, many still unpaved, which are patrolled. There is almost a sub-culture in the community which operates in violation of the standards legislated in the Motor Vehicle Act. In some small communities in the County, cars change hands informally often without notifying the Motor Vehicle Branch. License plates may be shifted from car to car. Safety inspections and registration dates are treated casually. Unlicensed and suspended drivers do not stop driving, but rather simply try to avoid being caught. Highway Patrol officers become familiar with many of these repeat offenders, who can often be found on the secondary roads and unpaved sections of the highways.

The mainstay of the Highway Patrol unit is moving radar, used principally to monitor on-coming traffic. Unlike the town police, the RCMP is less likely to set up a stationary radar "trap", preferring to remain mobile. It should be noted, however, that much public concern about policing in the County centres on traffic violations. The R.C.M.P. periodically receives complaints from citizens from some of the villages about traffic violations in their areas. The R.C.M.P. responds to these complaints, normally, by having members patrol these areas more frequently during their shift. Occasionally, persistent complaints will result in the establishment of stationary radar and close monitoring as well as heavy enforcement during peak traffic times.

The Highway Patrol Unit has a very high public profile, having the largest proportion of police/public encounters in the detachment. If they are successful in the majority of cases in having the encounter go smoothly, it is because they have developed several techniques to manage the situation. The correct combination of authority, professionalism and inoffensive approach can generally be learned. During field training it is expected that newer members will learn some of these techniques from more experienced officers who will also be able to step in at appropriate points should the interaction become antagonistic. One of the key aspects of this technique is to avoid handing out "chicken-shit" charges, that is, make sure the charge is a "good" charge, one that can be justified to the offender on the spot or, if necessary, in court. By issuing warnings for border-line infractions (that is, infractions which are close but do not overstep the officer's discretionary line), although the driver may feel that he or she has "gotten away with one", the message is still apparent and prevention is normally achieved, however temporary. "Good" charges, then, are usually acknowledged by the driver. In addition, there are sometimes a range of offences for which the driver could be cited. By explaining the range of penalties, especially in a situation in which the lesser one is going to be applied, the driver feels that he or she has been given at least a partial break. A similar approach is often used in the case of "open liquor". An officer can ask that the contents be drained rather than issue a three hundred dollar fine. This is regarded by many members as very steep and some will point out the incongruity of having this steep

a fine for alcohol when simple possession of marijuana is likely to bring a first offender a much smaller fine.

While Highway Patrol Officers generally operate in one-officer cars, there is a significant exception to this. The detachment has about four Auxiliary Officers, who are sworn peace-keepers and uniformed. They are most likely to accompany Highway Patrol during the busy evenings of the week-ends. From the point of view of safety, two officers provide greater protection for members. The Auxiliary Programme expands the profile of the R.C.M.P. in the community, and also provides some partnership for members who otherwise would be alone.

The Auxiliary Officers in the detachment have a wide variety of police experience. While Auxiliaries are unarmed, they do usually take part in the annual "shoot" so that they are capable of handling fire-arms. In British Columbia, there was some discussion of arming Auxiliary officers. Part of the logic of this is that the public seldom makes a distinction between a full member and an Auxiliary, placing them at an equal risk in violent confrontations without an equal degree of protection. The main argument, hitherto, has acknowledged that Auxiliaries are generally not well trained and that arming them may be dangerous to themselves as well, potentially, as the public.

13. Drugs

Drug investigating, which is a federal rather than a provincial position, would also appear to be a highly specialized role. In the detachment, there is one federal Drugs Co-ordinator, as well as a G.I.S. member who normally specializes in drug enforcement.

The RCMP provides a six month undercover training course for long-term undercover work. Despite the apparent specialty of this work, several members reported periods of drug and/or under cover work in their careers. Long term undercover work is handled by officers temporarily relocated from other detachments to ensure anonymity. The investigation of drugs in rural areas depends heavily on the use of informants, given the difficulties of surveillance in rural areas. It appears to offer the constable the widest scope for independent investigation and job control. In practice the line between units is sometimes blurred and members of the GIS and Drug units assist other department members when required, for example, when searching communal premises. As with the other members, the plain clothes officers are also on duty on hallowe'en.

The drug section was singled out above as having the greatest amount of relative autonomy. Accordingly, special efforts at monitoring this operation have been devised. The drug division has recently come under closer scrutiny from HQ. Now they have regular debriefings. Drug enforcement requires a system of regular informants. It is in this area, with seizure of illegal drugs and frequent payments to informers, which can amount to thousands of dollars, that there is the greatest opportunity for graft. This is minimized in the RCMP by a series of checks and balances. The RCMP has a procedure for checking a potential source. Informants are de-briefed once a year by someone in HQ who asks the source how much money they have received. Payments are not made up front, and must be made with another member present. Informants sign a receipt (with their alias), and the hand-writing can be checked. These procedures are employed by the RCMP so that a

member cannot create files and collect the money for himself. As a result of these checks and balances there is not as much corruption in the force as in large municipal police forces.

Some specialized roles, however, differ so much that they can be seen later as in another world. Many constables reported doing stints of undercover work, whether for longer or shorter periods (one example involved working in a joint forces operation Canada Customs). Undercover work was described by one member as being hard on the psyche, as being depressing and lonely, as having no social life and generally not being as glamorous as people tend to think. There is also the greater element of danger, not only during the investigation, but also afterwards. In one case which occurred in a western province, one member related, a constable had a contract out on his life while waiting to testify in a trial. The element of potential danger is a constant of police work, but the risk of some assignments is significantly greater than others.

There does not appear to be much, if any, hard drug use in the detachment area, although cocaine use appears to be increasing. There is, however, a considerable variety of work in the constant battle to confine and restrict the use of drugs in the community, from importation and selling of illegal steroids, to cultivation. Most of the drugs are obtained from Halifax and local supplies either dries up or expands relative to availability in the metro area. Generally, there are also few, if any, major drug dealers in the area. Most of the drugs are imported in relatively small quantities. There are a number of intermediate dealers, who are one of the prime targets of drug enforcement. They operate through numerous petty dealers on the streets and in the local bars. A small motorcycle group in the detachment area, which has a connection with a continent-wide motorcycle club, may be involved in some of the drug importation and dealing, although the problem is wider than this small number. There are also some international connections, small pieces of international schemes to import drugs through Canada into the United States and launder money through foreign countries.

Two other aspects of the drug enforcement in the detachment are noteworthy. Like other counties in Nova Scotia, the County borders on salt water. It is likely that drugs are transferred offshore and brought through some of the small harbours. There is also a major export of gypsum from one port, connecting the region with points as far south as Miami, Bermuda and the West Indies. Joint forces operations with Canada Customs have been mounted to search the gypsum boats. It is most likely that drugs are transferred offshore to smaller boats. Information about possible drug shipments has not culminated in any large seizure in the detachment area.

If the proximity to the sea is common in Nova Scotia, the detachment area is the agricultural centre of the province. Not surprisingly, among legitimate crops, marijuana is grown in considerable quantities, principally on the mountains which border the valley to the north and south. Again, most seizures of cultivated marijuana result from informants. At one point the drug co-ordinator hired two lands and forests helicopters and, based on information from informants, "harvested" a considerable quantity of locally grown marijuana late in the summer.

Since the illegal crop is often grown in remote, small clearings on the offender's property or on a neighbouring property, it is difficult to prove "cultivation", unless the offender can be placed at the scene tending and cultivating the plants. In some ways the interests of enforcement are better met by waiting for the harvest to be completed. Large seizures have been taken from barns or attics after harvesting, leading to charges of possession for the purpose of trafficking. Cultivation of marijuana in the county is not necessarily small potatoes; some cultivators are prime candidates for having their property confiscated through the proceeds of crime act.

Since the drug co-ordinator concentrates on the major dealers and suppliers, rather than those who are only users, there are likely to be relatively fewer cases reported and charges laid than in the past when the target was wide open. On the other hand, some of the possession charges result from cases which should have been laid for trafficking but the lesser charge was better than none. Other possession charges are laid by any of the members who, upon searching suspects or those about to be jailed, discover some illegal drugs.

One of the frustrating aspects of drug work in the detachment is that it is, at best, keeping a lid on the illegal use of drugs. Arresting a petty or local supplier is a short-term measure because, while the demand remains and the supply is around, others will fill in the vacated spot in the supply chain. Drug charges, then, do not "solve" the problem, nor could they. They help to keep it within certain limits and, in terms of the community, they drive it as much as possible off the streets into the bars and local "dives".

14. Forensic Identification Unit (Ident.)

The Identification Unit is the most specialized in the detachment. An Ident. trainee is expected to spend an 8-week training session followed by a year of training in the field. He is also expected to study during his off hours. At the end of the year he would take a day-long exam at HQ. This was described as including a non-stop questioning session in the morning. In the afternoon the new Ident. member must present evidence at a mock trial. Earlier there was no such exam, and the Ident. members learned on the job. Subsequently, with the ideology of crime fighting, the forensic units became more professional. In practice, for example, the Americans made a University degree mandatory and the British specified a certain degree of experience before an Ident. person was able to testify at a trial. The Canadians went for something in the middle. When more stringent guidelines came in, each of the then practising Ident. people was required to take the exam. They had to go back to the books because, while they knew how to do the work, they had forgotten the theory. Several Ident. men did not pass this exam. The ones who failed either returned to general duty or chose to leave the force.

The Ident. unit also works a regular 8:30 - 4 day with week-ends off. However, by the nature of the work, some days will be slow while during others they could be busy from before eight in the morning to ten at night. The Ident. units claim considerable overtime for most of their work. In the detachment, however, the unit claimed to also put in a great deal of voluntary overtime because they "are dedicated to this section". However, members can receive time off in lieu. Again, there is some informal scheduling

approved by the NCOs, amounting more to flexible work hours than time off. Since an important factor in work satisfaction is the amount of salary and benefits received, overtime may figure prominently. One NCO complained that he knew of constables in his unit who received more than some NCOs he knew.

At night, calls are relayed through HQ where some decisions are made about calling out men who are on call. One member of the Ident. unit was displeased when HQ had not called him about a break-in. He thought at first that the dispatcher had told the Municipal Police Department that the Ident. section does not work overtime. Consequently, he called HQ and learned that the dispatcher had asked whether the place could be secured and, when the officer answered in the positive, said to call Ident. in the morning. He wanted to know who this person was "who was making decisions for us."

HQ, apparently, also wants more direct supervision in the Ident. unit as well. The OC makes a personal check once per year. Included in this is a check with other police detachments to see if they are pleased with the work of the Ident. unit. As is common in police work in general, there is a tendency to increase the number of measures to which Ident. members are subject. There is a sense that members of the Ident. unit feel over-measured. The operational expansion of the Ident. units is relatively recent. This was connected with the purchase of an expensive computer for Identifying prints. In order to show the justification for this item, the Ident. sections were instructed to provide a quantitative measure of their performance. One member said that the Ident. is monitored exceptionally closely in terms of productivity and undergoes a close scrutiny of time use. A forensic unit is essential for complex criminal investigations but is not necessarily cost-efficient, he added.

Between 1987 and 1990 the Ident. unit in the detachment underwent an expansion from two to three members. It is now commanded by a sergeant. The other two members are corporals. The Ident. unit is semi-autonomous in the detachment. That is, it is not directly under the supervision of the detachment I/C but, rather, under the supervision of HQ. Assessments, then, are done in Halifax. Although the Ident. unit operates out of the detachment building, this arrangement is not necessarily the only one possible. Given the cramped quarters in the detachment building (which necessitates a major addition planned for 1991-1992), some consideration was given to renting commercial space.

In addition to the extra expense this may entail for the force, the physical distance between the Ident. unit and other detachment personnel might be disadvantageous for the communication of information between the Ident. members and the investigating officers.

It is normally the responsibility of the investigating officer to call in the Identification unit when their assistance is considered valuable and necessary. It is, however, an expensive service. In times of budget restraint, the likelihood of being called out decreases and, especially in the event of overtime, the NCOs monitor call-outs more closely. Some balance has to be struck between complete and thorough investigation -- which takes time -- and the necessity to restrict the use of the resources of the force. There is some potential conflict here between detachment supervisors and the Identification unit over these competing priorities. The question of overtime is central to this issue. In the past the Identification unit has had the highest rate of overtime in the detachment.

One possible way to avoid some costs appears to be to broaden the role of the constable generalists by including some elementary Identification training and work. Some of the obvious areas are fingerprinting, which is routinely done with respect to suspects, and photography, for example, at accident scenes. Similarly, photographing the results of assaults and sexual assaults may be done by the investigating officer -- particularly in the latter situation when it might be more appropriate for female officers to do this often intrusive work. Generally, the more significant the case, the more appropriate it is to have the more specialized members utilize their expertise. This is particularly important in court when the Ident. member is sworn in as an "expert witness".

Another difference in the organization of the Ident. unit compared with the other units in the detachment is the extent of the jurisdiction. Not all detachments have an Ident. unit. The Ident. unit in New Minas is responsible for forensic investigations in three neighbouring detachment areas, Windsor (rural and municipal) and Kingston (rural). Furthermore, they are a resource which is frequently used by the municipal police in the two counties. It is likely that the R.C.M.P. will, in the future, attempt to recover more of the costs of these services from the municipalities, although at the moment there are no financial charges sent to the municipal units for lab services, overtime or supplies.

15. Clerical Staff

One of the recent innovations in metropolitan policing is the tendency for some roles, which were previously filled by police personnel, to be civilianized. A fundamental example is the work of the dispatcher. At the RCMP detachment, there are three full time and one part time civilian employee working in the office. The civilians answer the radio and are most likely to be the first to hear a complaint, either over the phone or in person at the counter. There is no office manager, although the civilians are under the supervision of the operational sergeant who also does their performance assessments. All the women work together and do much of the same work. For example, each of the women has a designated typing day. This was implemented because the members used to be free to choose any clerk to do their typing and the work load became very uneven. Frequently the office workers will fill out the occurrence form over the phone and it is one of their responsibilities to assign the complaint to one of the detachment members. This causes a bit of friction in the detachment. The civilians try to assign the complaint to a member they believe is not busy. Complaints are assigned either by dispatch or a copy of the report is given to a member in the office. The main complaint of the office staff was that it was difficult to get their work done because of the constant interruptions.

16. The Divisional Bureaucracy

The Supervisors are responsible for determining objectives, projects and programmes for the watches. For example, while investigating one break-in, it was discovered that an elderly man kept substantial sums of money at home because he didn't trust the banks. All the constables were alerted to this since the problem was quite widespread, and a crime prevention media campaign was undertaken. In another example, rather than have programmes initiated at the Divisional headquarters and sent

down the line to the detachment, the source of initiation was at the detachment level. One member initiated a programme on high speed driving for professionals in the county who required this training. This programme was expanded and adopted by HQ.

Major policy directives are determined at HQ. For example, a decision might be made to concentrate on drunk driving. Each year the detachment is given some general goals to fulfil, such as the example given. It is up to the detachment, largely, to implement the goals. For example, the detachment would conduct at least three spot check-points per month to detect drunk drivers. Members would give school talks aimed at reducing drug and alcohol activity with high school students.

While the detachment has some autonomy in determining the implementation of goals and new programmes, some policies have to go through the bureaucratic maze. For example, a number of detachments in the province wish to employ extended shifts (10 or 12 hours in duration). The Divisional Representative supported this proposal for any detachment which had sufficient man-power for implementation. However, the procedure followed was that a trial 10-hour shift was implemented in one detachment. The CO would monitor this trial before deciding when or if the concept would be extended.

This degree of formal bureaucratization is also characteristic of the levels of command which is modelled after the military. The RCMP has been described as highly militaristic in organization. This implies a definite chain of command and demand for obedience. The degree to which individuals are ordered to perform duties will vary according to the situation, the style of the NCO and the commitment of the member. In one case, a member related an incident in which he refused to perform a job when directed by an NCO because he was without proper safety equipment. Although he could have been disciplined, the NCO chose to overlook the refusal and he was not subject to disciplinary procedures for this.

17. Crown Prosecutors

According to the role description of a detachment subordinate supervisor (corporal): "Recommendations are made to investigators and Crown Prosecutors as to sufficiency of evidence to warrant prosecution." The role descriptions of both constables and NCOs say that: "Frequent contact in person is made with barristers, solicitors, magistrates and coroners to discuss" cases, for corporals, and "matters of mutual concern" for constables. Uniformly, members expressed respect for the work of the Crown Prosecutor in the County.

One area of direct contact concerns youth offenders. The Crown Prosecutor must agree to any referral to youth alternative measures. In one case, a constable recommended a youth for the programme and had to negotiate this with the crown prosecutor. The prosecutor's rule is that no offender charged with breaking and entering is eligible for alternative measures (which, by implication, must be seen by him as a soft option). Breaking and entering involves potential violence against the person, his argument runs, and therefore is potentially dangerous. In this case, however, the constable was able to

persuade him to change the charge to theft under 200, thereby making the youth eligible for the programme. That way, the prosecutor argued, there is no new precedent set.

I asked one constable about guilty pleas. He said he had six cases before the courts now and that likely, three would end up with guilty pleas. Little of the members' time is spent in court, although they often have to work up a case because the offender pleaded guilty to buy time. Normally, when the member walk into court, if not before, the defence lawyer will want to know what he has. If it sounds compelling to the lawyer, he will advise the offender to plead guilty. The lawyers in these cases have access to the crown's case, he said, and should disclose this to the offender long before a court date and get a change in plea, but they often wait until court. This is time consuming for the members, and often means overtime. The court doesn't care about this as long as the court's business is gotten through. He did say that there were more guilty pleas here than in his experience in a more northerly part of the province. It was not the case, however, that lawyers waited to see if the member came to court before deciding whether to counsel a guilty plea. The lawyers around here knew that the RCMP were professional enough that they would come to court, he said. During a trial, part of the defence strategy is to try to destroy the credibility of the member.

One NCO complained that the courts did not give the force the credibility they did in the past. For example, a member was driving behind a man who went through a red light. He was taken to court and pleaded not guilty. The court did not accept the word of the constable over the offender. The court ruled that there had to be intent to break the law, he said, and the individual believed the light was green. Consequently the Judge did not fine him.

18. Private Policing

In most jurisdictions in North America, there is also a growing trend towards private policing. In the detachment area, there are federal and provincial buildings which hire security guards mostly from the Canadian Corps of Commissionaires. There is at least one private security firm which does a limited business. None of the major stores and mall complexes have become involved in extensive security arrangements. Only one of the malls has a permanent security guard.

One of the main forms of private policing in the detachment area occurs at the local college campus which has its own security patrols. One constable had arrested a young man who worked at a local college. I asked him whether, when he had an arrest on campus, he contacted Campus Security first. He said that he would normally contact the head of Security, who had extensive experience with the military police, with whom they had an excellent relationship, before or after going to the campus if it involved a student, but that he did not routinely call the Security office because you never knew who would be there and it would likely be a student.

In some of the literature, shopping malls are described as "mass private property". As such, the RCMP could enter these premises with a warrant, or in "hot pursuit", but would not otherwise. However, in the detachment area, the mall owners liked to have the RCMP in the malls (obviously, another way is by invitation) and that one of the

detachment objectives was to patrol on foot in the malls once or twice a month. One constable said he liked doing it. He would talk to people he ordinarily would not. He speculated about the largest village in the detachment area becoming a town and the RCMP having a municipal contract. This would mean foot patrols. He said he would like to patrol on motorcycle in the village. The RCMP has not used motorcycles since the early 1970s, he said.

During one afternoon shift, a shop lifter was caught in a Drug store in the one of the main malls. This store chain has a man who does security in their stores on a rotational basis. One of the malls does not have an active programme to stop shop lifting, merely adding in the cost of theft in their ordinary prices. The RCMP receives infrequent calls from this mall. The other mall, on the other hand, is more careful in its security.

One major department store in the detachment area does an excellent job to prevent shoplifting, an NCO said. The staff is given some training on how to handle the situation. As one NCO explained: "When we attend a report about shop-lifting we give an appearance notice to the suspect." Again, it is the police who lay the charges. Most of the evidence comes from the staff at the store. "I encourage this prevention", he said. Some businesses are equipped with security devices which have to be checked when they sound spontaneously, which happens on occasion.

A large area of private policing occurs in the western end of the county, in the jurisdiction of another, smaller detachment. Most of the calls at this detachment come from two of the larger villages in the area. They have a number of bilingual officers because of the large population of armed forces families in the vicinity. On the armed forces base and married quarters, most of the policing is done by the CAF military police. The RCMP is called in for major crimes. One member said he viewed the military police as another type of municipal policing rather than as "private security".

SECTION III

1. Police Productivity

Police productivity is "any activity that uses resources of one kind to produce a result of another" (Hoper, 1978) or "the relationship between the resources used and the results produced" (Lagneia, 1978, p. 5). Two generally recognized indicators, effectiveness and efficiency, combine to produce productivity. Simply stated, effectiveness is doing the right thing and efficiency is doing it well. Measuring police productivity is important with regard to police budget and the development of rational, competent management strategies (Lagneia, 1978). The difficulties in the measurement of police productivity and performance are numerous and traditional indicators (crime statistics, case load, ticket production) have proved inadequate.¹⁰

In small town police departments, especially those engaged in a "service-oriented" style of policing, productivity measurement becomes even more obtuse, exacerbated by policing style and inadequate recording and reporting systems. A legalistic style of policing combined with sophisticated reporting/recording procedures, such as that employed by the R.C.M.P., would be somewhat easier to evaluate although, as noted above, the constables still exercise considerable discretion and work mostly alone. Chief Lagneia concluded that with the problems implicit in measuring police productivity the "bottom-line" is public satisfaction with police service although "measurement is nebulous" (*Ibid*, p. 10).

Assessment of public perception of and satisfaction with police service is one way to measure police effectiveness. The public survey is one method of analyzing public perceptions and attitudes toward policing. For example, a recent public survey in the Annapolis Valley indicated that the public was very positive regarding the quality and style of policing provided by the R.C.M.P. (D. Clairmont & Murphy, 1990). On the other hand, the linkage between public perception of police service and the reality of police service are unclear. The following discussion of the detachment's crime statistics and calls for service can, therefore, be interpreted as the level of demand for service as opposed to actual measures of police productivity and performance.

2. Criminal Code Offences

Criminal statistics consist of those acts which contravene Federal or Provincial statutes and are reported to or discovered by the police and confirmed to have occurred (Hagan, 1985, p. 94). These statistics are useful as a guide to the amount of criminal behaviour, but have some important limitations. For example, undetected criminal behaviour is not reported, such as many white collar crimes and spousal and child abuse.

Reporting behaviour is dependent on circumstances and thus may vary significantly. Some crimes are under-reported because of the stigma associated with

¹⁰ Problems in determining/measuring police productivity include; lack of uniform reporting, inter-city comparison, budget and organizational variance, alternative policing styles/objectives, inadequate development of measurement systems, experienced "data handling", geographic and regional variation and difficulties with measuring public satisfaction.

victimization, such as sexual assault and spousal abuse. In other instances, crimes may be under-reported because of the victim's belief that the police cannot do anything about them (for example, minor theft). Programmes which increase police visibility and interaction with the public may be associated with increased reporting of known and suspected violations. Public campaigns and publicity aimed at specific criminal activity may also result in a greater tendency to report offences. What appears as an increase in criminal behaviour may be an artefact of differential reporting behaviour.

Police discretion allows some latitude for police officers to decide whether to intervene in a situation, and whether to do so in a formal way. The wishes of the victim, the seriousness and type of the offence, and the characteristics of the offender and the victim often determine how and whether an offence is followed through normal police channels (Silverman and Teevan, 1986, p.p. 74-75).

Another element in the construction of criminal statistics is the recording procedure of the police department. Some departments might operate with a less formal model of policing in which certain actions are dealt with informally rather than processed through a system of files, diary dates and charges. In contrast a more legalistic style of policing may lead to the official recording of all known transgressions. Different towns or the same town over different periods, may record significantly different levels of criminal activity even in cases where actual offences were similar. Changes in departmental procedures (for example, those associated with a new chief, political interference or public demand) can alter the recording and charging policies of the department and be reflected in variations in the number of offences.

If a change in the number of offences is reported for a town over a period of time, it is not immediately apparent whether this represents a change in actual criminal behaviour or, rather, reflects changes in recording or administrative practises. In the case of the New Minas detachment, the amount of recorded criminal behaviour has increased substantially towards the end of the last decade.

CRIMES AND OFFENCES: 1980-1989

A Total Offences

Table 1 provides a summary of the main crime and offence categories. There are three types of statutes: federal, provincial and municipal, represented in this Table.

TABLE 1
CRIME STATISTICS, NEW MINAS, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Violent Crimes	128	139	134	123	330	168	167	188	207	220
Prop. Crimes	912	1065	793	765	827	1040	961	964	1001	1184
Other Crimes	757	624	681	652	723	699	763	753	725	705
Ttl Crim. Code	1797	1828	1608	1540	1880	1907	1891	1905	1933	2109
Drugs	246	226	240	147	132	106	121	100	122	219
Oth. Fed. Stat.	30	16	25	56	67	65	64	68	37	22
Federal Stat.	2073	2070	1873	1743	2079	2078	2076	2073	2092	2350
Prov. Stat.	1076	983	875	548	292	288	423	483	411	333
Mun. By-Law	2	0	1	16	19	16	21	15	42	66
Total Offences	3151	3053	2749	2307	2390	2382	2520	2571	2545	2749

Total offences have followed a "U" shaped curve over the decade. The highest number of offences was recorded in 1980 (3151). Between 1980 and 1982, total offences declined, remaining constant between 2300 and 2400 between 1983 and 1985, then climbing to about 2500 between 1985 and 1988, and then rising in 1989, equalling the 1982 figure (2749).

In certain respects, however, this is the least meaningful figure and it is important to look at variations in the main crime and offence categories. The greater changes appear to be in the category of municipal offences, which increases, and in provincial statutes which decline considerably.

Municipal By-Laws

One difference is found in the enforcement of municipal by-laws. Between 1980 and 1982 there was an average of one municipal offence per year. Enforcement of municipal by-laws became more frequent in 1983 although at a relatively low level (an average of about 19 offences per year). Enforcement was considerably stepped up in the last two years, however, and 42 and 66 offences were reported, respectively. This enhanced "municipal" role for the New Minas Detachment is primarily a change in reporting and, perhaps, investigation. In 1989, for example, only one charge was laid

under Municipal By-Laws, while 51 of the 66 offences (77.3%) were cleared otherwise (Table not shown).

Municipal offences, in conclusion, account for only a small part of the year-to-year variation in Total Offences. For example, the increase of 24 By-Law infractions between 1988 and 1989 account for very little of the overall increase in offences during these years.

Provincial Statutes

Perhaps the most dramatic change lies in the enforcement of Provincial Statutes. Between 1980 and 1984, offences under Provincial Statutes declined by over one third, from 1076 to 292. Thereafter, enforcement increased, peaking at 483 offences in 1987 (still well less than half the 1980 total), and then dropping again to 333 in 1989. This general if not linear drop does account for the great majority of the variation in Total Offences.

Table 2 offers a better description of the changes in the category of Provincial Offences. The majority of these charges are under the Provincial Liquor Control Act and it is a decline in Liquor Act offences which accounts for the decline. In fact, until 1988 there had been a steady increase in the enforcement of other provincial statutes (such as the Wildlife Act), without which the decline in the category would have been greater.

Since Provincial offences dropped from 1988 to 1989 (from 411 to 333), the source of the overall increase in offences in 1989 over 1988 must be sought elsewhere.

TABLE 2
Provincial and Municipal Offences, New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Oth Fed St. (T)	30	16	25	56	67	65	64	68	37	22
Prov Stat. (T)	1076	983	875	548	292	288	423	483	411	333
Liquor Act	1053	955	793	489	215	203	269	280	264	226
Oth Prov Stat	23	28	82	59	77	85	154	203	147	107
Mun. By-Law	2		1	16	19	16	21	15	42	66

Federal Statutes

Given the great variation in the reporting of provincial and municipal offences, a second "Total Offence" category can be calculated for all Federal Statutes. These figures appear in Table 1 as "Federal Statutes". With two exceptions, there is considerable stability in these figures over the decade. There is a considerable drop in federal offences during the years 1982 and 1983. Otherwise, with the exception of 1989, for seven of the ten years, total federal offences vary between 2070 and 2092. The highest number of federal offences in the decade (2,350) occurred in 1989 (a 12.3 % increase over 1988).

This occurs despite a decline in the "Other Federal Statutes" category, which peaked at 68 in 1987 and dropped to 22 in 1989.

Part of the increase at the latter part of the decade can be attributed to enforcement of the drug legislation. Drug offences tended to decline in the decade from 246 in 1980 reaching a low of 100 in 1987. Two years later, however, there were 219 actual drug offences, an increase in 100 offences over 1988. (Drug offences are discussed below).

Criminal Code

The remainder of the increase occurs in the Criminal Code categories. As Table 1 indicates, while Code violations also tended to diminish between 1980 and 1983, thereafter there has been a steady if not linear increase. The two years with the greatest number of Code offences were 1989 and 1988 (with a 9.11 % increase between the two years).

Criminal Code Offences are divided into three main categories: violent crimes, property crimes, and "other" crimes. Each of these classifications will be examined in more detail. Here the focus is on the general patterns.

The Other Crimes total appears to vary from year to year and shows little overall pattern. For example, there has been a slight decline from 1986 (763) to 1989 (705) in these "Other" offences (see Table 1).

Both other major crime categories, however, have increased. With the exception of 1984 (which, as will be indicated below, is anomalous because of the number of sexual offences resulting from one interconnected investigation), the years with the highest number of violent crimes have been, in order, 1989 (220), 1988 (207) and 1987 (188) (a 6.28 % increase from 1988 to 1989 -- see Table 1).

By far the single largest category of offences since 1983 (previous to which it was "provincial Statute Offences) has been Property Crimes. Again, as Table 1 indicates, there has been a considerable year-to-year variation. However, the highest year is, again, 1989 (1,184 offences, a 18.28 % increase over 1988).

Summary

In sum, most of the decline in Total Offences between 1980 and 1983 can be accounted for by a substantial drop in the actual number of Provincial (particularly Liquor Act) offences. More significantly, towards the end of the decade, there has been an increase in Criminal Code offences, including both violent crimes and property crimes, which increased 6.28% and 18.28% respectively from 1988 to 1989.

B Five-Year Variation

One way to compare the changes in offence statistics is to break the decade down into five-year intervals, 1980-1984 and 1985-1989. This helps to smooth out some of the

yearly variations and gives a better picture of trends over a slightly longer term. This breakdown is given in Table 3.

This Table provides a summary of some of the trends discussed in more detail above. Over the two periods there is a small decline in total offences (about 7%) which is primarily caused by a decline in provincial offences (down about 95%) and drug offences (down 48%). The largest rise is in the recording of Municipal By-Law infractions, although the reason for the large percentage increase is because this category was seldom reported in the first five years.

TABLE 3
Offence Summary, New Minas, 1980-1984, 1985-1989

Years	1980-1984	Average	1985-1989	Average	% Change
Violent Cr.	854	171	950	190	11.24
(1984=150)	674	135	950	190	40.90
Property Cr.	4362	872	5150	1030	18.07
Other Crimes	3437	687	3645	729	6.05
Total Cr Code	8653	1731	9745	1949	12.62
Drugs	991	198	668	134	-48.35
Oth Federal	194	39	256	51	31.96
Total Federal	9838	1968	10699	2134	8.45
Provincial	3774	755	1938	388	-94.74
Municip By-Law	38	8	160	32	321.1
Total Offences	13650	2730	12767	2553	-6.92

The most significant increases are in the Criminal Code categories, nearly 13% overall, with the majority of the increase occurring in property crimes (18%), from a yearly average of 872 to 1,030.

There was also a significant increase in violent crimes (11%). However, this increase is even greater if consideration is given to the anomalous year, 1984, when numbers of sexual assaults and other sexual offences were discovered. If we assume that, except for this particular case, there were 150 violent crimes (instead of 330; that is, about mid-way between the 1983 and the 1985 figures), the number of violent crimes would have increased between the two 5-year periods by about 41%.

C Criminal Code: Violent Crimes

Additional information can be learned by looking at specific offences. Table 4 offers a breakdown of Violent Crimes, exclusive of Assault.

On average there is only one murder or attempted murder per year in the detachment area.

During the decade there were 29 robberies, 6 of which involved firearms and an additional 6 which involved another offensive weapon -- about one per year. Since "Abduction" was added to this crime category in 1985, there have been about two abductions per year. These serious offences, then, are infrequent in the detachment area and do not constitute the bulk of crimes of violence.

TABLE 4
Violent Crimes (Other than Assault), New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1982	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Homicide (T)	1	1	1		1	1			1	
First Degree		1	1						1	
2nd Degree	1				1	1				
Manslaughter										
Infanticide										
Atmpt Murder		2			1					
Abduction - Ttl						1	2	3	3	2
Pers Und 14									2	1
Pers Und 16										
Vs. Cust Ord							2	3	1	1
Abd-No Order						1				
Robbery Total	3	6	3	2	1	3	5	2	4	
Firearms		2					1	1	2	
Oth Off Weap	2	1	1			2				
Oth Robbery	1	3	2	2	1	1	4	1	2	
TTL VIOLENT	128	139	134	123	330	168	167	188	207	220

Assaults

The majority of violent crimes are assaults. In 1989, for example, there were 218 assaults, comprising all but 2 of the violent crimes (the other two were abductions).

There are two main types of assaults, sexual and non-sexual, each of which is classified according to severity as levels 1, 2 or 3. These categories were written into the Criminal Code in 1983. Assaults of a non-sexual nature are summarized in Table 5.

TABLE 5
Non-Sexual Assaults, New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1982	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Assaults - Ttl	124	129	127	118	182	156	157	179	199	218
Non-Sex Alt-T	115	115	119	103	129	141	128	152	156	172
Wounding	2	3	2							
Bodily Harm	15	18	27							
Police	5	3	1			1		1		1
Oth Pce. Off.		1	2			1	1		1	
Other Assaults	93	90	87	34	22	1	1		2	1
Asslt Level 1				51	89	102	81	117	105	151
Aslt Weap/BH				7	15	34	44	34	43	9
Aggrav Aslt 3				2		2				
Causing BH				9	3		1		5	10
Dischrg Fire.										

The largest category consists of non-sexual assaults, which generally increased annually (with variations) from 115 in 1980 to 172 in 1989 (a 49.6% increase). The majority of these were level 1 assaults (or "Other Assaults" between 1980 and 1982). The number of level 1 assaults ranged between 85 and 117 between 1980 and 1988, and peaked at 151 in 1989 (a 77.6% increase from 1980 to 1989). Only an average of one assault a year was classified as "wounding" or aggravated (level 3). There has been, however, a considerable fluctuation year-by-year in level 2 (with a weapon or causing bodily harm), which peaked at 44 in 1986 and declined to 9 in 1989 (down from 43 in 1988). Finally, on average, about 2 assaults on police officers or other peace officers occur every year.

If we turn our attention from the number of offences to the clearance rates, and consider the most common offence, Assault Level 1, between 1983 and 1989 the clearance rates varied only slightly, between 100% (1984) and 87.2% (1987). Generally speaking, this indicates that people tend to know those who assault them. This uniformity, however, does not hold in 1989 in one significant respect. Between 1983 and 1988, the proportion of assault level 1 offences which were cleared by a charge varied between 19% (1988) and 5.1% (1987). In 1989, however, 44.4% of founded cases of assault led to the laying of charges, and only 43.7% were cleared otherwise (Table in Appendix). This reflects a considerable change in the charging policy of the detachment.

Sexual Offences

With regard to sexual offences, there are two main categories: sexual assault (classified as "Rape" and "Indecent Assault" between 1980 and 1982), and "Other Sexual Offences". Disregarding momentarily the year 1984, reference to which has been made above, there has been a general increase in sexual assaults, especially in the last two years. Of these, very few (5 during the decade) were aggravated or involved a weapon. From 1983 to 1989, however, the number of sexual assault offences has about tripled (15 to 46 -- see Table 6).

TABLE 6
Sexual Assaults and Other Sexual Offences, New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1982	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Asslts - Total	124	129	127	118	182	156	157	179	199	218
Sex Offen. (T)	9	15	11	17	198	22	32	31	43	46
Rape	2	7	3							
Indec. Asslt.-F	6	6	4							
Indc. Asslt.-M		1	1							
Oth Sex. Off.	1	1	3	2	145	7	3	4		
Aggr. Sex Aslt					1		1	1	1	
Sex Aslt Weap									1	
Sexual Assault				15	52	15	28	26	41	46

With the exception of 1984, Other Sexual Offences have numbered about 2 per year, with none being recorded for 1988 or 1989.

In 1984 a major investigation of a series of related sexual offences, which occurred in an area of the South Mountain, Kings County, led to multiple charges of sexual assault and other sexual crimes against a number of related individuals. Most of these charges involved children. In that year, 198 sexual offences were reported as being founded, 145 of which involved Other Sexual Offences.

In short, violent crimes are increasing in the detachment area. Particularly, there are increased numbers of level one assaults, including sexual assaults.

With respect to clearance rates, the question arises whether the same change noted above with respect to the laying of charges would appear in the case of sexual assaults. Again, the clearance rates for the offence of Sexual Assault I are high -- the lowest occurred in 1989 (71.8%), but the second highest occurred in 1988 (97.6%). If we exclude 1984 again - - a year in which 86.5% of the offences led to a charge -- there has been a general tendency to increase the proportion of these offences for which charges are laid: 60.9% in 1989 and 65.9% in 1988, the two highest years (exclusive of 1984).

D Property Crimes

Break and Enters

Break and enter offences is one of the main categories of property crimes and entail major investigation time in the detachment. Table 7 provides a breakdown of this offence. While the largest number of offences occurred in 1989 (263, a % increase over the 187 offences in 1988), there have been considerable year-by-year variations. The second highest number during the decade, for example, occurred in 1981. If 5-year averages are calculated, however, an increase can be detected (1980-1984 average = 203; 1985-1989 average = 228).

TABLE 7
Property Crimes: Break and Enters, New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Brk & Ent - T	233	255	192	125	190	195	191	218	187	263
Busin. Prem.	83	102	51	36	32	47	55	62	53	91
Residence	119	105	99	52	128	102	80	113	99	144
Other B & E	47	48	42	37	30	46	56	43	35	28

Breaks are sub-classified according to whether they occur in a residence, a business premise, or another building (such as a church or a garage). The proportion of breaks which occur in each of these types of dwellings is presented in Table 8. The majority of breaks (from 41 to 67%) occur to private residences and there has been a slight tendency for this category to increase relative to the other two.

TABLE 8
Break and Enters by Property Type, New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	Total	Business		Residenc		Other	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
1980	233	83	35.6	119	51.1	47	20.2
1981	255	102	40.0	105	41.2	48	18.8
1982	192	51	26.6	99	51.6	42	21.9
1983	125	36	28.8	52	41.6	37	29.6
1984	190	32	16.8	128	67.4	30	15.8
1980-84	203	61		101		41	
1985	195	47	24.1	102	52.3	46	23.6
1986	191	55	28.8	80	41.9	56	29.3
1987	218	62	28.4	113	51.8	43	19.7
1988	187	53	28.3	99	52.9	35	18.7
1989	263	91	34.6	144	54.8	28	10.6
1985-89	228	80		106		42	

With respect to break and enter offences into various types of premises, no clear pattern emerges and there is no substantial trend towards increased house breaks.

The proportion of breaks which have occurred in business premises have largely followed a "U" curve. While they increased substantially in 1989, they were even slightly higher at the beginning of the decade. However, there is some tendency for this category to be increasing relative to the other two.

Between 1980 and 1989, the clearance rates for break and enters ranged between 24.3% (1987) and 55.1% (1989). 1989 is also notable for the proportion which were cleared by charge: 49.4% (the previous high was 38.4% in 1984) (Table in Appendix).

Thefts

Thefts comprise the largest category of property crimes. Among thefts, motor vehicle thefts have tended to decline somewhat in number over the decade (see table 9). The highest number of thefts occurred between the years 1980 and 1982. There was, however, a considerable increase from 1988 to 1989 (from 29 to 49). With respect to the type of motor vehicle stolen, there was a slight tendency for more motorcycles to be stolen in the latter half of the decade.

With respect to clearance rates, the highest rate was achieved in 1985 (60.3%). In the last few years there has been a slight decline, to 40.8% in 1989, although over the last three years the proportion of offences which were cleared by a charge tended to increase (1987 = 11.6; 1989 = 28.6). Between 1980 and 1985, however, the rate of theft MVA cleared by charge was never lower than 32.7% (1980) (see Appendix).

TABLE 9

Property Crimes: Theft MVA, New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Theft MVA	55	58	65	39	29	31	43	43	29	49
Automobile	30	27	29	15	9	14	16	20	14	22
Trucks	12	16	12	6	10	6	4	2	5	7
Motorcycles	7	6	9	7	7	7	15	10	8	8
Other M V	6	9	15	11	3	4	8	11	2	12

The classification of non-motor vehicle thefts changed in 1986 when the significant division was raised to \$1,000 from \$200. If both categories are combined for a figure of Total Thefts (Non-Motor Vehicle), it is clear that there has been an increase over the decade. The highest total occurred in 1989 (587), although the second highest figure occurred in 1981 (574), and there is considerable annual variation.

TABLE 10

Property Crimes, Theft (Non-MVA), New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Ttl Theft	479	574	443	503	477	506	554	510	525	587
Theft Ovr 1000							26	9	24	31
Theft Ovr \$200	81	101	102	77	67	95				
Bicycles		3		4	1	2	1			1
From Mtr Veh	19	23	25	17	16	14	5	1	4	7
Shoplifting	11	4	7	5	5	8	2	2	5	
Oth Thft Over	51	71	70	51	45	71	18	6	15	23
Thft 1000 Und							528	501	501	556
Thft \$200 Und	398	473	341	426	410	411				
Bicycles	31	33	33	37	18	33	39	29	44	43
From Mtr Veh	94	120	70	78	87	92	101	101	119	153
Shoplifting	70	109	92	112	136	104	163	140	141	112
Oth Theft Und	203	211	146	199	169	182	225	231	197	248
Poss Stln Gds	25	18	6	8	19	17	18	14	20	17

Theft over \$1000 increased from 26 to 31 between 1986 and 1989. Thefts of \$1000 or under increased a similar amount over these four years, from 528 to 556. There was some variation in the category of theft offences, however. The single greatest increase occurred in thefts from motor vehicles, rising from 107 in 1986 to 160 in 1989. "Other Thefts" also increased, from 243 to 271. However, there was a decline in the number of shoplifting cases reported, from a high of 165 in 1986 down to 141 in 1988 and 112 in 1989. The trends found in theft offences may reflect tendencies in differential reporting. For example, shoplifting offences may not be reported by stores on many grounds, including the time and expense of appearing in court or attending a diversion hearing. On the other hand, more awareness about thefts from motor vehicles and a greater crime prevention consciousness may be reflected in the greater number of reports of thefts from motor vehicles.

Finally, it can be noted that there is no trend apparent in the number of offences involving the possession of stolen goods.

While there has been a slight tendency for the clearance rates for the offence of Theft Under \$1000 to decline between 1986 and 1989, the proportion which were cleared by charge remained steady (see Appendix).

Frauds

Like thefts, fraud offences have also been increasing. Between 1980 and 1984 there was an average of 164 fraud offences. For the next five years, this increased to an annual average of 227. Part of this increase may also be attributed to a greater tendency among merchants to turn to the police in an effort to either have the money returned or to punish those who commit theft in this fashion. The increase may also reflect the increased tendency to report to credit in the purchase of goods and services. As the number of non-cash transactions increase, so too does the opportunity to commit fraud.

TABLE 11

Property Crimes, Frauds, New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Frauds - total	120	160	87	90	112	291	155	179	240	268
Cheques	72	74	52	70	94	116	125	117	207	234
Credit Cards	24	7	2	1	4	149	1	2	4	
Other Frauds	24	79	33	19	14	26	29	60	29	34

The main pattern which is apparent from an inspection of this Table is the increase in the number of cheque frauds, from 72 in 1980 to 234 in 1989 (a 225% increase). Otherwise, there are particularly anomalous years. For example, in 1985 there were 149 reported cases of credit card fraud -- substantially higher than the average. As a consequence, the greatest number of total frauds occurred in 1985.

Similarly, there were 79 "other frauds" in 1981, pushing the total in that year to 160.

E Other Criminal Code Offences

Offensive weapons crimes in the detachment area remained relatively constant over the decade and, in contrast to some other parts of the province, they were relatively few. In fact, looking at 5-year averages, there was a slight drop from an average of 20 between 1980 and 1984 to 17 between 1985 and 1989.

It is worthy of note, in addition, that there was only one reported prostitution-related offence and only one gaming and betting offence during the decade.

In the "Other Criminal Code Offences" category, on first inspection there appears to be a considerable drop in the number of offences, from 902 in 1980 to 705 in 1989. A more clear picture is apparent, however, if we examine the overall figures for 1981 to 1989. During these years the number of offences has followed a gentle bell-shaped curve, increasing to 1986 (with the exception of 1985), and then decreasing somewhat over the last four years (1986-1989). Again, there are interesting variations within this general category.

TABLE 12
Other Criminal Code Offences, New Minas, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Prostitution (T)								1		
Gam & Betting						1				
Off. Weap (T)	24	27	16	12	11	15	24	12	19	14
Explosives								1	1	
Proh. Weap.	5	1	2		1	4	5	1	2	3
Rest. Weapons	4	2	2	2	1		4	2	1	2
Oth Off. Weap	15	24	12	10	9	11	15	8	15	9
Oth C. Code	878	597	665	640	712	683	739	740	706	691
Arson	31	12	11	8	5	8	6	12	8	12
Bail Viola.					2		2		1	
Counterfeiting	1			1			1		2	
Disturb Peace	319	217	255	215	178	162	160	166	143	138
Escape Cust.	7	1	1	1	3	2	6	1	2	1
Indecent Acts			6	7	8	9	3	11	7	12
Kidnapping	1	2	1	1		2		5		2
Public Morals			1	3		2	1	6	2	
Obst. Pce Off	15	8	11	6	8	4	10	2	5	1
Pris. at Lrge	5	1	2	5		1	8	5	12	6
Tresp at Nite		2	29	24	44	45	30	36	31	32
Mis Ovr 1000							7	9	6	4
Mis Und 1000							315	258	281	270
Damg Private	376	283	261	219	266	244				
Damg Pub	29	5	9	7	18	11				
Damg/Misc. T	405	288	270	226	284	255	322	267	287	274
Oth Code Off	94	66	78	143	180	193	190	229	206	213
OTH CRIM (T)	902	624	681	652	723	699	763	753	725	705

Two types of crimes make up the majority of the reported offences in the "Other Criminal Code Offences" category: disturbing the peace and damage/mischief.

The trend among disturbance offences is opposite that of most categories: 1989 and 1988 had the fewest disturbance crimes, while 1980 had the most. The number of cases of disturbing the peace is higher in each of the years 1980 to 1984 than in any of the last five years of the decade, and the fewest offences occurred in 1989. This resembles the trend towards the reduction of the number of provincial statute offences, particularly under the Liquor Act, reflecting a move away from an orientation on the maintenance of order

towards more of a crime-fighting model. It is also noteworthy that the proportion of disturbance offences cleared by charge has tended to decrease, with the lowest rates coming in 1987 and 1989, 7.2% and 4.3% respectively. The majority of disturbance calls are cleared otherwise, between 68.7 % (1987) and 52.4% (1988) (see Appendix).

The second most common offence in this category involves damage or mischief. This category was also reclassified in 1986. Previously it was specified as "damage", and a distinction was drawn between damage done to private or public establishments. In 1986, the category was broadened to "Mischief", while retaining a primary focus on property damage, with the distinction being the value of the damage rather than the type of ownership.

Again, as with the theft offences, the damage/mischief offences can be combined. Inspecting the Total Damage/Mischief category in Table 12, little pattern emerges, although the highest number of these offences was recorded in 1980. Since 1986, about 30% of these offences are cleared, with about 10% resulting in the laying of charges (see Appendix).

Two other offences have tended to increase: trespass at night and a residual category, "Other Code Offences", which have more than doubled over the decade (from 94 to 213).

F Drug Offences

It was noted above that drug offences had tended to decline in the decade from 246 in 1980 reaching a low of 100 in 1987. Two years later, however, there were 219 actual drug offences, an increase in 100 offences over 1988, and more than double the 1987 figure (see Table 13).

TABLE 13
DRUG OFFENCES, NEW MINAS, 1980-1989

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Heroin (T)										
Cocaine (T)						1	2	4	8	9
Oth Drugs (T)	2	2	3		2			2	23	47
Cannabis (T)	238	220	220	129	123	100	107	83	79	142
Possession	191	179	175	94	90	63	55	33	44	72
Trafficking	37	28	32	26	26	32	48	37	27	52
Importation	1	2	3		1	1		1		3
Cultivation	9	11	10	9	6	4	4	12	8	15
Cont Dr Traf-T		1	1	2	2	1	3	7	4	10
Restrict Dr (T)	6	3	16	16	5	4	9	4	8	11
Possession	3	2	2	11	2		3	2	3	3
Trafficking	3	1	14	5	3	4	6	2	5	8
DRUGS - TTL	246	226	240	147	132	106	121	100	122	219

There have not been any founded offences involving heroin in the detachment area. There is, however, an apparent increase in the number of cocaine offences, from 1 reported in 1985 to 9 in 1989. The number of cases involving "Other Drugs" has also increased sharply in the last two years, growing to 23 in 1988 and doubling to 47 in 1989. Similarly, there is a growth -- albeit a more modest one -- in the number of offences involving controlled drugs. Cases of restricted drugs, which peaked in 1982 and 1983, also appear to be on the increase.

The majority of drug offences, however, involve cannabis. The number of trafficking offences peaked in 1989 (doubling the 1988 figure), although this offence varies year-by-year. The most significant variation concerns the charge of possession. Until 1988 there was a steady decline in the cases of possession (from 191 to 33). Since then, they have more than doubled, totalling 72 in 1989.

To the extent that recorded offences represents a change in the number of violations, these data suggest that drug use may have declined until the mid 1980s, but since then it has increased, both with respect to quantity and quality -- more offences, as well as greater numbers involving cocaine and other prohibited drugs. Of course, police statistics are not always a reliable guide to the actual rate of offences, and may reflect differential enforcement.

With respect to clearance rates, with regard to total drug offences, it is noteworthy that the lowest overall rate of clearance (73.3%) as well as the lowest rate of offences cleared by charge (40.6), occurred in 1989.

APPENDIX
CLEARANCE RATES, NEW MINAS, 1980-1984

Year	1980		1981		1982		1983		1984	
	Chrg	Oth.	Chrg	Oth.	Chrg	Oth	Chrg	Oth.	Chrg	Oth
Homicide	100	0	100	0	100	0			100	0
Attempted Murder			100	0			100	0	100	0
Assaults (T)							22.0	67.8	37.4	60.4
Sexual Asslt 1							46.7	33.3	86.5	13.5
Assault Level 1							13.7	76.5	7.9	92.1
Sexual Offences	44.4	33.3	80.0	0	27.3	36.4				
Non-Sex Assaults	21.7	65.2	22.6	72.2	21.8	73.1				
Robbery	33.3		66.7	0	33.3	0	50.0	0	0	0
VIOLENT CRIMES	24.2	60.9	32.4	59.7	23.1	67.9	45.8	33.5	57.8	34.0
Break & Enter	31.3	9.9	34.1	7.5	28.1	6.3	26.4	4.0	38.4	5.3
Theft - MVA	32.7	12.7	44.8	13.8	33.8	18.5	35.9	20.5	44.8	6.9
Theft Over \$200	27.2	6.2	38.6	4.0	22.5	2.9	27.3	6.5	26.9	7.5
Thft \$200 or Und	24.9	13.8	35.3	10.1	32.0	12.9	30.0	14.6	28.5	21.0
Have Stln Goods	92.0	4.0	105.6	0	83.3	0	25.0	25.0	73.7	26.3
Frauds	80.0	15.8	80.0	15.0	41.4	31.0	57.8	28.9	54.5	39.3
PROPERTY CRIM.	36.3	12.1	43.8	9.7	31.4	12.4	32.7	14.1	35.8	18.4
Offensive Weap.	52.2	39.1	70.4	29.6	37.5	25.0	50.0	41.7	45.5	36.4
Oth Crim Code (T)	19.5	30.4	20.8	35.7	14.1	35.5	18.1	35.8	11.0	36.5
Disturb Peace	14.1	57.3	21.2	62.2	16.5	57.6	18.1	55.3	9.0	61.8
Obstrt Peace Off	93.3	6.7	100	0	54.5	27.3	66.7	16.7	62.5	25.0
OTHER CRIMES	28.2	23.4	22.9	35.4	15.0	35.2	18.7	39.2	11.5	36.5
CRIM CODE - (T)	28.8	23.4	35.8	22.3	23.8	26.7	38.4	20.0	37.2	23.1
DRUGS (Total)	66.7	6.9	76.1	6.2	65.4	14.2	59.9	23.8	56.8	23.5
OTHER FED STAT	73.3	23.3	62.5	25.0	36.0	52.0	80.4	12.5	46.3	23.9
PROV STAT (T)	97.1	1.8	96.7	0.9	89.3	5.0	80.3	12.2	59.2	33.6

Liquor Act	98.5	1.4	98.1	0.6	95.2	2.0	88.1	6.5	77.2	24.2
MUNIC BY-LAWS	0.0	100	0	0	100	0	31.3	43.8	0	84.2
ALL OFFENCES	55.5	14.8	58.6	14.2	48.4	18.9	44.2	19.3	39.1	24.0

1985-1989

Year	1985		1986		1987		1988		1989	
	Chrg	Oth								
Homicide	100	0					0	100		
Attempted Murder										
Assaults-Total	25.0	67.3	24.8	66.2	15.6	72.1	38.2	55.8	50.0	33.9
Sexual Assault	40.0	40.0	50.0	35.7	34.6	42.3	65.9	31.7	60.9	10.9
Assault Level 1	17.6	77.5	12.3	77.8	5.1	82.1	19.0	71.4	44.4	43.7
Oth Sexual Off	28.6	42.9	66.7	66.7	25.0	50.0				
Abduction			0	150	33.3	66.7	0	66.7	0	100
Robbery	66.7		0	0	200	0	50.0	0		
VIOLENT CRIMES	26.2	64.3	24.6	65.3	18.1	70.7	37.7	55.1	49.5	34.5
Break and Enter	30.8	20.5	29.8	8.9	14.2	10.1	25.7	11.8	49.4	5.7
Theft - MVA	35.5	25.8	25.6	23.3	11.6	27.9	17.2	20.7	28.6	12.2
Theft Over \$1000			26.9	11.5	33.3	22.2	25.0	4.2	22.6	0
Theft \$1000 und			31.8	16.5	28.5	15.0	29.9	13.2	29.5	8.5
Theft Over \$200	17.9	9.5								
Theft \$200 & und	23.4	15.6								
Have Stln Goods	29.4	35.3	72.2	22.2	71.4	21.4	70.0	25.0	52.9	23.5
Frauds	31.6	22.3	114	56.8	46.4	38.0	50.0	50.0	61.2	20.9
PROPERTY CRIM	27.0	18.5	45.1	21.7	28.5	18.9	34.3	22.0	41.2	10.8
Offensive Weapon	46.7	53.3	41.7	50.0	0	66.7	47.4	42.1	28.6	28.6
Oth Crim Code-T.	15.2	41.4	16.5	35.5	12.6	41.4	20.1	31.7	18.2	32.1
Dist the Peace	11.7	60.5	13.1	58.1	7.2	68.7	12.6	52.4	4.3	55.1
Damg Over \$1000			71.4	57.1	33.3	11.1	66.7	0	50.0	0
Damg \$1000			9.5	20.3	4.7	22.5	12.8	15.7	10.4	21.1

Und										
Damage-Private	13.5	26.2								
Damage-Public	18.2	18.2								
OTHER CRIMES-T	16.0	41.6	17.3	35.9	12.4	41.8	20.8	32.0	18.4	32.1
CRIM CODE TTL	22.9	31.0	32.0	31.3	21.1	33.1	29.6	29.3	34.5	20.4
DRUGS TOTAL	67.0	17.9	52.1	36.4	56.0	28.0	53.3	36.1	40.6	33.3
OTH FED STATS	41.5	43.1	12.5	84.4	19.1	80.9	73.0	27.0	68.2	9.1
PROV STAT - T	47.9	36.1	35.2	49.4	33.1	47.0	41.4	38.9	48.9	35.1
Liquor Act	64.5	28.1	52.8	38.7	53.6	38.2	59.1	31.4	68.1	24.3
MUN BY-LAWS		75.0	14.3	71.4	6.7	73.3	11.9	71.4	1.5	77.3
ALL OFF TTL	28.3	31.7	32.9	36.3	24.6	37.0	33.0	31.8	36.2	24.5

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