POLICE OFFICER OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE POLICE ROLE AS IT RELATES TO COMMUNITY POLICING

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Police Officer Occupational Socialization and Attitudes Towards the Police Role as it Relates to Community Policing.

by

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research is to examine police officer attitudes concerning their communities and their policing roles and how these attitudes relate to community policing. More specifically, this thesis explores the attitudes of experienced police officers who were trained and socialized to perform in the traditional model of policing and are now expected to perform new roles under the new community policing philosophy. Do these officers possess the required attitudes to conduct community policing or is re-training and re-socialization needed?

Police officer occupational socialization is reviewed and discussed from the pre-entry career decision to become a police officer through to their field training as probationary officers. The attitudes of 150 RCMP officers across the province of Nova Scotia are examined using a closed-ended questionnaire with most variables measured on a Likert scale. The questionnaire measures six different attitudinal indicators related to policing; three indicators are associated with 'traditional policing' (crime control

orientation, orientation towards the use of force and orientation towards police solidarity) and three are related to 'community policing' (service orientation, orientation toward community cooperation and orientation toward community support).

The findings for the research indicate that the sample has a moderately low to low orientation towards all three indicators of traditional policing (crime control orientation, orientation toward force and orientation towards police solidarity). These findings indicate that the sample has an attitude that is more consistent with the goals and methods of community policing than those of traditional policing.

In the same vein, the sample has a moderately high to high service orientation, a high orientation towards community cooperation and a moderately high to high orientation towards community support. These findings indicate that officers are oriented favourably towards the indicators of community policing. *Hence, the findings for this sample suggest that officers do possess the required attitudes to conduct community policing while at the same time remaining somewhat*

committed to the qualities of the traditional style of policing.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Canada has undertaken the task of implementing a broad program of police reform with the intention of replacing the old traditional model of policing with a new community policing model. The purpose of this research is to examine police officer attitudes concerning their policing roles and their ability to work with community members and how these attitudes relate to community policing. More specifically, this thesis explores the attitudes of experienced police officers who were trained and socialized to perform in the traditional model of policing and who are now expected to perform new roles under the new community policing philosophy.

No consensus on a definition of community policing has been established. Some community groups emphasize public empowerment and police accountability as essential elements of community policing. However, most advocates of community policing (Skolnick and Bailey, 1988; Normandeau and Leighton, 1990; and Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1994) share one central

tenet. They argue that by changing the existing communication patterns between the police and the public to one which involves public participation in police operations and decision making, crime and fear of crime can be reduced.

To summarize Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1994:1-18), community policing is based on the premise that the police and the public, together, are more effective and more humane co-producers of safety and public order than are the police alone. Therefore, it follows that the community should play a more active role in enhancing public safety. It is hoped that this new form of policing will reduce crime and improve police-community relations.

Community policing is an umbrella term which encompasses programs like foot patrol, problem-oriented policing and crime prevention. In practice, community policing involves many projects including mini-stations, sub-stations, store-front stations, crime stoppers and neighbourhood watch groups. Each of these forms of community policing focuses on improving communication between the police and the public with the hope of solving community problems that lead to crime and disorder.

Community policing also consists of a commitment to a cooperative effort to strengthen police and community responsibility for crime and to increase police involvement in the community at different levels. For example, in the community policing model, police officers have the responsibility of organizing community meetings, reaching out to assist people of all ages and backgrounds, and attempting to solve local community problems (Manning, 1989). Furthermore, by developing a close working relationship with the community, it is hoped that the police will also have a better understanding of issues such as fear of crime in the community and community consensus on crime and disorder.

For community policing programs to be successful, officers must support and work with their communities and understand their new policing roles. They must also have a positive and optimistic attitude towards achieving community support and cooperation for these programs to have a beneficial impact. According to Brooks et al. (1993:118), the most important set of attitudes for the successful implementation of community policing are officers' perceptions

of their communities. Police officers who have been socialized to perform in the traditional model of policing have already developed attitudes concerning their communities and their occupational roles. However, are these existing attitudes compatible with the new community policing model? In other words, did police officer occupational socialization into the traditional model of policing produce officers whose attitudes are inconsistent with the new goals and methods of community policing? This research attempts to answer these questions.

SOCIOLOGICAL RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This research is relevant to sociologists interested in criminology as well as occupational sociologists. For those sociologists interested in criminology, the policing occupation and community policing are discussed and situated within the formal social control system of society. For occupational sociologists, policing is presented as an occupation traditionally managed within a para-military bureaucracy undergoing a major transformation.

Social control can be defined as the method by which members of a society encourage conformity to cultural norms or rules and expectations which guide its members (Macionis, et al., 1994:95). Social control can be broken down into two types, informal and formal. Informal social control refers to self-restraint out of fear of what others will think and can take many forms (Brinkerhoff and White, 1991; 192). For example, informal mechanisms of social control by the public can be in the form of ridicule, scolding, gossip and, in extreme cases, ostracism (Stebbins, 1990:363).

Formal social control, on the other hand, refers to the formal process by which society reacts to violations of its norms resulting in fines, expulsion, imprisonment and in some societies, the death penalty (Brinkerhoff and White, 1991:192). Policing is formal social control. The police maintain order in society through the enforcement of laws within the criminal justice system.

The efficiency of the traditional model of policing has been called into question in the last few decades largely due to its emphasis on a professional crime fighting orientation

and its reliance on both random patrol and rapid response. The weaknesses of professional policing resulted in the expansion of the community policing model which is intended in part to strengthen crime prevention and increase informal control at the community level. For formal control mechanisms to function properly, a certain level of informal control must exist. Community policing seemingly marks a shift in traditional formal social control processes with the public. The police are now attempting to redefine their mission due to a number of social, economic and political factors relating to the environment under which they must operate.

For occupational sociologists, the relevance of this thesis centres on policing as an occupation undergoing a major transformation in terms of management, operational strategies and value orientations. Several applicable theoretical concepts are discussed in the thesis and are applied to the study. These concepts include occupational socialization, job satisfaction, bureaucracy and role conflict. For example, the development and implementation of community policing has the potential to either clarify or add further confusion to the

police role. The traditional police role focused mainly on crime control working within the criminal justice system (formal social control). In contrast, community policing focuses on service and a partnership with the community attempting to make better use of informal social control elements. A more detailed discussion of role differences in traditional and community policing is presented in chapter three.

However, it is worth pointing out that organizational innovation that is top-down, that is not supported by resources(extensive in-service training, etc), that counters existing occupational ideologies, and that produces more costs than benefits for workers is less likely to be properly translated into practice. A large number of planned changes in a wide sphere of areas routinely fail in part because those on the front lines are not properly incorporated into the initiative.

PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Knowing the attitudes of police officers concerning their work roles and their ability to work with the public is important to the successful implementation of community policing. This information is significant because community policing is one of the fastest growing reforms in the history of policing in Canada. Community policing has reached police forces across Canada from Newfoundland to British Columbia and is supported by the Canadian Police College and the past and present Solicitor-Generals of Canada (Clairmont, 1991; Leighton, 1991). For example, Pierre Cadieux, the former Solicitor-General of Canada, stated that community policing is "the most effective way to police the Canada of the future" and instructed "police professionals, both chiefs and front line officers, to get on with the business of implementing community policing in a systematic way" (Cadieux, 1990).

The lack of research on community policing has been noted by many (Murphy and Muir, 1985; Murphy, 1988; Green and Taylor, 1989; Bayley, 1991; Broderick, 1991; and Leighton, 1991). This has resulted in a heavy reliance on American

literature (Murphy, 1989; Seagrave, 1997: 238). Furthermore, according to Brooks et al. (1993:115), very little is known about police officer attitudes and what affects them: "empirical research on the attitudes of police officers is currently lacking" (Brooks et al., 1993:115).

However, a review of the literature indicates that while considerable research has been conducted in the past on such matters as the attitudes of police officers concerning gender, education, cynicism, solidarity, college campus police departments and officer assignment (Canter, 1991; Canter and Martensen, 1990; Dorsey and Giacopassi, 1986; Hayeslip and Cordner, 1987; Shernock, 1992; Sloan, 1992; Worden, 1990), relatively little is known about police attitudes towards their policing roles and their ability to work with community members within the community policing model, especially in the Canadian context. The problem of police officers who have been socialized to perform in the traditional model of policing but who are now supposed to convert to community policing is also ignored. Even a recent book on policing in

Canada (Seagrave, 1997) does not discuss police attitudes as they relate to community policing.

Only three studies on the attitudes of Canadian police officers were found in the current literature. One of these Canadian studies looked at police attitudes towards and knowledge of, suicide (Evans, 1977). Another study looked at perceptions, attitudes and beliefs of police recruits (Ellis et al., 1991). The third study examined attitudinal differences between police constables and their supervisors in terms of social nearness, authoritarianism and job satisfaction (Perrott and Taylor, 1995).

Brooks et al. (1993) compared two American suburban police departments in terms of attitudes towards their communities and their work roles. Brook's research prompted this study in the Canadian context. However, their research did not specifically target a police force whose official policing model is community policing. Furthermore, they did not focus on police officers who have only been trained and socialized to perform in the traditional model of policing. Nor did they clearly associate specific attitudes with either

policing style. In addition, none of these previous studies mentioned above specifically assessed the attitudes of experienced, Canadian police officers and how these attitudes relate to community policing. This research helps to fill this gap by studying the attitudes of members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) concerning their policing roles and their ability and willingness to cooperate with community members.

Another reason for the importance of this research is the media attention regarding community policing and the RCMP. According to the Cape Breton Post newspaper, a newly released study of RCMP officers shows that many senior officers believe the kinder, gentler approach of community policing is a waste of resources and time (Cape Breton Post, September 16th, 1996). Furthermore, according to the Director of Community Contract and Aboriginal Policing with the RCMP, Mr. Cleve Cooper, community policing was slow developing in federal jurisdictions because of a lack of training in the basics of problem-solving and client service (Pony Express, September 1995:14).

In sum, the results of this research will be meaningful to rank and file officers, police administrators, the government and the public because police actions affect thousands of Canadians daily. If community policing programs are as dependent on the attitudes of police officers as they would seem to be, then it would be beneficial to have an idea of the attitudes of police officers concerning their communities and their occupational roles in the community policing model.

This research therefore attempts to answer the following questions:

(1) Do RCMP members possess the required attitudes to conduct community policing?

(2) Do RCMP officers have a crime control orientation (traditional policing) or do they have a service orientation (community policing)?

(3) What is their orientation towards the use of force and towards police solidarity?

(4) Are RCMP officers willing and able to work with the public to gain community support and cooperation?

(5) And more importantly, is re-socialization and re-training necessary for police officers to develop the necessary attitudes for the successful implementation of community policing?

The answers to these questions are significant since it is important information which is necessary in order to assess the future direction of policing in Canada's national police force and other provincial and municipal forces.

Chapter one has outlined the problem under study and indicated its sociological and practical importance. Chapter two reviews the relevant theory and research on traditional police officer occupational socialization and describes the new socialization into RCMP community policing. The concept 'working personality' and it's implications for community policing are also discussed. Chapter three presents information on traditional and community policing, both of

which are organized around the attitudinal indicators used in this study. Chapter four outlines the methodology for the study. Chapter five presents the research findings. Finally, chapter six is the conclusion and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

BECOMING A POLICE OFFICER

This chapter has three objectives. The first objective centres on the fact that this research focuses on police officer occupational socialization and its implication for effective policing. Thus, the relevant theory and research on the process of occupational socialization into traditional police work is reviewed. Second, the concept 'working personality' of police officers is discussed since it is related to traditional policing and also has implications for community policing. And third, the new socialization into RCMP community policing is described mainly because these changes in training and socialization are intended to produce police officers with different attitudes than those whom were traditionally trained.

The analytical framework followed throughout this study is occupational socialization. Attitudes about police work in general and community policing in particular are shaped by various socialization processes. The effective practice of community policing requires police officers to embrace a set

of attitudes that is quite different from that contained under the traditional policing model. For example, in this new model, officers are expected to have a positive attitude towards achieving community support and cooperation. Thus, an understanding of how police officers were socialized into the traditional model of policing compared to the new socialization into community policing is important in any examination of the attitudes of today's police officers.

Cultures and subcultures within police organizations influence an officer's behaviour as norms and values are internalized through the process of occupational socialization (Desroches, 1992:45-57). *Socialization* is one of the most basic concepts of sociology. It refers to the process by which the values, beliefs, norms, roles, assumptions, and practices that make up a culture (or sub-culture) are learned (Pavalko, 1988:84). In other words, the concept of socialization refers to a learning process through which people become social beings. Robert Merton used the term socialization to refer to:

> the process by which people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills and knowledge--in short, the culture current in the groups in which they are, or seek to become, a member. It refers to the learning of social roles (Pavalko, 1972:81).

Hence, occupational socialization refers to the process of socialization into one's job or occupation. It suggests role-learning and cultural reproduction and transmission. Krause (1971:47) refers to occupational socialization as a process which involves the acceptance of individuals into ongoing groups, as the individual simultaneously accepts the values, standards and rules of these groups.

Police officer occupational socialization encompasses the ways in which new recruits are transformed from organizational outsiders to participating members of the police force (Bahn, 1984:390). It also involves the internalization of a police officer culture or sub-culture. An occupational culture can be defined as "a set of collective representations, more or less peculiar to the occupation and more or less incomprehensible to the community" (Vincent, 1990:5). A subculture refers to "a group of people who participate in the dominant culture but nonetheless differ markedly in their

beliefs, habits, behaviour, attitudes, and values" (Desroches, 1992:45-46). The character or behaviour associated with any occupational culture, which includes particular ways of acting, thinking and feeling, begins to develop during training and initiation, and can only be fully learned and developed on the job (Vincent, 1990:5).

According to Desroches (1992:45) the cultural or subcultural group to which people belong strongly affects their behaviour because it provides the norms, values and customs that influence behaviour. To understand the actions of people, one must understand the values imposed by both the dominant culture and the subculture which are developed through shared experiences and continual interaction. It is within the police subculture that the rookie officer must learn the norms and values to which s/he is exposed and is expected to conform.

OCCUPATIONAL SOCIALIZATION

Three stages of occupational socialization discussed in this research include (1) anticipatory socialization, (2)

formal training and (3) informal training (Rothman, 1987; and Pavalko, 1988). These three stages are presented in turn, along with a description of police officer occupational socialization into the traditional model of policing. This review is followed by a discussion on the new socialization into RCMP community policing.

ANTICIPATORY SOCIALIZATION

Pavalko (1988:87-88) argues that because humans have the unique ability to manipulate symbols, they are able to imagine or anticipate what it would be like to be a member of a group of which they are not presently a member or what it would be like to occupy a role that they do not presently occupy. The latter is called *role-playing*. For example, young children often "play house", pretend to be adults and imagine what that role is like. Thus, a person need not be a member of a group or an occupant of a role in order for that group or role to have a socializing impact. This is referred to as *self-socialization* (Pavalko, 1988:887).

The anticipatory stage is important because it may have an effect upon the second stage of occupational socialization, the formal training stage. Individuals entering into a formal training institution may bring with them ideas, right or wrong, about the occupation they wish to enter. Conceptions about a certain occupation may be based on information from sources such as the media and people in the occupation. The validity of the information obtained from these sources can vary. Role models such as parents, relatives and close friends are other important sources of information. Whether anticipatory socialization assists or obstructs occupational socialization depends on how closely the norms and role expectations developed prior to entry into the occupation match the content and goals of formal training programs, the actual requirements of the position, and the goals of the formal agents of socialization. The formal agents of socialization for police recruits are veteran police officers and trainers. The attitudes of these experienced police officers towards the public and their occupation in general may have an impact on the attitudes of the recruits.

Anticipatory socialization into traditional policing has been studied beginning with the pre-entry career decision to become a police officer. Maanen (1973:407-418) conducted research on Union City police recruits to analyse the process of becoming a police officer and found that the screening for admission into the police force is itself an important aspect of the socialization process. He states that an applicant must proceed through a series of interviews and tests which serve to demonstrate that s/he is being accepted into an elite organization. This part of the anticipatory stage strengthens the neophyte's commitment to policing and augments his or her evaluation of the importance of the police organization.

At this anticipatory stage, an applicant imagines or anticipates what it would be like to be a member of the police force and begins to play the corresponding role (self-socialization). The type of anticipatory or self-socialization the applicant adopts depends on previous knowledge of the policing occupation. This knowledge comes from reference groups. A reference group can be any group to which an individual compares him/her-self in arriving at a

judgement of his/her status (e.g. economic, athletic). More than one reference group may be relevant. Reference groups are important in the process of socialization because the expectations affecting individuals are usually rooted in group norms and values which impact on attitudes.

Bennett (1984:48) contends that there are two sets of reference groups for the police. The first reference group consists of outsiders or non-members of the police force (the media, friends, neighbours, relatives) who convey to the applicant beliefs about the occupational role of policing as they understand it. The second group consists of actual police-related individuals, members of the police force who have direct contact with the applicant. Research shows that police recruits are influenced by these key internal and external reference groups (Maanen, 1973; Bennett, 1984; Rothman, 1987). Clearly it can be seen that reference groups may have a beneficial or detrimental affect on attitudes towards community policing.

FORMAL TRAINING

In the second stage of occupational socialization, the concept 'formal training' is used to identify work-related socialization (Rothman, 1987:276). The purpose of formal training is to instill in persons the skills, knowledge, attitudes and values peculiar to the occupation. Furthermore, socialization during this stage serves to transmit the occupational culture, communicate knowledge of role expectations, and cultivate a feeling of identification with the occupation (Pavalko, 1972: 93-101). The police academy attempts to accomplish this task for police recruits.

Formal training for police recruits takes place at a police academy where instructors (formal agents of socialization) convey specific occupational knowledge. Police recruits learn the appropriate roles, attitudes and values at the academy from these instructors, their primary occupational reference group (Bennett, 1984:49). Furthermore, the traditional experience at the academy which involves indoctrination, tests, and learning to cope under pressure, also produce both the technical and cognitive abilities and

the values and attitudes required of the police officer (Rothman, 1987:275). Police academies can be conceptualized as 'total institutions' in which police recruits are cut off or isolated from the outside world and are trained in the same location. The isolation typical of total institutions speeds up the assimilation of attitudes and values since there is little interference from the outside world (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986:139).

In traditional police training, recruit idealism is soon transformed into cynicism (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986:140-141). In class, recruits are led to believe that they are, or will soon be, people of great power and responsibility. However, outside the class, the department treats the recruit as if s/he is not to be trusted by setting curfews and, in certain cases, declaring liquor stores 'off limits'. Furthermore, traditional training teaches recruits to be defensive, alert to the ever-present possibility of danger, and suspicious of a variety of groups (politicians, students, blacks, the press, females, etc.).

Harris (1973) conducted a detailed study of a single police academy in which he was a participant observer. Harris argues that traditional formal police training and socialization focused on creating norms of defensiveness, professionalism and depersonalization. Depersonalization refers to categorizing the public and interacting with them on the basis of this category, not on individual worth. Depersonalization can undoubtedly result in prejudice against certain categories or groups of people. Furthermore, at most academies, recruits are told by veteran officers that they will have to forget everything they learn in training when they enter the real world because it is on the street that one learns to be a 'real police officer' (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986:141).

Maanen (1973, 410:411) notes that it is at the academy that the recruit first comes into contact with the police subculture. The traditional para-military structure of the academy introduces the recruit to the harsh and frequently arbitrary discipline of the organization:

absolute obedience to departmental rules, rigorous physical training, dull lectures devoted to various technical aspects of the occupation, and ritualistic concern for detail characterize the academy (Maanen, 1973:410).

An 'in-the-same-boat' collective consciousness arises as a result of the same harsh set of experiences supposedly weathered by all; experiences which, according to some veteran officers, result in a career-long source of identification. The academy experience results in the recruit identifying with fellow officers, his/her new peer group, because these people understand and experience similar treatment. According to Alpert and Dunham (1992:92) it is this feature of the academy that teaches the neophyte to develop a distant attitude when associating with the public. As a result of police academy training, officers are disciplined and psychologically prepared to expect the worst and thus may have a problem adjusting to less dangerous situations (Alpert and Dunham, 1992:92).

A problem with traditional formal police socialization at the academy is that it does not train police officers to:

communicate effectively with the public, make complicated investigations, write lengthy technical reports, be subjected to real verbal and physical altercations, mediate disputes... make unsavoury arrests.... and testify in court (Drummond, 1976:17).

Lundman (1980:81) argues that a misleading image of policing is conveyed to the recruit at police academies due to the quantity of time spent on areas such as physical training, weapons use, high speed driving, and self-defence. This leads the recruit to believe that policing is, for the most part, physically challenging and dangerous. While this may be true to a certain degree, it is not the norm. Lundman (1980:81) recognizes that it is important for recruits to know how to use weapons and drive safely, but they also need to learn interpersonal skills, to know when to use what type of action, such as how to talk instead of using self-defence. Focusing great amounts of time on self-defence and weapons use may result in the recruit developing a preoccupation with danger. Recruits are also taught to do everything 'by the book' to prevent complaints of misconduct. This may result in an officer developing a sense of defensiveness and mistrust of the public. According to much of the literature, suspicion is

taught as first nature and the recruit is encouraged to approach the public with distrust (Lundman, 1980:83-84; Rothman, 1987:293-294).

INFORMAL TRAINING

In the third stage of occupational socialization, informal training, the individual occupies the role of 'trainee' (Rothman, 1987:278). The trainee works with more experienced employees directly in the work setting in which the occupation is performed. Experienced employees are charged with the responsibility of instilling in the trainee the appropriate attitudes and work norms and behaviour expected of members of the occupation. It is during informal, on-the-job training, that socialization occurs through a number of work conditions and mechanisms (Pavalko, 1972: 100-101).

For traditional police recruits, a number of socialization mechanisms serve to limit and control their behaviour during their on-the-job training period. The primary socializing agent for police recruits is the field

training officer (FTO). However, it is the occupational group itself that becomes the normative reference group whose attitudes, standards, values, and ideas of appropriate behaviour stand as a model for the trainee. Some trainees will internalize the norms of police work to a very high degree, others only limitedly (Pavalko, 1972:100-101). In other words, the degree to which each trainee internalizes the norms of police work will vary depending on the individual and how these norms conflict with his/her personal norms, values and beliefs regarding what constitutes appropriate police behaviour. Occupational socialization of officers attempts to achieve as much conformity as possible through training and interaction with peers (Rothman, 1987:293-294).

The FTO is charged with the responsibility of introducing the trainee to the occupation, its roles and norms, do's and don't's, and attitudes towards the public (Maanen, 1973:412). According to Alpert and Dunham (1992:106) a large part of a police officer's identity is obtained from the occupational role which is primarily learned on the street from the FTO. The tradition of 'officer training officer' helps maintain a

certain degree of continuity from cohort to cohort of trainees regardless of what was learned at the academy. Thus, information is passed on down the line which the trainee learns and will eventually pass on to his/her trainee. This may account for any stability in police officer behaviour and attitudes; any similarities from one officer to the next, from generation to generation.

Maanen (1973:412) states that being fresh out of the academy, the trainee is unsure of what constitutes proper behaviour and is thus in need of a role model and a set of guidelines to follow. The FTO provides these guidelines and more. War stories, folk tales, myths and legends are all communicated to the trainee. From these accounts, according to Maanen, the trainee learns that in order to be protected from his/her own mistakes, s/he must protect other officers. Hence the origin of traditional police solidarity. Rothman (1987:293-294) argues that compliance with work norms and rules is encouraged during the socialization process. The only way to protect oneself from public complaints is by strict adherence to procedure (Rothman, 1987:293-294). Public

complaints often occur due to the public's ignorance or misconceptions of the law and police powers in certain situations. The public's lack of knowledge of police procedures is the result of the police traditionally keeping communication with the public at a minimum.

Rothman (1987:295) notes that police officers have the power of the state to impose the law on others. This often results in various members of the public submitting the officer to criticism. The collective response of the police has generally been conformity to regulations and procedures. Conformity has also been linked to role confusion in police officers. Maanen contends that it is the opportunity to exercise the 'expected' police role that gives meaning to the occupational identity of officers. Officers who joined the police force expecting mostly a crime fighting role often become cynical towards a public constantly demanding service (Maanen, 1973:414). Faced with the dilemma of the difference between the perceived and actual role requirements of policing, officers may attempt to avoid criticism and strive for internal acceptance by conforming to other police

officers' expectations and attitudes (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994; Maanen, 1973:415). Hence, officers are assimilated into the their occupation over time and often behave in a similar fashion to their colleagues in order to gain peer approval, acceptance, and to avoid criticism, both publicly and internally.

WORKING PERSONALITY

It is necessary to discuss the term 'working personality' because it is related to traditional policing but also because it has implications for community policing. Jerome H. Skolnick (1966) argued that police officers develop a 'working personality' as a result of traditional occupational socialization into police work. The 'working personality' of police officers, as described by Skolnick (1966:42-43), refers to "distinctive cognitive and behavioural responses in patrol officers.....which are most highly developed in his [sic] constabulary role of the 'man' on the beat."

Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1994:84) define Skolnick's term 'working personality' as "a set of attitudes and

behaviours that separate the police from the public." Based on these definitions, it can be seen that this term is obviously problematic. The term 'working personality' implies a homogenous set of police attitudes that all police officers possess and a set of attitudes in the public to which police attitudes can be compared. Similar attitudinal and behavioural characteristics extending from socialization into the traditional police role described above seem more plausible than a common 'personality'.

There are two opposing views offered in the literature to explain similarities found in the behaviour and attitudes of police officers. The first model argues that certain types of people are attracted to police work (Turner, 1968; Rhead, et al., 1970; Stark, 1972; Symonds, 1972; Lefkowitz, 1973; and Roberg and Kuykendall, 1993). The argument is that members of screening boards select applicants who are similar to themselves (self-selection). These authors are of the opinion that police officers share similar behavioural and attitudinal characteristics prior to entry into the occupation and end up working with others similar to themselves (Vincent, 1990:6).

Often, a negative picture of police officers is painted as they are described as brutal, aggressive, violent, sadistic, authoritarian, secretive, suspicious, oversexed, cynical, ignorant and conservative (Vincent, 1990:7).

The second argument is that police officers are moulded on the job through the process of occupational socialization (Skolnick, 1966; Balch, 1972; Maanen, 1973; Bennett and Greenstein, 1975; Bennett, 1984; Bahn, 1984; Vincent, 1990; Stradling, Crowe and Tuohy, 1993; and Seagrave, 1997.) Lundman (1980:73) and Seagrave (1997:72) contend that research consistently indicates that policing does not attract a distinctive type of person. These authors argue that a police officer's behaviour is a product of the occupation and that police attitudes and behaviour are not a result of any selection process. Seagrave (1997:72) states that similar traits found in police officers are "the product of socialization and experience gained while working in the police environment". These police officers are described as secretive, hard and cynical, acutely observant, impersonal and

decisive, as well as suspicious, sceptical, and inquisitive (Vincent, 1990:142-161).

Whatever argument one uses, analysts have observed more than one 'working personality' in police officers. For example, Reiner (1978) distinguishes between four police types in England; the Bobby, the Uniform Carrier, the New Centurion and the Professional Policeman. Shearing (1981) also identified a four-part police typology in Canada which includes, Wise Officers, Real Officers, Good officers and Cautious officers. And Finally, Broderick (1987) recognized four 'working personalities' in police officers; the Idealist, the Enforcer, the Realist and the Optimist.

The interesting point about the 'working personality' or police types mentioned above is that similar behavioural and attitudinal characteristics are identified by each author which will certainly have implications for community policing. For example, officers identified as crime fighters may not be interested in the service role associated with community policing. And other common characteristics identified in

police officers, such as being suspicious, secretive and cynical, will also have an impact.

Reiner (1985) states that suspicion is a characteristic, actively encouraged in police training, that leads to the stereotyping of certain individuals. This characteristic is related closely with secrecy and colleague loyalty which Brogden et al. (1988) argue is valued in the police subculture. And finally, cynicism can be found in the manner in which police officers become hardened to the work they are asked to do. If the actual work role differs from the expected work role, cynicism will likely develop. If these behavioural and attitudinal characteristics can be identified in police officers, what kind of impact will they have on community policing? This research will shed some light on police attitudes as they relate to community policing.

SOCIALIZATION INTO RCMP COMMUNITY POLICING

Differences exist in the socialization into traditional policing discussed above and the new socialization into the RCMP community policing. The new RCMP community police

training is intended to produce police officers with different attitudes than the traditionally trained officers. Traditionally, police forces preferred and attracted young, less educated, working-class, family-oriented white males who met certain height and weight requirements (Seagrave, 1997:72). Today, however, the RCMP has a national recruitment team which is responsible for selecting the most qualified and capable problem solvers to hire as police officers.

The minimum basic requirements for an individual applying to the RCMP include: a grade twelve diploma, Canadian citizenship, good moral character, 18 years of age (they must be 19 upon graduation from the academy) and a valid Canadian driver's licence. An information session with the RCMP begins the hiring process followed by a written exam, physical test (physical ability requirement evaluation or PARE test), oral interview, background check and a medical exam.

Height and weight requirements no longer exist since they discriminated against women and minority groups. However, the PARE test is demanding in that it requires applicants to run a six lap obstacle course and then push and pull on a weight

machine (80 lbs) while moving in 180 degree arcs six times. This test must be completed in under four and a half minutes for the applicant to be successful. Each applicant is also required to carry a 32 kg bag in their arms 15 metres without dropping it.

RCMP recruits today tend to be older with most having a university degree or at least some sort of post secondary education. According to the RCMP training academy, the average age of RCMP graduates is 27 with a recent graduate being 50 years old. More women and people from minority groups are being hired if they meet the minimum standards.

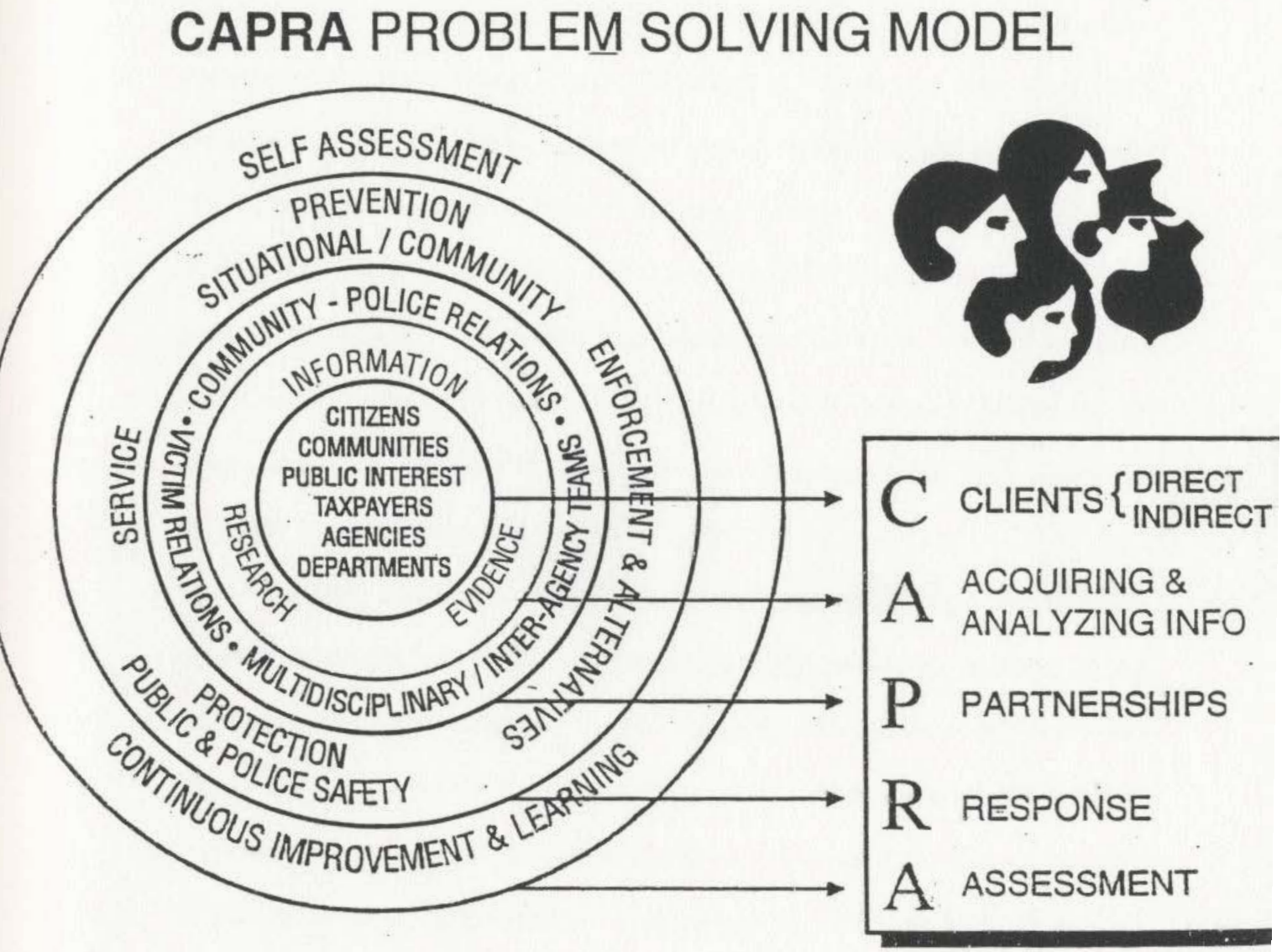
Recruit training with the RCMP occurs at Depot Division in Regina, Saskatchewan and lasts 28 weeks or 6 months. In the new community police training at Depot, recruits are referred to as 'cadets'. During training, cadets are taught the RCMP's definition of community policing which states that the police and the community should accept joint responsibility for public order, peace and security. The RCMP now define community policing as a partnership between the police and the community, sharing in the delivery of police

services. This definition is posted on walls in all RCMP detachments across Canada. Furthermore, cadets are taught in training to focus on two core policing values: (1) commitment of service to the people, and (2) communication and working with people, sharing information and resources and solving problems which the community sees as important.

According to the RCMP's national magazine, The Pony Express (August, 1995), and participant observation by the researcher, the new community police training at Depot is based on a student-centred, hands-on, problem solving approach as opposed to the endless, dull prepared lectures that, in the past, were drilled into each recruit with the hope that they would absorb the material without actual hands-on experience. The new program is based on the principles of adult learning and is designed around a problem solving model known as CAPRA. CAPRA is an acronym which stands for clients, acquire and analyse information, partnerships, response and assessment (SEE FIGURE 2:1).

Clients are those people who are directly or indirectly involved in the situation/problem with which the officer is

Figure 2.1


CAPRA PROBLEM SOLVING MODEL
SELF ASSESSMENT
PREVENTION
SITUATIONAL / COMMUNITY
COMMUNITY - POLICE RELATIONS
INFORMATION
CITIZENS
COMMUNITIES
PUBLIC INTEREST
TAXPAYERS
AGENCIES
DEPARTMENTS
RESEARCH
EVIDENCE
SERVICE
VICTIM RELATIONS • COMMUNITY
ENFORCEMENT & ALTERNATIVES
MULTIDISCIPLINARY / INTER-AGENCY TEAMS
PROTECTION
PUBLIC & POLICE SAFETY
CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENT & LEARNING
C CLIENTS { DIRECT INDIRECT
A ACQUIRING & ANALYZING INFO
P PARTNERSHIPS
R RESPONSE
A ASSESSMENT

dealing. This problem solving model teaches cadets to approach each situation with the client in mind and cadets are instructed to remember that they are service providers. Cadets are also taught that they are problem solvers who must determine who their clients are, what their needs and expectations consist of, and then know how to use that information to arrive at an appropriate response in partnership with the client and others involved. To reinforce problem solving skills, cadets are given scenarios daily which they have to 'CAPRA' out with the intention of permanently solving the problem at hand.

One of the key issues in community policing is how to solve the underlying problem in order to prevent repeat calls for similar situations. By getting to the root of the problem, repeat calls can be eliminated and continuous improvement in policing is achieved. The new problem solving model taught to RCMP cadets attempts to train officers to do just that, to solve the underlying problem to prevent a reoccurrence of the same situation. The CAPRA problem solving model is constantly being analysed, evaluated and improved as

cadets move through the program into their work environment at their detachments.

Once cadets graduate from depot, they proceed to their respective detachments across Canada for their on-the-job training with experienced police officers. Field trainers with the RCMP are referred to as 'coaches' who must first be trained in the new philosophy of community policing and have a good grasp of CAPRA before being permitted to 'coach' a new recruit. This is to ensure that the recruit receives the same information and instruction from the coach that s/he learned at the academy. Not all experienced police officers are trained and selected to become coaches for new recruits. During the six month coaching period, recruits must successfully write three exams and develop some sort of community project involving members of the community and the recruit.

Finally, the expected and actual work roles which give meaning to the occupational identity of RCMP members are more closely matched today than ever before. New recruits with the RCMP begin their careers with the mind set that the new way of

'doing business' in today's policing environment is in partnership with the community. RCMP officers are taught to be proactive in their work ethics and are encouraged to remove themselves from the patrol car in an effort to get to know community members in an informal manner. Officers also receive ongoing training in the form of courses, workshops, and conferences which aid in keeping officers in tune with changes in the legal, cultural and community environment. In this manner, the RCMP is attempting to evolve with the community and the world around it.

In conclusion, it is through a complex process of social learning that officers have traditionally developed attitudes concerning their communities and their policing roles and adopted the values and norms shared by the group. However, it is hoped that the new socialization into RCMP community policing will produce officers who are committed to serving clients. Community policing arose when police management realized they had to change their attitudes, values and norms in response to a changing world. Traditional policing has its merits, but change was needed. As communities grow and people

change, priorities, community needs and expectations of the police change as well. Experienced police officers must now accept this change or be left behind.

This chapter has discussed occupational socialization into traditional and community policing. Police attitudes are shaped through the process of socialization into police work. The required attitudes needed to conduct community policing differ from attitudes consistent with traditional policing. Based on the differences between the socialization into traditional policing and the new socialization into community policing, different attitudes are expected to emerge. Attitudinal indicators consistent with both models of policing are developed in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE

TRADITIONAL POLICING VERSUS COMMUNITY POLICING

This chapter contains two sections. Section one discusses the traditional style of policing while section two examines the new philosophy of community policing. The attitudes for each style of policing are presented and the concepts used to operationalize traditional and community policing are described. The attitudinal indicators used to measure these concepts are not exhaustive but they are an attempt to measure the attitudes consistent with each style of policing. These attitudinal indicators are described in chapter four.

The argument can be made that no police officer or department will ever be perfectly placed in one category or the other. Policing styles in the past and in the present may continue to combine certain elements of the two styles of policing depending on the situation. For example, the crime fighting element of traditional policing will still play a role in community policing, albeit at a reduced level of emphasis. And a greater emphasis will be placed on service in

community policing which played a smaller role in traditional policing. However, specific attitudes associated with traditional policing will certainly impede the implementation of community policing. Traditional policing and community policing are opposed in terms of objectives, philosophy, style and management, all of which are discussed below.

SECTION ONE: TRADITIONAL POLICING

Traditionally, the police role has entailed three elements. These elements are (1) crime control, (2) order maintenance, and (3) social service. The greatest emphasis in traditional policing was placed on crime control which focuses on street patrol. Street patrol has the intention of preventing crime and on response to calls of criminal code violations with the goal of detecting and arresting suspects. Traditional police officers were referred to as law enforcement officers. Order maintenance centres on the control of any public conduct that disturbs the peace or involves face-to-face conflict. For example, the police may maintain order on a picket line or quiet a noisy party.

Finally, social service, which was given a low priority in traditional policing, involves a broad range of activities which do not entail crime. These activities include retrieving drowned persons, aiding in animal capture and release, giving talks at schools, and transporting people to needed medical attention (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994:70-71).

One of the most consistent findings in the literature on traditional policing is that the police see themselves as existing in an adversarial relationship with the public (Shearing, 1981:375). An 'us' versus 'them' type of attitude is prevalent whereby community members are not seen as an important part to the social control process. Traditional police departments are organized into a quasi-military bureaucracy with a strict hierarchical chain of command focusing on law enforcement. Officers perform their tasks within this hierarchy of authority statuses.

In this traditional model of policing, civilians are estranged from the police and isolated from the decision making process regarding crime and community problems (Green

and Mastrofski, 1988). This estrangement occurs because of the belief that the police are "professionals" who understand better than the public what must be done to preserve the community and enforce the law (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988:10). Police professionalism is the ideology of traditional organizations which exclude community members in the impartial pursuit of law and order (Fleras, 1992:72).

The discussion of traditional policing can be organized around three concepts used to identify traditional police officers; (1)crime control orientation, (2) orientation towards the use of force, and (3) orientation towards police solidarity. These three concepts are prevalent in traditional police officers and are derived from the increased emphasis placed on the crime control element of traditional policing. Each is discussed in turn.

CRIME CONTROL ORIENTATION

One of the concepts associated with traditional policing is a crime control orientation. Police officers in the traditional model of policing place a greater emphasis on the

crime control element of police work. The traditional model of policing has been labelled a crime control model of policing (Blumberg, 1985:10-11; Eck and Spelman, 1991:505-507; Moore, 1992:141-142). Leighton (1991:485) states that the main objective or mission of traditional policing is to "enforce the criminal law, solve crime, and apprehend criminals." Police effectiveness and success in traditional policing organizations are judged by detection and arrest rates and by rapid response to crimes -- in particular, crimes involving violence.

In this crime control model, information gathering and analysis focus on specific crime incidents while ignoring other occurrences which are seen as unrelated. The police employ a reactive orientation by responding to events as they arise and devote minimal resources to proactive or preventative measures. For example, the police will respond to a citizen who telephones the police to report a crime. Officers have little discretionary power and are controlled by formal bureaucratic rules and regulations and informal internal discipline. A 'top-down' system of communication

exists in traditional organizations which is also referred to as 'Command and Control' management (Fleras, 1992:84).

Police officers in this traditional model are referred to as 'law enforcement officers' whose main focus is solving crime through the enforcement of criminal laws. These officers are separate from the community and, according to Leighton (1991:490), have a self-image as being superior to other members of the public. They are also considered experts and are viewed as having the sole responsibility for solving crime and handling disorder problems (Cryderman, et al.,1992:83 and Grinc, 1994:441). Traditional policing encourages a distinct separation between the police and the 'political community' (Murphy and Muir, 1985:72).

In traditional policing, there are few formal channels through which members of the community can provide input into law enforcement policies in their communities because the police are responsible to the criminal justice system, not to the public. The police are first and foremost responsible to the legal system and only secondarily to community members. This crime fighting role permits police management to set

police priorities and policies with the objective of solving crime (Murphy and Muir, 1985:72).

Prosecution is regarded as an important goal in this model of policing. Traditional police officers have few contacts with the community which are usually limited to formal interviews with victims, witnesses and offenders. This limited police role means that responses to community problems are not extended beyond standard law enforcement strategies and community involvement is maintained at a minimal level.

The traditional police bureaucracy organizes its mandate and policies to focus primarily on crime related activity. Although order maintenance and social service roles are carried out, they play a much smaller part in the overall operation and distribution of police resources and manpower. Hence, operational duties focus on criminal investigation, specialized units and random motorized patrols. Few resources are devoted to non-criminal operations which are viewed as unimportant (Murphy and Muir, 1985:72-73). Police education and training focus on developing skills to combat crime.

ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE USE OF FORCE

A second concept associated with traditional policing is an officer's orientation towards the use of force. Westley (1953:39) found evidence that certain police subcultures justify the use of force to coerce respect for their occupational status stating that individuals behaving in a disrespectful manner deserve brutality. Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983: 266) state that in the traditional police culture, police officers were expected to 'show balls' in certain situations and not to back down in front of civilians. Officers had to 'prove' themselves to fellow officers that they could take care of themselves in rough 'situations'. According to a training officer at the RCMP academy, officers have traditionally operated with a 'knock them down, drag them out' style to any resistance which often led to a high orientation toward the use of force among police officers in general. He added that officers today have moved away from that style of policing.

This orientation towards the use of force in traditional policing is also reflected in the former hiring practices of

police organizations which imposed height and weight requirements on recruits. Height and weight requirements portray the idea that to be a police officer one had to be big and strong and capable of using force to overcome resistance. Section 25 of the criminal code defines the legal basis for the use of force and states that the police are only permitted to use 'as much force as is necessary' to effect an arrest and are legally liable for any overuse of force.

According to Forcese (1992:198) the police have traditionally engaged in the misuse of force for three reasons. The first reason centres around police recruiting which tended to hire ill-educated, working-class males who come from an environment supporting aggressive and violent behaviour. Secondly, traditional police recruits tended to have military experience and their police training was based on the military model emphasizing the use of force. In other words, officer use of force was reinforced through recruitment and training. Thirdly, the working environment of the police officer promotes frequent contacts with violent persons requiring the use of coercive force. Ill-educated officers,

recruited, trained and socialized into an environment where one's ability to use coercive force is expected by fellow officers often resulted in the use of force as the primary option rather than first attempting other means such as verbal intervention.

ORIENTATION TOWARDS POLICE SOLIDARITY

The third and final concept associated with traditional policing is an officer's orientation towards police solidarity. Police solidarity, as defined by Blumberg (1985:13), refers to the "unique sense of identity that one develops as part of a group of colleagues in a work situation - the commonality of interests, problems, concerns and even lifestyles." Blumberg also contends that it is the sense of danger that promotes police solidarity. However, this strong sense of police solidarity, common in many traditional police organizations, can be detrimental to community policing when officers hide infractions committed by fellow officers. Public trust and respect of the police is essential for the successful implementation of community policing.

According to Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983: 266), one of the maxims in the internal 'cops code' of conduct states: "Don't give up another cop and then he won't give you up". Blumberg (1985:15), in his discussion of traditional police solidarity, offers the example that officers may cover up a fellow officer's brutal acts, petty thefts, abuses of police power and other illegal activity. And Maanen (1973:412) states that the trainee learns that in order to be protected from his/her own mistakes, s/he must protect other officers. Police officers often justify this type of police solidarity by referring to their 'good intentions'.

Blumberg (1985:15) adds that the essence of police solidarity is secrecy against an environment that is perceived as hostile. Turning in fellow officers, 'squealing', is a breach of the code of silence and a reprehensible offense in the police world. Traditionally, the overall rule among the police was never tell on another police officer, no matter what s/he does.

In sum, the above three concepts of traditional policing (orientation towards crime control, the use of force and

police solidarity) will be used to measure an officer's orientation towards this style of policing. Based on the questionnaire used in this research, officers possessing attitudes consistent with these concepts to a high degree are defined as being oriented towards the traditional style of policing.

SECTION TWO: COMMUNITY POLICING

In contrast to the traditional model of policing, community policing entails a broader social and political role for the police (Murphy, 1993:24). In community policing, officers are encouraged to adopt a problem solving approach and focus on patterns among similar reported incidents and their underlying causes. This approach is characterized by an increased emphasis on community consultation, cooperation and peace keeping (Miller and Hess, 1994:19). Police officers are referred to as 'peace officers' whose main objectives are to ensure peace, order and civility; to provide services to the community; and to promote a sense of security. In community policing, the role of police officers is expanded to include

dealing directly with the locally-based problems and concerns which residents feel are most important.

Community policing differs from traditional policing in terms of operational strategies and value orientations. A proactive policing approach is adopted by the police in the community policing model where the police initiate investigations into any underlying problems of the community. The effectiveness of the police in the community policing model is judged by criteria such as public cooperation, the absence of crime, a reduction in the fear of crime, greater community satisfaction with the police, and a decrease in the number of repeat calls for assistance from repeat addresses, victims and offenders (Leighton, 1991:490).

The most problematic areas, as defined by residents, are given the highest police priority in community policing. By defining community problems as the highest priority, the police become facilitators and resource personnel for solving local troubling issues (Cryderman, et al., 1992:83). The prosecution of offenders is seen as only one possible alternative among many to solve community problems.

Two essential factors to the philosophy of community policing include a high service orientation and partnership with the community in terms of support and cooperation. It should be noted that even though social service is an element of traditional policing it was given a very low priority compared to the crime control element. However, in community policing, a service orientation is given a much greater emphasis than ever before. The two factors of service orientation and partnership are clearly noted in several ideas associated with community policing which differentiate it from the traditional model of policing. The ideas associated with community policing include a decentralization of authority, police-community reciprocity and civilianisation. These ideas are addressed below in the discussion of community policing which is also organized around three concepts; (1) service orientation, (2) orientation towards community cooperation, and (3) orientation towards achieving community support. Each is discussed in turn.

SERVICE ORIENTATION

One of the concepts associated with community policing is a service orientation. In the community policing model a service orientation is stressed as the necessary prerequisite to maintain a close relationship with the public who have the ability to assist the police by enforcing 'informal' mechanisms of social control. Furthermore, the police are both integrated members of the community and the formal agents of social control who place emphasis on local accountability to community needs (Miller and Hess, 1994:19).

Decentralization of authority is one part of community policing which is used to improve service delivery to the public. Community policing replaces the reactive, para-military police bureaucracies with modern, 'decentralized' organizations that are intended to respond to the needs of the police and the people they serve (Rosenbaum, Yeh, and Wilkinson, 1994:333).

Decentralization refers to a transformation in the organizational structure of police forces. In other words, the hierarchical or para-military organizational model of

police departments becomes more horizontally differentiated through a 'de-layering' of the authority structure (Leighton, 1991:497). Decentralization results in a greater degree of responsibility being passed down the ranks to officers who are 'generalists', as opposed to 'specialists'. As generalists in a decentralized organization, officers are expected to deal with a wide variety of community problems and concerns rather that being a specialist in one area such as interviewing victims of sexual assault. In this manner, service delivery to the public may be improved.

Decentralization also allows police officers more discretionary power (Eck and Spelman, 1989:512). With greater discretionary power, it is hoped that rank and file officers can better serve the public. This transformation in the organizational structure results in greater autonomy for rank and file and supervisory officers when dealing with community needs and problems (Leighton, 1991:497). The increased autonomy given to the police also allows officers to have greater freedom to exercise independence while working in different communities (Goldstein, 1987:9). According to

Rosenbaum, et al. (1994:333), decentralization removes "the organizational shackles from police officers to stimulate creative thinking, discretion and problem-solving strategies at the street level."

Normandeau and Leighton (1990:24) contend that, with decentralization, there is a loyalty shift away from the chain of command which was consistent with the para-military organization. Community policing allows police officers' loyalty to be placed with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Criminal Code, the common law and the community.

Decentralization means that officers focus on individual rights and have greater discretionary power to choose whether or not to enforce the criminal code for the benefit of the community rather than routinely enforcing laws because commanding officers call for an increase in the enforcement of certain offenses, such as a 'crackdown' on enforcing the seatbelt legislation on motorists.

ORIENTATION TOWARDS COMMUNITY COOPERATION

A second concept associated with community policing is an orientation towards community cooperation. This concept is derived from the idea of police-community reciprocity. For example, Leighton (1991:490) states that the effectiveness of the police in the community policing model can be judged by the amount of public cooperation. Furthermore, Miller and Hess (1994:19) contend that community policing is characterized by an increased emphasis on community cooperation.

Community policing facilitates a re-definition of the relationship between the police and the people they serve and allows for a partnership with the community where the police and the public share the responsibility for safety and public order (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1994:4). An assumption of the community policing model is that by building a partnership with the community, the police and the public can share the responsibility for safety and public order and reach a mutual agreement on the goals and methods of policing their community. The community must cooperate with the police for

community policing to succeed. The philosophy of partnership between the police and the community attempts to redefine the nature of police-community relations in terms of objectives and style (Cryderman, et al., 1992:76).

Central to the philosophy of partnership is mutual trust and respect, civility and support (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1994). This proposed alliance allows the police to invite the public into accepting their share of the responsibility for building safer neighbourhoods and a better quality of life in their communities (Friedmann, 1992:29; Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1994:4). New lines of communication are envisioned as members of the public are consulted and encouraged to provide input into the decision-making process regarding policing matters.

Community policing also involves community consultation to achieve two policing objectives. The first objective is identifying short-term priorities for addressing crime and disorder problems in the community. The second objective is establishing a long-term orientation and reaffirmation of the community policing mandate through the conferring of public

consent (Normandeau and Leighton, 1993:30). Community consultation through advisory committees helps to create, support and sustain a strong police-community partnership (Leighton, 1993:248).

Police cooperation with the public may be demonstrated, for example, in officers consulting with citizens through avenues such as door-to-door contacts to gain information about local problems and reduce the fear of crime (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994:307). Community consultation is a necessary aspect of community policing because the assumption is that crime, disorder, and fear of crime are inversely related to the degree of public participation in policing (Leighton, 1991:487). In addition, community policing is evaluated through the process of community consultation which indirectly results in an increase in police accountability to the people (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990:24).

Police-community reciprocity can be referred to as a return to Sir Robert Peel's seventh principle of policing which states that 'the police are the public and the public are the police'. In the community model of policing, the

police serve, learn from, and are accountable to, the public (Klockars, 1991:535).

ORIENTATION TOWARDS COMMUNITY SUPPORT

The third concept associated with community policing is orientation towards community support. Achieving community support is connected with the idea of civilianisation which refers to "the employment of non-sworn officers to do jobs that were formally done by police officers" (Klockars, 1991:540).

Community policing is attempting to make the police more effective and efficient in terms of both reducing costs and dealing with community problems through this process of 'civilianisation' (Klockars, 1991:540). Civilianisation is based on the assumption that it is cheaper to have civilian employees do certain tasks normally assigned to fully trained police officers. The tasks performed by civilians include equipment maintenance, clerical duties, court liaison person, communication functions and research and planning (Skolnick and Bayley, 1991:498-499; Klockars, 1991:540-541). The

reallocation of these tasks to civilians results in officers having more time to assess community needs and to deal directly with community problems to achieve greater community support. For community policing to succeed, these officers will require a positive attitude towards working with the community to gain their support and cooperation.

Finally, community policing is attempting to achieve community support by increasing the number of positive contacts with community members. Police work has been referred to as society's dirty work since officers often deal with people who are sometimes referred to by society as 'low-lifes' or 'scum' (Galliher 1985:61; Shearing, 1981:382-383). Community policing attempts to raise the morale of police officers by making better use of their skills. The number of positive contacts with the more supportive and law abiding members of the community is increased by giving the subordinate ranks more responsibility thereby allowing them to work more effectively with the public (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988:34; Wilson and Bennett, 1994:354).

Positive contacts with community members may be made through community policing tactics such as foot patrol which is an ideal method for achieving community support. As the oldest form of policing, foot patrol is now the most widely implemented aspect of any community policing program (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994:303).

In the traditional model of policing, foot patrol was often used as a form of punishment for police officers. However, community policing has revitalized foot patrol as an effective tool for learning about the community and making positive contacts with community residents such that partnerships can be developed and police support achieved. Foot patrols put the police on the street thereby facilitating police-citizen contact and removing the barrier of the patrol car which isolates officers from the citizens. By getting out of the patrol car and onto the street, police officers are able to familiarize themselves with local residents informally rather than limiting police-citizen contact to crisis situations. For community policing to work, the police and the community need to become partners to solve local troubling

issues. 'Walking the beat' encourages the building of this partnership between the police and community members and increases the number of positive contacts with the public facilitating the development of community support of the police.

A decentralized and personalized community policing service encourages more cooperation between the police and the community. This type of service results in a more rewarding and less frustrating job environment for the police and a more trusting attitude towards the public (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1994:56; Lurigio and Skogan, 1994:317). According to Skolnick and Bayley (1988:34), "community policing may be the best program the police have devised for maintaining zest for the job". A recent survey conducted by Lurigio and Skogan (1994:315-330) indicates that most police officers are looking for a job that allows them to exercise independent thought and action, to be creative and imaginative, and to learn about new things. Indeed, this type of job is specifically advocated in the community policing philosophy.

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed both traditional and community policing and the concepts associated with each style. These concepts are used to identify officers who are oriented more towards traditional or community policing. Officers who have a high crime control orientation, a high orientation towards the use of force, and a high orientation towards police solidarity possess attitudes associated with traditional policing. However, if officers demonstrate a high service orientation, a high orientation towards community cooperation and a high orientation towards achieving community support then they possess the required attitudes to conduct community policing. Using these concepts, the attitudinal indicators for the study are constructed and operationalized in chapter four.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research methodology used to collect the data for this thesis. It begins by presenting the sample size and method of selection and then discusses the data gathering technique and limitations of the research. The survey questionnaire is then discussed along with the operationalization of the concepts involved in the study. The statistical techniques used in the study are then presented. The chapter ends with a discussion of the research ethics involved in the study.

It is necessary to address the issue of why the researcher chose to conduct the study with the RCMP and how this affects the research process. The RCMP was chosen for two specific reasons. First, the official policing model of the RCMP has been declared as community policing since 1990 (RCMP, 1990). However, it should be noted that the decision to change the training methods at the RCMP training academy to teach the principles of community policing was not made until 1993 (The Pony Express, August 1995). Second, the researcher

is currently a member of the RCMP, employed as a Constable in the Sydney area of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. Being a member of the RCMP facilitates the ability to obtain information on socialization (both formal and informal training) and community policing within the force.

This study began in 1994 and the questionnaire was developed prior to the researcher becoming a fully trained member of the RCMP. The researcher had no preconceived expectations or preferences in regards to the results of the survey. This research is exploratory, looking at the attitudes of police officers socialized in the traditional model of policing and how these attitudes relate to community policing. Even though the researcher has recently been socialized in the community policing model with the RCMP, the results of the survey are not affected since the researcher had no direct contact with the respondents. Respondents' questionnaire answers were mailed to the researcher for analysis and coding. The researcher is first and foremost a sociologist in this study and is not conducting the study on behalf of the RCMP.

SAMPLE SIZE AND METHOD

This study is designed to measure the attitudes of RCMP officers who were socialized in the traditional model of policing. It investigates how these attitudes relate to the new model of community policing. To accomplish this task, probability sampling techniques were used to select a sample of RCMP officers to whom a survey questionnaire was sent.

The sample was confined to officers in the province of Nova Scotia. This subset of the national population of RCMP officers was selected for several reasons. First, it was hoped that because the researcher is a member of the RCMP in Nova Scotia a higher response rate might be achieved.

Second, due to time constraints and in order to simplify sample selection, it was decided that using a province with under 1000 RCMP members would be much easier than trying to select a sample from over 16,000 members across Canada. The enumeration of all RCMP officers in Canada who fit the sample criteria would be extremely time consuming and difficult, requiring permission from all provincial jurisdictions. Furthermore, it was also hoped that the costs and the response

time for the return of the questionnaires would be reduced by keeping the sample confined to one province.

Third, provincial laws vary from province to province. Keeping the sample population confined to Nova Scotia ensures a sample of officers responsible for enforcing the same provincial laws, mostly in rural communities. The fact that most RCMP officers in Nova Scotia are responsible for policing rural areas is important because it increases the likelihood that the informal socialization process of these officers would be similar as opposed to that of RCMP officers policing city areas like North Vancouver.

It was decided to survey only experienced police officers and not do a comparison study on attitudes with neophyte officers due to the lack of new recruits hired and trained in the past five years since the adoption of community police training in 1993. According to the RCMP staffing section in Halifax, Nova Scotia, hiring with the RCMP has been minimal since around 1991 and most of the new recruits that were hired were sent to British Columbia where the majority of RCMP officers are stationed. Very few new recruits are sent to

Nova Scotia. Hence a comparison study of attitudes with experienced police officers and new recruits here in Nova Scotia would not have been possible.

The probability sampling technique was employed to ensure that all RCMP officers in the province of Nova Scotia had an equal chance of being selected in the sample if they fit the sample criteria. To ensure officers were trained and socialized into the traditional model of policing, only officers with more than five years service were selected to participate in the survey. A complete list of full-time, regular members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police within the province of Nova Scotia (H Division), along with their regimental numbers, was obtained from the RCMP'S administration section in Halifax. As of December 31st, 1992, the highest regimental number in the RCMP was 44322. Members of the RCMP with regimental numbers below 44323 have more than five years of service in the RCMP and were not trained under the community policing philosophy which began in 1993 at Depot. These members were used to create the list from which the sample was chosen. There were 747 members in the province

of Nova Scotia with more than five years police experience with the RCMP.

A sample of 200 police officers was then drawn from the list using a table of random numbers (Babbie, 1990:358). A sample size of 200 was used with the expectation that a minimum of 125 completed questionnaires would be returned. A minimum of 125 questionnaires would represent a random sample of over 16% of members in Nova Scotia whose attitudes could be considered representative of the whole.

DATA GATHERING TECHNIQUE

The closed-ended questionnaire method was used in the survey to provide a greater uniformity of responses and because it is more easily processed. The researcher attempted to ensure that the answer categories provided were exhaustive and mutually exclusive when measuring personal characteristics of the respondents. That is, the categories included all the possible responses expected. In appropriate cases, the category 'other' was provided. The categories were also

mutually exclusive such that respondents would not feel compelled to choose more than one response.

To measure the attitudes of officers, the survey questionnaire employed closed-ended responses arranged on a Likert scale. The Likert scale was developed by Rensis Likert and is a format in which respondents are asked to read a statement and agree or disagree with it. The respondents in the current research were asked to read a statement and choose one of the following responses: 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'neutral', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. According to Babbie (1990), "Likert scaling represents a more systematic and refined means of constructing indexes" and is "frequently used in contemporary survey questionnaires". Furthermore the Likert format resolves the dilemma of judging the relative strength of agreement intended by the various respondents and is a straight forward method of index construction (Babbie, 1990:164).

Using identical response categories for the questionnaire items to measure each variable results in each item being scored in a uniform manner. Scores of 1 to 5 were assigned to

the five response categories, taking into account the direction of agreement for each item used to measure the variable. Each respondent receives an overall score for each variable representing the summation of the scores for each questionnaire item. The scoring of the items used to measure each variable is explained in the statistical techniques section of the research (Chapter 4, P.96).

Prior to sending the questionnaire to the selected sample, an e-mail message was sent to the officers informing them of the forthcoming questionnaire using the RCMP's internal computer system known as ROSS (RCMP OFFICER SUPPORT SYSTEM). This message informed the sample as to how and why they had been selected; who the researcher was; the time expected to complete the questionnaire and how to do so; and how to return the completed questionnaire.

The survey questionnaire was then mailed out to each individual officer along with a self addressed envelope in which to return the completed questionnaire to the researcher. The questionnaires were mailed to the officers because it was not practical for the researcher to physically hand deliver

each questionnaire across the province and wait for the respondents to fill them out. Furthermore, having the respondents return the completed questionnaires by mail ensured respondent anonymity. A total of 150 questionnaires were completed and returned to the researcher which were subsequently coded and used in the analysis. 150 returned questionnaires is a 75% response rate and represents 20% of the members in Nova Scotia with more than five years police experience with the RCMP. The data were analysed using the Statistical Package For Social Sciences (SPSS-X) and are presented in tabular form in chapter five.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

A fundamental limitation of this study is the small sample size. The random sample of 200 did not include enough officers from three different areas, police officers above the rank of Corporal, female officers, and minority officers. This limitation resulted in these categories having low numbers of cases. Fortunately, after analysing the data, no differences in attitudes were found between the male officers

and female and minority officers hence all officers surveyed were included in the final data analysis. A much larger sample would have increased the statistical significance of the correlations. However, as far as being able to generalize to RCMP officers in Nova Scotia, this sample can be considered representative.

There are other limitations in the current research which are noted as well by Brooks, et al. (1993) in their study on police attitudes. First, there is always the question of whether attitudes can accurately be measured using the survey approach. For the present study, time and resource limitations did not make observing the actual behaviour of a large number of police officers feasible.

Second, the honesty of respondents can always be called into question. However, the survey was anonymous and consent was voluntary. This should reduce any concern with this problem.

Third, some of the questions in the survey may have been interpreted differently by different officers. For example, question 15 on the survey questionnaire on reporting a fellow

police officer for 'clearly' violating a person's charter. There were a couple of comments written on the returned questionnaires on how one defined 'clearly' violating someone's rights. The degree to which one interprets the word 'clearly' may vary amongst officers.

Fourth, those officers who chose not to participate may have had different attitudes than those who chose to participate in the study. How their attitudes would have affected the results of this study is unknown.

Finally, the fifth limitation of the research relates to the relationship between attitude and behaviour. There are different points of view on predicting behaviour on the basis of attitudes. According to Nelson and Fleras (1995), "the perception that attitudes and behaviour are necessarily linked is questionable at best". However, according to Hill (1981), "moderate consistency between the two has been found under a variety of research and methodological conditions". Worden (1989) points out that "there seems to be a compelling, intuitive connection between attitudes and behaviour, even in the absence of empirical evidence to support this contention".

The point to be made here is that the degree to which actions correspond with attitudes can be questioned. The argument can be made that attitudes alone are insufficient to determine the extent to which police officers are willing to conduct community policing even if they possess the required attitudes. In the same vein, attitudes favouring traditional policing may not produce behaviour counter to community policing. However, this research focuses on police attitudes which may or may not be reflected in behaviour. Nevertheless, attitudes consistent with the community policing model are more likely to reflect positively on behaviour.

It is also necessary to address the classical issue of 'ecological fallacy' of the current research whereby behaviour may be affected in groups. It is not uncommon for people to act contrary to their own beliefs and interests within a group context. However, RCMP members patrol and respond to complaints alone in Nova Scotia unless the situation clearly warrants sending more than one police officer. Therefore, the likelihood of the group context affecting the behaviour of the RCMP officers is diminished.

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The survey questionnaire used in this research was developed by re-working a part of a questionnaire borrowed with permission from Brooks et al. (1993) who created it using ideas from Worden (1989), Ostrom, et al. (1977) and Shernock (1988). The researcher was able to re-word parts of the original questionnaire to measure attitudes associated with traditional and community policing in Canada. For example, to measure orientation towards the use of force, it is irrelevant to ask Canadian police officers a question on stun guns, which are used by some police forces in the U.S.A., because they are illegal in Canada. Instead, a question on pepper spray, which is legal for use by Canadian police officers, is more relevant. Additional questions were also developed specifically for this study by the researcher and added to the questionnaire. The additional questions were used to measure attitudes associated with traditional and community policing and were derived from a review of the relevant literature.

The first section of the questionnaire contains a number of personal questions relating to the respondent's sex, age,

race, rank, educational level and years of service. These questions are used to explore whether attitudes can be explained by demographic data. Also, in order to examine the impact of work assignments and work experience on attitudes, questions on the current and previous sections that officers have worked in and the length of time in each section were also asked. An officer who has worked in the drug section for a number of years and who has recently been transferred to detachment work may have a different attitude towards the public than an officer who has worked on general detachment duties for several years. The different sections of the RCMP included on the questionnaire are detachment work (responding to complaints and investigations), G.I.S. (general investigative section, usually major crimes requiring detailed and immediate investigation), drug section and custom and excise. A space for 'other' sections is also included.

The second section of the questionnaire contains 35 items designed to measure six attitudinal indicators of traditional and community policing. The six attitudinal indicators measured by the survey questionnaire are presented below in

table 4.1. The actual questionnaire, which includes the 35 questionnaire items displayed in random order, is presented in Appendix B.

TABLE 4.1

ATTITUDINAL INDICATORS:

TRADITIONAL POLICING	COMMUNITY POLICING
high crime control orientation	low crime control orientation
high orientation towards the use of force	low orientation towards the use of force
high orientation towards police solidarity	low orientation towards police solidarity
low service orientation	high service orientation
negative attitude towards achieving community support	positive attitude towards achieving community support
negative attitude towards community cooperation	positive attitude towards community cooperation

Face validity was utilized to create these attitudinal indicators. Face validity refers to the selection of items that the researcher feels are logically related to the variables to be assessed (i.e. traditional and community policing).

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS

POLICE OFFICER:

For the purpose of this study, 'police officer' is operationalized by defining the officer as a full-time employee of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police with peace officer status (full powers of arrest). 'Peace officer status' is important because other full-time employees of the RCMP exist who do not have powers of arrest. For example, people working in communications and other generic functions are full-time employees of the RCMP but they do not have peace officer status.

Individual police officers were selected for this study if they fulfilled all of the following three criteria: individuals employed as full-time members of the RCMP (excluding special constables and auxiliary members); individuals having peace officer status as specified by government licensing; and individuals with more than five years experience with the RCMP. The third criteria is important to ensure the selection of those officers who have been trained to perform in the traditional model of policing

but who are now expected to work within the new community policing model.

The intent of these population criteria is to produce a homogeneous target population of RCMP officers who were trained to perform in the traditional model of policing. Operationalization based on these criteria exclude auxiliary members and special constables with the RCMP, other employees with the RCMP, new recruits to the force, and other members trained to perform in the new community policing model.

ATTITUDES:

Attitudes were operationalized with assistance from the work of Brooks, et al. (1993). A total of six attitudinal indicators were used in the research. Three indicators were used to measure an officer's orientation towards traditional policing; (1) crime control orientation, (2) orientation towards the use of force and (3) orientation towards police solidarity. And three were used to measure an officer's orientation towards community policing; (1) service

orientation, (2) orientation towards achieving community support and (3) orientation toward community cooperation.

A total of 35 questions were used to measure the above six attitudinal indicators which were scored on a Likert scale by choosing only one of the following responses for each question: SA (strongly agree), A (agree), N (neutral), D (disagree), and SD (strongly disagree). The coding was done such that high scores represent a high orientation towards the indicator measured and low scores represent a low orientation. A description on how each attitudinal indicator was scored and coded is presented below.

TRADITIONAL POLICING INDICATORS

1. CRIME CONTROL ORIENTATION

Crime Control Orientation was measured using eight questions to determine how oriented an officer was toward crime control as his/her appropriate role. The eight questions addressed the limitations of legal restrictions on police behaviour; probable cause requirements and their effectiveness; the appropriateness of using unethical means

and 'questionable practices'; the perception of interference by the Supreme Court; and what constitutes a good and effective police officer (Questions 1, 5, 8, 12, 19, 23, 26, and 27 in Appendix B).

These questions were measured on a Likert scale as described above. The responses were coded to give five points for strongly agree, four points for agree, three points for neutral, two points for disagree, and one point for strongly disagree. The response values (1 to 5 points) for the eight questions were added together to give a total score for crime control orientation with a maximum of 40 (5 points x 8 questions) and a minimum of 8 (1 point x 8 questions). High scores reflect an orientation toward crime control which is consistent with the traditional model of policing. Low scores reflect a low orientation towards crime control as the appropriate role of the police, which is more consistent with community policing.

2. ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE USE OF FORCE

Orientation Towards The Use Of Force, the second attitudinal indicator, was measured using four questions assessing attitudes toward the appropriateness of the use of various types of force by police. The survey questionnaire measured an officer's orientation towards the use of force through questions concerning the use of 'choke-holds', pepper spray and deadly force generally, as well as who should judge whether force has been excessive (Questions 2, 11, 18 and 22 in Appendix B). It is worth noting that the researcher was taught during training that RCMP policy on the lateral vascular neck restraint, commonly referred to as the 'choke hold', states that it can only be used if an officer fears grievous bodily harm for him/herself or others.

The responses were re-coded to give five points for strongly agree, four points for agree, three points for neutral, two points for disagree, and one point for strongly disagree. The response values (1 to 5 points) for the four questions were added together to give a total score for the indicator (orientation towards the use of force). The

possible scores ranged from a maximum of 20 (5 points x 4 questions) to a minimum of 4 (1 point x 4 questions). High scores for this indicator reflect an orientation toward the use of force which is consistent with traditional policing. Low scores reflect an orientation away from the use of force which would indicate an attitude more consistent with the community police model.

3. ORIENTATION TOWARD POLICE SOLIDARITY

The third attitudinal indicator of traditional policing, *Orientation Toward Police Solidarity*, consists of four questions measuring the likelihood of officers reporting infractions committed by fellow police officers. Officers were asked to state the likelihood that they would report a fellow officer for using unnecessary force, 'clearly' violating a citizen's charter rights, driving while intoxicated and speeding after being warned (Questions 7, 15, 30, and 35 in Appendix B).

These questions were coded such that one point was given for strongly agree, two points for agree, three points for

neutral, four points for disagree, and five points for strongly disagree. The response values (1 to 5 points) for the four questions were added together to give a total score for the indicator with a maximum score of 20 (5 points x 4 questions) and a minimum score of 4 (1 point x 4 questions). High scores for this indicator reflect a high degree of police solidarity which is an orientation 'not' to report fellow officers' violations. A high orientation towards police solidarity reflects an attitude consistent with traditional policing. A low orientation towards police solidarity is more consistent with community policing.

COMMUNITY POLICING INDICATORS

1. SERVICE ORIENTATION

One of the attitudinal indicators of community policing is a *Service Orientation* which is measured using nine questions to determine an officer's attitude toward service as the appropriate role of the police. These questions include the appropriateness of handling non-criminal calls; settling family disputes of a non-criminal nature; handling public

nuisances; assisting sick or injured citizens; helping citizens who are locked out of cars; as well as questions which directly focus on the appropriateness and effectiveness of the service role (Questions 4, 9, 13, 16, 20, 24, 28, 33 and 34 in Appendix B).

The responses were coded to give five points for strongly agree, four points for agree, three points for neutral, two points for disagree, and one point for strongly disagree. The response values (1 to 5 points) for the nine questions were added together to give a total score for the indicator (service orientation). The maximum possible score for service orientation is 45 (5 points x 9 questions) and the minimum possible score is 9 (1 point x 9 questions). High scores for this indicator reflect an orientation toward service which is expected of community police officers. Low scores reflect an orientation away from service as an appropriate role which is more consistent with traditional policing.

2. ORIENTATION TOWARD COMMUNITY COOPERATION

The second attitudinal indicator of community policing, *Orientation Toward Community Cooperation*, is measured using five questions to determine an officer's attitude towards receiving and soliciting the public's help in dealing with enforcement and community problems. Community police officers require a positive attitude towards cooperating with community members to solve problems they feel are the most troublesome and must be willing to accept input from the public on policing issues.

The questions for this indicator deal with an officer's attitude towards the following: community members calling the police if they see something suspicious; citizens reporting 'all' crimes if they are victimized; and the public calling the police to report community problems such as noisy juveniles. It also includes questions soliciting a police officer's attitude towards organizing, implementing and assessing programs to overcome enforcement problems with the aid of community members and towards soliciting the public's

participation in community policing programs (Questions 10, 17, 25, 31, and 32 in Appendix B).

The responses were coded to give five points for strongly agree, four points for agree, three points for neutral, two points for disagree, and one point for strongly disagree. The response values (1 to 5 points) for the five questions were added together to give a total score for orientation toward community cooperation with a maximum score of 25 (5 points x 5 questions) and a minimum score of 5 (1 point x 5 questions). High scores for this indicator reflect an attitude consistent with the community policing model. Low scores reflect an attitude more consistent with traditional policing.

3. ORIENTATION TOWARD COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Orientation Toward Community Support, a third attitudinal indicator of community policing, is measured using five questions concerning an officer's attitude towards working with the public to gain community support. A positive attitude towards achieving community support indicates that an

officer possesses one of the required attitudes for community policing.

To measure attitudes toward achieving community support, the questions solicit an officer's attitude towards working with the community to gain respect and support; reducing verbal and physical abuse of the police by the public; receiving fair treatment by the media; and increasing support for police actions. The last question on this item examines an officer's attitude towards accepting the public's advice on policing issues as a means of gaining public support (Questions 3, 6, 14, 21, and 29 in Appendix B).

The responses were re-coded to give five points for strongly agree, four points for agree, three points for neutral, two points for disagree, and one point for strongly disagree. The response values (1 to 5 points) for the five questions were added together to give a total score for the indicator (orientation toward community support) with a maximum score of 25 (5 points x 5 questions) and a minimum score of 5 (1 point x 5 questions). High scores for this indicator reflect an orientation towards achieving community

support, an attitude consistent with the community policing model. Low scores reflect an attitude more consistent with traditional policing.

STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

As stated above, the responses were measured on a Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Response values of 1 to 5 were assigned to the Likert scale which was then coded such that a high value to the question would reflect a high orientation toward the indicator being measured. In the Likert format, a response score of three reflects a neutral position. The response values for the questions used to measure each indicator were added together and a total score was then computed for each indicator. For example, the response values for all eight questions on crime control were added to give an overall score for the crime control indicator. High scores for orientation towards crime control, the use of force and police solidarity mean that the officer is oriented more towards the traditional style of policing. Low scores for these indicators represent an

attitude more consistent with community policing. High scores for orientation towards service, achieving community cooperation and community support mean that the officer is community police oriented. Low scores for these indicators mean that the officer has an attitude more consistent with traditional policing.

The general frequencies of the six indicators used in the study are presented in tabular form in chapter five showing the number of responses (N), scale means, and the minimum and maximum scores recorded for each attitudinal indicator measured. Correlation tables for the indicators are also presented. Finally, significance t-tests and anovas were used to determine if significant differences in attitudes could be explained by a variety of variables such as sex, race, rank, years of police service, education, current and previous assignments (sections in the RCMP) and length of time in each section.

This information is used to determine if the attitudes of RCMP officers in the province of Nova Scotia are oriented more towards the traditional model of policing or more towards the

community policing model. It also sheds some light on factors affecting police officer attitudes.

RESEARCH ETHICS

To ensure this research was ethical, the researcher followed and implemented ethical standards of survey research outlined in Babbie (1990: 338-351). Since this research asked the respondents to reveal personal information - personal characteristics and attitudes - respondents were told that participation in the survey was voluntary and that they had the option not to participate if they so desired.

The researcher also attempted to ensure that no harm was done to respondents by only asking questions vital to the research and by producing the results in aggregate statistics. With aggregate statistics it was hoped that respondents will not be able to specifically locate themselves in the study results and categorize themselves which may trouble them or threaten their self-image.

Finally, to ensure anonymity, respondents were advised not to identify themselves or put any identification marks on

their questionnaires. The officers selected were also advised that all completed questionnaires are confidential and will only be accessed by the researcher. In following these guidelines, the researcher attempted to ensure that the individual rights and privacy of the respondents were not violated. In this manner, this researcher feels that this study is ethically defensible.

CHAPTER FIVE
FINDINGS

This chapter presents a summary of the main characteristics of the sample of RCMP officers in the province of Nova Scotia who completed and returned the survey questionnaire. This is followed by a presentation of the findings on their attitudes related to traditional and community policing. Finally, the factors which generally affect police attitudes are discussed.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

A total of 150 questionnaires were completed and returned for analysis. This is 75% of the distributed questionnaires. The age distribution of the respondents is shown in Table 5.1. As can be seen in the Table, 8% of the sample are between the ages of 25-30, 14% between 31-35, 21.3% between 36-40, 23.3% between 41-45 and 33% are older than age 46. A total of 138 males and 9 females completed and returned the questionnaire with 3 persons failing to identify their sex. One hundred and

TABLE 5.1
AGE-GROUPS, FREQUENCY AND PERCENT OF SAMPLE

AGE-GROUPS	FREQUENCY	PERCENT (%)
25-30	12	8.0%
31-35	21	14.0%
36-40	32	21.3%
41-45	35	23.3%
46 +	50	33.3%

forty seven (147) respondents are white, 1 native, 1 other and 1 failed to respond to the question on race.

From these characteristics, it can be seen that the survey is dominated by white males. This finding is not surprising since only 11% of all police officers in Canada are women (The Sunday Daily News, September 13, 1998; page 9). In addition, the RCMP had only 0.8% visible minorities in 1990 (Seagrave, 1997; 97). However, it should be noted that after checking the data, no significant differences in attitudes were found between the male and female officers or the two minorities in the sample. Hence, all returned questionnaires were used in the final data analysis.

Also, the sample appears to be mature in age in that 92% of respondents are 31 years of age of older. Hence, these

officers have years of life experiences to draw upon when making decisions and dealing with the public. However, as people get older they may also tend to become more set in their ways. Adjusting to the new community policing model may pose a problem for senior officers.

Two more characteristics are of interest before taking a closer look at the implications of these data for the study. One of these is rank and the other is years of service. Table 5.2 presents the number of police officers and their rank along with the corresponding percentage of the sample.

TABLE 5.2
NUMBER OF POLICE OFFICERS BY RANK AND PERCENT OF SAMPLE

NUMBER OF OFFICERS	RANK	PERCENT OF SAMPLE
92	CONSTABLE	61.1%
25	CORPORAL	16.7%
12	SERGEANT	8.0%
13	STAFF SERGEANT	8.7%
8	INSPECTOR OR ABOVE	5.3%

Looking at the rank of the respondents reveals that 61.1% of the sample are Constables, 16.7% are Corporals, 8% are Sergeants, 8.7% are Staff Sergeants and 5.3% fell in the 'other' category which places them in the 'Officer' rank of

Inspector or above. This appears to be a representative cross section of the population of RCMP officers as a whole with the majority of officers at the Constable level.

As for the number of years of service in the RCMP, Table 5.3 presents the distribution of the respondents.

TABLE 5.3
YEARS OF SERVICE BY NUMBER OF OFFICERS AND PERCENT OF SAMPLE

YEARS OF SERVICE	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT OF SAMPLE
5-10 YEARS	29	19.3%
11-15 YEARS	16	10.7%
16-20 YEARS	31	20.7%
21-25 YEARS	31	20.7%
25 + YEARS	43	28.7%

In Table 5.3 it can be seen that 19.3% of the respondents have been in the RCMP between 5-10 years, 10.7% between 11-15 years, 20.7% between 16-20 years and the same for 21-25 years. Finally, the largest group of officers (28.7%) have more than 25 years experience in the RCMP. These data indicate that the sample of officers is quite senior in service, 80.7% of respondents have 11 or more years experience with the RCMP.

Based on the above characteristics, there are certain implications of these data for the study which must be

addressed. It can be seen from the data presented above that 92% of the sample are 31 years of age or older with 70% of the respondents having 16 + years of service and 61% are still Constables. According to the staffing and personnel section of the RCMP in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the average length of service in the RCMP when a Constable is promoted to Corporal is 12 years. Of course not everyone can be promoted and not all officers want to be promoted.

However, based on the researcher's personal experience as a police officer and conversations with senior officers, those who desire to advance through the ranks and have not yet succeeded often feel they have been unjustly passed over. This feeling has resulted in some of these officers displaying resentment and cynicism towards RCMP management and the public who demand service. These same officers often refer to themselves as 'fire proof', meaning they have so much police service that RCMP management will not, and cannot, dismiss them from the job without serious justification. As long as they 'tow the rope', they know their jobs are secure.

Furthermore, the training that many of the senior officers experienced 20 years ago is certainly different from today's training. Training 20 years ago did not include anything on the principles of community policing. How these senior officers view the changing nature of police work with the advent of community policing could have lasting implications on the effective implementation of community policing, especially if they do not receive any in-service training in this area.

Turning now to look at the different sections in the RCMP in which these officers work, Table 5.4 presents the data.

TABLE 5.4
SECTION WORKED BY NUMBER OF OFFICERS AND PERCENT OF SAMPLE

SECTION WORKED	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT OF SAMPLE
DETACHMENT	75	50%
GIS	9	6%
DRUG	12	8%
C & E	3	2%
OTHER	48	32%

In the above Table, it can be seen that 50% of the sample are currently working at the detachment level where officers provide their services by answering public complaints and

conducting investigations into matters such as break and enter, theft and domestic violence. These officers have the most direct contact with the general public. Only 6% of the sample work in the General Investigation Section; 8% in the Drug Section; 2% in the Customs and Excise section; 32% in 'other' sections of the RCMP and three respondents failed to reply to this question.

There were too many 'other' sections of the RCMP to put them all down on the questionnaire as possible choices or even to list them all here. However, some of these 'other' sections include the Identification Section, Staffing Section, Aboriginal and Visible Minority Policing Section, Community Policing and Victim Services Section, Administration Section, Corporate Crime Section, Special Operations, Emergency Response Team (ERT), Dog Handler Section, Copyright and Trademark Section, Firearms Section, Training Section, Airport Section, Media Relations Section, Polygraph Section, etc.

Only these four sections (Detachment Section, General Investigative Section, Drug Section and Custom and Excise Section) were put on the questionnaire as possible responses

to the question on 'sections worked' because the majority of RCMP officers work in these sections at the grass roots level. Although all police officers deal with the public at some level, officers from these sections have a lot of direct contact with members of the general public who will see and experience the effects of community policing by dealing directly with these police officers on a daily basis.

Table 5.5 presents the data on the findings for the post secondary education level of the respondents.

TABLE 5.5
YEARS OF POST SECONDARY EDUCATION BY NUMBER OF OFFICERS AND PERCENT OF SAMPLE

YEARS OF POST ED.	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT OF SAMPLE
0 YEARS	46	30.7%
1-2 YEARS	43	28.7%
3-4 YEARS	40	26.7%
5-6 YEARS	10	6.7%
7 + YEARS	3	2.0%

Table 5.5 shows that 30.7% of the sample indicated that they have no post secondary education; 28.7% of the respondents have 1-2 years; 26.7% have 3-4 years; 6.7% have 5-6 years; and 2% have more than 7 years at the post secondary level. Eight

of the respondents (5.3%) did not reply to the question on education. Twenty seven point three percent (27.3%) of respondents have completed university, 13.3% have completed college and 0.6% or 1 respondent completed post secondary education at a private school.

A large majority of the sample (69.3%) have some sort of post secondary education. This figure is relatively high considering the minimum education requirement for entry into the RCMP is still a grade 12 diploma. Many of these officers joined the RCMP when education was not as highly valued as it is today. However, only 41.2% of the sample have completed their post secondary education.

There are several implications of the wide range of education for community policing. Community policing requires officers with effective communication and interpersonal skills in order to organize and implement community policing projects and work hand-in-hand with community members to solve local troubling issues. These officers are also now required to de-escalate potentially violent situations, which might otherwise require the use of force, through increased verbal

intervention. In community policing, the use of force is considered the last option. An officer with a post secondary education is more likely to have improved, at the very least, his/her communication skills through schooling which may ease the transition from traditional to community policing. Furthermore, having a post secondary education increases one's knowledge base from which to draw when making decisions. Different education levels may have an affect on the degree and willingness of officers to adopt community policing.

Having reviewed the characteristics of the sample, it appears that a variety of RCMP officers of different ages, ranks, and education levels have been selected. These officers also have various years of police experience and different backgrounds when it comes to sections worked. The findings on police attitudes for the sample can now be presented.

POLICE ATTITUDES

The findings on the attitudes related to traditional and community policing are discussed below. The attitudinal

indicators of traditional policing as discussed in chapter three are crime control orientation, orientation towards the use of force and orientation towards police solidarity. The attitudinal indicators of community policing are service orientation and orientation toward both community support and cooperation. The general frequencies of these indicators are presented in Table 5.6 which shows the number of respondents (N), the mean score, the range of possible scores and respondents' minimum and maximum scores for each. For the range of possible scores, the mid-point of each scale is also presented, indicated by 'MID'.

Each of the above six attitudinal indicators is discussed in detail below. The three attitudinal indicators of traditional policing are presented first. This is followed by a look at the findings on the attitudes related to community policing.

TABLE 5.6
GENERAL FREQUENCIES OF THE ATTITUDINAL INDICATORS

ATTITUDINAL INDICATOR	N	MEAN SCORE	RANGE OF POSSIBLE SCORES	MINIMUM SCORE	MAXIMUM SCORE
1. Crime control orientation	148	19.797	8 TO 40 MID = 24	10.0	33.0
2. Orientation towards force	148	11.196	4 TO 20 MID = 12	5.0	18.0
3. Police solidarity	148	9.797	4 TO 20 MID = 12	4.0	16.0
4. Service orientation	142	33.183	9 TO 45 MID = 25	23.0	42.0
5. Community cooperation	146	21.178	5 TO 25 MID = 15	13.0	25.0
6. Community support	148	20.318	5 TO 25 MID = 15	9.0	25.0

TRADITIONAL POLICING

1. CRIME CONTROL ORIENTATION:

One of the attitudinal indicators associated with traditional policing is a crime control orientation. With eight questions used to measure this attitudinal area, the minimum possible score is eight and the maximum possible score is forty (8 questions x 5 points). Table 5.7 presents the findings for crime control orientation which have been grouped into four categories: low (8-15), moderately low (16-23), moderately high (24-31) and high (32-40).

TABLE 5.7
CRIME CONTROL ORIENTATION

VALUE GROUP	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT
8-15	28	18.9%
16-23	89	60.1%
24-31	30	20.3%
32-40	1	0.7%

Mean	19.797	Median	20.000	Std dev	4.495
Range	23.000	Minimum	10.000	Maximum	33.000
Valid cases	148	Missing cases	2		

In the above Table, it can be seen that 18.9% of the sample have a low crime control orientation; 60.1% are moderately low; 20.3% are moderately high; and only 0.7% or 1 respondent has a high crime control orientation. The mean score for this indicator is 19.797, well below the mid-point of twenty four (24) on the scale. Respondents scored a minimum value of ten and a maximum value of thirty three.

These data indicate that 79% of the sample have a moderately low to low crime control orientation. Twenty one percent (21%) have a moderately high to high orientation. Hence, the sample does not have a high crime control orientation which would indicate a traditional policing

attitude. A low crime control orientation is, however, consistent with the community policing philosophy.

A low crime control orientation does not coincide with the literature on socialization and the 'working personality' of police officers as described in chapter two. According to the literature, traditional police socialization and training focused large amounts of time on weapons use, self-defence and physical training, all of which are crime control related. This type of traditional training often led recruits to believe that police work is physically challenging and dangerous and resulted in officers developing a crime control orientation (Lundman, 1980:81). However, the findings for this research dispute this position.

Furthermore, the 'working personality' literature also depicts police officers as being crime control oriented, describing officers as being crime fighters first and foremost. For example, a study of role orientations in an unidentified Canadian Police force conducted by Perrot and Taylor (1995, 173-195) showed that police officers prefer to see themselves as crime fighters rather than as service

providers. These authors state that the police found their crime fighting activities to be clearly more socially significant and personally satisfying than other activities and perceived the highest degree of support from their peers, superiors and the public at large to be associated with these activities.

Another study on police roles, in which over 1,200 United States police officers were surveyed, found that 72% of the sample perceived their police role as crime fighter as compared to 'armed social worker' (Hunt, et al., 1983). Furthermore, research in British Columbia, Canada, found police officers to be unsupportive of the social service role (Seagrave, 1997: 64). However, based on the researcher's personal experience as a police officer in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, it is the social service role which preoccupies a great deal of a police officer's time.

A similar study to the current research on police attitudes conducted in the United States by Brooks, Piquero and Cronin (1993), revealed that officers were uncommitted in their opinion when it came to crime control orientation. The

scores for the scale in their research hovered around three in the Likert format which reflects an undecided position. Based on the literature, it appears that the finding of a low crime control orientation in the Nova Scotia RCMP contradicts much of the previous research on police attitudes.

2. **ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE USE OF FORCE:**

A second attitudinal indicator of traditional policing used in this study is an orientation towards the use of force. Four questions were used to measure this attitudinal area. The minimum possible score is four and the maximum possible score is twenty (4 questions x 5 points). Table 5.8 presents the findings for orientation towards the use of force. The scores on this indicator have also been grouped into four categories: low (4-7), moderately low (8-11), moderately high (12-15) and high (16-20).

Looking at Table 5.8, 8.1% of the sample have a low orientation towards the use of force, 46.6% are moderately low, 37.2% are moderately high and 8.1% have high orientation towards the use of force. The mean score for this indicator

TABLE 5.8
ORIENTATION TOWARDS THE USE OF FORCE

VALUE GROUP	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT
4-7	12	8.1%
8-11	69	46.6%
12-15	55	37.2%
16-20	12	8.1%

Mean	11.196	Median	11.000	Std dev	2.813
Range	13.000	Minimum	5.000	Maximum	18.000
Valid cases	148	Missing cases	2		

is 11.196, just below the mid-point of 12 on the scale. Respondents scored a minimum value of five and a maximum value of eighteen.

These data indicate that 54.7% of the sample have a moderately low to low orientation towards the use of force. 45.3% have a moderately high to high orientation. Thus, the sample is somewhat on the moderately low to low side of the scale. Scores around the midpoint of the scale indicate that the majority of the officers are not highly oriented in either direction when it comes to the use of force. It appears that they are uncommitted in their position. However, the overall attitudinal orientation is slightly more consistent with community policing than traditional policing.

This finding on the use of force is also contradictory to much of the literature on socialization and traditional police attitudes as they relate to the 'working personality' of police officers. According to the literature review in chapter two, traditionally, the use of force by the police has been emphasized through recruitment and training whereby officers are taught to be defensive and alert to the ever-present possibility of danger. This type of socialization and training has resulted in police officers being oriented towards the use and misuse of force (Seagrave, 1997; 185). The quantity of time spent on physical training and self-defence at the police academy results in a misleading image of police work (Lundman, 1980:81). In addition, Seagrave (1997:187) states that police agencies in the United States have a long history of corruption which is still evident today, such as the video recording of the beating of Rodney King.

In the same vein, a study of police officer attitudes on issues of physical abuse in the United States in 1985 revealed that 62% of the officers surveyed agreed with the statement

that an officer has the right to use excessive force for retaliation (Carter, 1985; 327). And 23.1% of the same officers agreed that excessive force is sometimes necessary to show an officer's authority.

In addition, according to the literature on 'working personality', police officers are depicted as authoritative, brutal, hard and cynical (Vincent, 1990:142-161). However, the findings of this research do not support this position since the sample is not highly oriented towards the use of force, nor are they strongly committed in either direction in their attitudes on force. They are, however, slightly more oriented on the low side of the scale.

These current findings on the use of force are very similar to a study conducted by Brooks, Piquero and Cronin (1993) in the U.S.A. which found police officers to be uncommitted in their opinion as well. Their sample scored almost perfectly on the mid-point of the Likert scale, reflecting an undecided position. Based on the researcher's personal experience as a police officer, this undecided opinion is not surprising given that a 'founded' public

complaint for excessive use of force could be detrimental to an officer's career. Hence police officers tend to be very neutral in discussions on use of force, even amongst themselves.

3. **ORIENTATION TOWARD POLICE SOLIDARITY**:

The third indicator used to measure on officer's orientation toward traditional policing is 'police solidarity'. Since four questions are used to measure this attitudinal area, respondents' minimum possible score is four and the maximum is twenty (4 questions x 5 points). Table 5.9 presents the findings for orientation towards police solidarity which is also grouped into four categories: low (4-7), moderately low (8-11), moderately high (12-15) and high (16-20).

According to Table 5.9, 14.2% of the sample have a low orientation towards police solidarity, 62.8% are moderately low, 21.3% are moderately high and only 1.4% have high orientation towards police solidarity. The mean score for this indicator is 9.797, which is below the mid-point of

TABLE 5.9
ORIENTATION TOWARDS POLICE SOLIDARITY

VALUE GROUP	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT
4-7	21	14.2%
8-11	93	62.8%
12-15	32	21.6%
16-20	2	1.4%

Mean	9.797	Median	10.000	Std dev	2.312
Range	12.000	Minimum	4.000	Maximum	16.000
Valid cases	148	Missing cases	2		

twelve (12) on the scale. Respondents scored a minimum value of four and a maximum value of sixteen.

These data indicate that 77% of the sample have a moderately low to low orientation towards police solidarity while only 23% have a moderately high to high orientation. The majority of the sample are very much on the moderately low to low side of the scale indicating an attitudinal orientation away from traditional policing and more consistent with community policing. In other words, a majority of officers in this sample are not likely to tolerate infractions committed by fellow officers.

Again, this finding is contradictory to much of the literature on the socialization of traditional police

officers, the 'working personality' of police officers and the police subculture. According to the literature reviewed in chapter two, training and socialization at the police academy results in the recruit identifying with fellow officers. In addition, during field training, the trainee learns that in order to be protected from his/her own mistakes, s/he must protect other officers. This same literature argues that officers are inclined to cover up a fellow officers' brutal acts, petty thefts and other illegal activity (Manen, 1973:410-411). The premise stated is that officers would never tell on another police officer, no matter what he or she does.

Furthermore, according to the literature on 'working personality', police officers are described as secretive in an environment that is perceived as hostile. However, the findings for this study do not support this position. Officers in the current research have a low orientation toward police solidarity indicating non-tolerance of infractions committed by fellow officers. Compared to the research on police solidarity conducted in the U.S.A. by Brooks, Piquero

and Cronin (1993), officers in their study scored above the mid-point of the Likert scale reflecting a positive orientation toward hiding a fellow officer's infractions.

In sum, the findings on these three attitudinal indicators show that the sample has a moderately low to low orientation towards traditional policing. For all three indicators (orientation towards crime control, use of force and police solidarity), the majority of the sample fell in the low and moderately low categories. For the traditional policing indicators, the findings demonstrate that the sample has an attitude that is more consistent with the goals and methods of community policing than those of traditional policing. The findings also contradict much of the literature on traditional policing and the 'working personality' of police officers.

COMMUNITY POLICING

1. SERVICE ORIENTATION:

'Service orientation' is one of the attitudinal indicators of community policing. A total of nine questions

were used to measure an officer's orientation towards service. Respondents' minimum possible score for this indicator is nine and the maximum possible score is forty five (9 questions x 5 points). Table 5.10 presents the findings for service orientation. The response scores have been grouped into four categories: low (9-17), moderately low (18-26), moderately high (27-35) and high (36-45).

TABLE 5.10
SERVICE ORIENTATION

VALUE GROUP	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT
9-17	0	0%
18-26	9	6.3%
27-35	87	61.3%
36-45	46	32.4%

Mean	33.183	Median	33.500	Std dev	4.318
Range	19.000	Minimum	23.000	Maximum	42.000
Valid cases	142	Missing cases	8		

In the above table, it can be seen that the mean score for this indicator is 33.183, which is well above the mid-point of twenty seven on the scale. Respondents scored a minimum value of twenty three and a maximum value of forty two. No one in the sample has a low service orientation and only 6.3% have a moderately low service orientation.

This is an extremely important finding. These officers were all trained to perform in the traditional policing model where service was not stressed as the most important role of a police officer. Yet, none of these officers have a low service orientation. If crime fighting was taught to be the most important role of a traditional police officer, one would expect that at least some officers would have a low service orientation. As stated above in the discussion on crime control orientation, previous research indicates that police officers prefer to see themselves as crime fighters and are unsupportive of the social service role (Perrot and Taylor, 1995: 173-195; Hunt, et al., 1983; Seagrave, 1997: 64).

However, the majority of this sample fall in the moderately high and high categories for service orientation. Sixty one point three percent (61.3%) of the sample population have a moderately high service orientation and 32.4% have a high service orientation. This means that 93.7% of the sample have a moderately high to high service orientation which indicates an attitudinal orientation very much consistent with community policing. Again, if these officers were trained for

traditional policing, where does the high service orientation come from?

Several explanations may account for this finding. Most RCMP officers in Nova Scotia work in smaller rural communities where residents and police officers often know each other by their first names. These officers have always been encouraged by senior management to become involved in their communities in some manner such as leaders of Wolf Cubs, Boy Scouts or Army Cadets. Based on personal conversations with several senior members of the RCMP in Nova Scotia during a Transformational Leadership Course held at the Canadian Coast Guard College in the Fall of 1997, these officers argue that they have always conducted community policing in these smaller communities except it was never labelled 'community policing'. They contend that the only thing that has changed with the adoption of 'community policing' is the degree and level of community involvement in policing issues. The community now has more input in deciding policing priorities through mediums such as police/community consultative groups. Forming

partnerships with residents and providing services to the community have not changed.

Another possible contributing factor for the finding of a high service orientation is the posting of information bulletins and signs regarding community policing in all RCMP detachments across Canada. The philosophy and definition of community policing according to the RCMP, including the idea of service to the public, is posted on the walls in all RCMP detachment offices for everyone to read. However, this posting of information has not been accompanied by in-service training for all members.

Policing small rural communities and posting signs about community policing in all RCMP detachments may be contributing factors in explaining the finding of a moderately high to high service orientation in the current research. This finding also contradicts the literature on the 'working personality' of police officers discussed in chapter two which describes police officers as impersonal and ignorant. The findings for this research do not support this position. If these officers were impersonal and ignorant, it is doubtful

they would have a high service orientation. Nowhere in the current literature are police officers described as having a high service orientation. Furthermore, the study conducted by Brooks, Piquero and Cronin (1993), reveals that their sample was undecided in their position on service orientation, scoring around the mid-point of the Likert scale, which reflects an undecided position towards service orientation. A high service orientation indicates an attitude consistent with community policing and is also inconsistent with other research on police attitudes (Hunt, et al., 1983; Brooks, Piquero and Cronin, 1993; Perrot and Taylor, 1995; Seagrave, 1997).

2. **ORIENTATION TOWARDS COMMUNITY COOPERATION**:

A second attitudinal indicator of community policing used in this study is orientation towards community cooperation. Five questions were used to measure an officer's orientation towards this indicator with a minimum possible score of five and the maximum possible score of twenty five (5 questions x 5 points). Table 5.11 presents the findings for orientation

towards community cooperation. Again, the response scores have been grouped into four categories: low (5-9), moderately low (10-14), moderately high (15-19) and high (20-25).

TABLE 5.11
ORIENTATION TOWARDS COMMUNITY COOPERATION

VALUE GROUP	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT
5-9	0	0%
10-14	1	0.7%
15-19	21	14.4%
20-25	124	84.9%

Mean	21.178	Median	21.000	Std dev	2.026
Range	12.000	Minimum	13.000	Maximum	25.000
Valid cases	146	Missing cases	4		

The mean score for this indicator is 21.178, which is well above the mid-point of fifteen on the scale. Five respondents scored the maximum possible value of twenty five with the lowest respondent scoring a minimum value of thirteen.

Looking at table 5.11, the findings for orientation towards community cooperation indicate that no one in the sample fell in the low orientation category and only one respondent (0.7%) fell in the moderately low category. This finding is very important since it is not consistent with officers who were trained and socialized to perform in the

traditional policing model. As stated in chapter three, one of the most consistent findings in the literature on traditional policing is that the police see themselves as existing in an adversarial relationship with the public (Shearing, 1981:375). In traditional policing, the public are estranged from the police and are not involved in the decision making process regarding crime and community problems (Green and Mastrofski, 1988). A finding of no one with a low community cooperation orientation and only one respondent with a moderately low orientation is very much inconsistent with the literature on traditional policing.

Even more interesting is the fact that 14.4% of the sample have a moderately high orientation toward community cooperation and 84.9% have a high orientation. This means that 99.3% of the sample have a moderately high to high orientation towards community cooperation. These findings clearly show that the sample does possess an attitude towards community cooperation that is very much consistent with the goals and philosophy of community policing. It also

contradicts much of the literature on traditionally trained police officers and their 'working personality'.

According to Skolnick and Bayley (1988:10) traditional police officers are estranged from the community because they view themselves as professionals who understand better than the public what must be done to preserve the community and enforce the law. The officers in this research were traditionally trained. However, they possess an attitude which indicates they are not estranged from the community but are more than willing to accept community input and cooperate with community members to solve troublesome local issues.

Furthermore, the literature argues that traditional formal police training and socialization focused on creating norms of defensiveness, professionalism and depersonalization (Harris, 1973). However, the officers in this research do not appear to possess attitudes which would indicate they are defensive when dealing with the community nor do they view themselves as professionals who know better than the public. These officers possess attitudes which indicate their willingness to work with the community on a personal level.

This finding of a high orientation towards community cooperation is also inconsistent with the literature on the 'working personality' of police officers which describes them as cynical, secretive, ignorant and sceptical of the public. If the officers in this research possessed these traits it is unlikely that they would be willing to accept input from the community and cooperate with community members.

Compared with the study conducted by Brooks, Piquero and Cronin (1993), officers in the current research appear to have a much higher orientation towards community cooperation than did officers in their sample. However, in their research, Brooks, Piquero and Cronin (1993) used four questions in which they asked police officers to estimate the percent of citizens who would be willing to cooperate with them in certain situations. This question was used to measure the officer's perception of community cooperation. The actual level of citizen cooperation was not measured. Officers in their sample estimated that only 64% of citizens would cooperate with them in some way. A high orientation towards community cooperation in the current research reflects an officers

attitude towards receiving and soliciting the public's help in dealing with enforcement and community problems, which is quite high.

3. **ORIENTATION TOWARDS COMMUNITY SUPPORT:**

The third attitudinal indicator of community policing is orientation toward community support. To measure this indicator, five questions were used to give a minimum possible score of five and a maximum possible score of twenty five (5 questions x 5 points). The findings for orientation toward community support are presented in Table 5.12. As with the other indicators, the response scores have been grouped into four categories: low (5-9), moderately low (10-14), moderately high (15-19) and high (20-25).

TABLE 5.12
ORIENTATION TOWARDS COMMUNITY SUPPORT

VALUE GROUP	NUMBER OF OFFICERS	PERCENT
5-9	1	0.7%
10-14	3	2.0%
15-19	48	32.4%
20-25	96	64.9%

Mean	20.318	Median	20.000	Std dev	2.869
Range	16.000	Minimum	9.000	Maximum	25.000
Valid cases	148	Missing cases	2		

In Table 5.12, it can be seen that only one respondent (0.7%) has a low orientation towards community support and three respondents (2%) are moderately low. Again, this is an interesting finding given these officers were traditionally trained. Thirty two point four percent (32.4%) of the sample have a moderately high orientation towards community support and 64.9% have a high orientation. The mean score for this indicator is 20.318, well above the mid-point of fifteen on the scale. Eleven respondents scored the maximum possible value of twenty five for this indicator with one respondent scoring a minimum value of nine.

These data indicate that the sample has a high orientation towards community support. Only 2.7% of the

sample have a moderately low to low orientation towards community support. The vast majority of the sample (97.3%) have a moderately high to high orientation towards community support. These findings contradict the literature on traditionally trained police officers and their 'working personality'. As stated above, one of the most consistent findings in the literature on traditional policing is that the police see themselves as existing in an adversarial relationship with the public (Shearing, 1981:375). They also view themselves as professionals who know better than the public what must be done to preserve the community (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988:10). Hence a finding that traditionally trained police officers are willing to accept the public's advice and work with community members to gain respect and support is inconsistent with the literature.

Furthermore, according to the literature on 'working personality' discussed in chapter two, traditional occupational socialization into police work produces officers who are suspicious, secretive, authoritative, violent and cynical (Vincent, 1990; Roberg and Kuykendall, 1993). The

findings for this indicator contradict this position and demonstrate that the sample unequivocally possesses an attitude towards community support consistent with the community policing philosophy.

In addition, looking at the study conducted by Brooks, Piquero and Cronin (1993), officers in their sample were found to be uncommitted in their position on community support, scoring around the mid-point of the Likert scale. Their research examined officers' beliefs that citizens respect them, abuse them or treat them fairly. The current research surveyed the attitudes of officers towards accepting the public's advice on policing issues and working with community members to gain respect and support, receive fair treatment and reduce abuse.

To sum up, the findings show that the sample has a moderately high to high orientation towards community policing. More specifically, the majority of the sample have a moderately high service orientation and a high orientation towards both community cooperation and support. Hence, the sample has an attitude that is consistent with the goals and

methods of community policing. The findings also contradict much of the literature on traditionally trained police officers and the 'working personality'.

CORRELATION OF THE ATTITUDES

All the attitudinal indicators of both styles of policing have been correlated with each other and the results are presented below. Table 5.13 presents the data utilizing Pearson Correlations.

TABLE 5.13
CORRELATION MATRIX OF ATTITUDINAL INDICATORS

	CRIME CONTROL	USE OF FORCE	POLICE SOLID.	SERVICE ORIENT.	COMMUN. COOP.	COMMUN. SUPPORT
CRIME CONTROL		**.5455* P= .000**	.0902 P= .338	**-.3600* P= .000**	**-.2260* P= .015**	**-.3479* P= .000**
USE OF FORCE	**.5455* P= .000**		.0633 P= .502	-.1081 P= .250	-.0623 P= .508	-.1549 P= .098
POLICE SOLID.	.0902 P= .338	.0623 P= .502		**-.3351* P= .000**	-.1440 P= .125	**-.2404* P= .010**
SERVICE ORIENT.	**-.3600* P= .000**	-.1081 P= .250	**-.3351* P= .000**		**.5512* P= .000**	**.5079* P= .000**
COMMUN. COOP.	**-.2260* P= .015**	-.0623 P= .508	-.1440 P= .125	**.5512* P= .000**		**.5893* P= .000**
COMMUN. SUPPORT	**-.3479* P= .000**	-.1549 P= .980	**-.2404* P= .010**	**.5079* P= .000**	**.5893* P= .000**	

***= significant correlation: .01**

Many of the correlations are relatively insignificant. However, some meaningful relationships do appear. As was expected, crime control orientation is negatively correlated with service (r= -.36). Traditional police officers who are crime control oriented are unlikely to view service as the appropriate role of the police and vise a versa. Also as expected, service orientation is positively correlated with orientation towards both community cooperation (r= .5512) and community support (r= .5079). However, crime control orientation has an opposite relationship with these indicators. Crime control orientation is negatively correlated with both community cooperation (r= -.3479) and community support (r= -.3479). Orientation towards community cooperation has a positive association with orientation towards community support (r= .5893). Not surprisingly, crime control orientation has a positive association with orientation towards the use of force (r= .5455).

One surprising finding is that police solidarity is not significantly correlated with crime control orientation nor with orientation towards the use of force. All three are

traditional policing indicators. One might expect the three indicators of traditional policing to be positively correlated. However, the findings indicate that the only indicators significantly correlated with police solidarity are service orientation (r= -.3351) and orientation towards community support (r= -.2404). These negative correlations mean that officers who have a high service orientation and a high orientation towards community support are more likely to report a co-worker's infractions. Orientation towards the use of force was found to be not significantly related to the community policing indicators. This may be attributed to the fact that many of the officers were undecided in their position on use of force, scoring around the midpoint of the scale which is a neutral point. There are no other significant correlations between the indicators, and the standard deviations were small.

In conclusion, the findings for all six attitudinal indicators suggest that *the sample does possess the required attitudes to conduct community policing while at the same time remaining somewhat committed to the qualities of the*

traditional style of policing. Generally speaking, officers were uncommitted in their attitudes towards the use of force and, to some degree, towards police solidarity as well since officers scored near the midpoint of the Likert scale for both indicators.

One thing is clear from the analysis, crime control orientation and service orientation are opposites. They are negatively correlated in this study and others. Furthermore, service orientation is associated with so called 'positive' attitudes such as the belief in working with community members for support and solving local troubling issues. Service orientation is also inversely correlated with 'negative' attitudes such as police solidarity where officers are inclined to hide fellow offices' infractions.

Along the same lines, officers who are oriented to crime control appear to feel more negative towards working with the community for support and cooperation. Furthermore, these same officers seem to be more inclined to use force against those they arrest. The findings suggest that crime control oriented officers see the community in a less favourable light

than service oriented officers. The sample is more service oriented than crime control oriented.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

CONCLUSION

This thesis examines police attitudes concerning their communities and their policing roles. The attitudes of 150 RCMP officers across the province of Nova Scotia, who were trained and socialized to perform in the traditional model of policing, are measured using a closed-ended questionnaire with a Likert scale. The questionnaire measures six different attitudinal indicators related to policing; three indicators are related to 'traditional policing' (crime control orientation, orientation toward force and orientation toward police solidarity) and three are associated with 'community policing' (service orientation, orientation toward community cooperation and orientation toward community support).

A high orientation toward crime control, force and police solidarity is expected in traditional policing. The research findings show that the majority of the sample have a moderately low to low orientation towards all three indicators of traditional policing. These findings indicate that the

sample has an attitude that is more consistent with the ideas and philosophy of community policing than that of traditional policing.

It is relevant to note that there is nothing intrinsically problematic with an emphasis on a crime control orientation. Even with the advent of community policing, society will continue to see the value of reactive policing and the apprehension of criminals. However, a rigid adherence to the crime fighting role may alienate officers from the community and contribute to officers experiencing role conflict as police institutions continue to promote and encourage the service orientation aspect of community policing. It is important for community policing that officers see other beneficial roles of police work, and not see crime fighting as their only role.

In the same vein, a high orientation toward service, community cooperation and community support is expected of community police officers. The findings show that the sample has a moderately high to high service orientation, a high orientation towards community cooperation and a high

orientation towards community support. The findings indicate that officers are oriented favourably towards these indicators of community policing. *Hence, the findings for the sample suggest that officers do possess the required attitudes to conduct community policing while at the same time remaining somewhat committed to the qualities of the traditional style of policing.*

A general portrait of police officers who are the least oriented toward community policing are Constables, 25-30 years old with 5-10 years service, who have not worked in any previous section of the RCMP other than their current section. Police officers who are the most oriented to community policing have more than 16 years service, have worked in other sections of the RCMP, are at least 36 years old and have worked in their current section 3 years or less. Hence, the findings show that as officers get older, gain more experience, move up the ranks and into different sections, their orientation toward both crime control and force decreases, resulting in officers having a higher orientation towards community policing.

An important finding worthy of note relates to the fact that the public has more contact with Constables than any other rank. Constables are often given the responsibility of implementing many of the community policing programs and delivering services to community members. However, the findings show that Constables have the highest crime control orientation, the lowest service orientation and the lowest orientation toward both community cooperation and community support of all the ranks. In sum, Constables were found to be the least community-minded. Even though Constables possess the required attitudes to conduct community policing, the findings indicate that they are a little behind the higher ranks in their community policing orientation.

The findings of this research are extremely important because they indicate a considerable variation in attitudes among Nova Scotia RCMP officers. These findings contradict the homogeneous "working personality" portrayed in the literature (Vincent, 1990). Based on the findings from this research, one can clearly see that there is not a single

personality type with all police officers possessing the same attitudes.

These findings also call into question the extent to which the police subculture commonly described in the literature still exists today (Skolnick, 1966, Niederhoffer, 1967; Forceses, 1992; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994). Many of the theories on the police subculture and the "working personality" were developed over thirty years ago (Skolnick, 1966; Niederhoffer, 1967). Much has changed in the realm of policing since that time. The findings from this research indicate that there is much diversity in the extent to which police officers exhibit a common working personality or share similar attitudes.

Furthermore, in general, the attitudes of Nova Scotia police officers contrast with previous research in Canada and the U.S.A. (Seagrave, 1997; Perrot and Taylor, 1995; Hunt, et al.,1983). Nowhere in any previous literature are police officers described as having a high service orientation and a low crime control orientation. The environment in which the police officers work may have an affect on attitudes. It is

questionable whether or not police officers (from the same organization) employed in small rural communities would possess similar attitudes as their fellow officers working in a large urban setting, i.e. police attitudes may vary with the type of community policed.

In conclusion, police institutions interested in implementing some aspect of community policing to improve relations between the police and the community would benefit by considering the attitudes of their officers involved in these programs. Based on this research, it seems important to have some knowledge of the attitudes of officers toward their community and their policing roles so that these attitudes can be influenced in a positive way. Community policing seems to be here to stay and police forces will continue to confront any future challenges using the service model of policing.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Obviously other characteristics besides 'socialization' affect officer attitudes and these were not included in the research. Factors such as the organizational structure of the

police force, the promotion process for officers and neighbourhood characteristics play a role in shaping police attitudes. In addition, the extent to which the police subculture exists in all police departments can be questioned. In Canada, there are several different police agencies including the RCMP, provincial, municipal and regional forces. It is questionable whether or not police officers from different police agencies share a similar subculture in terms of attitudes. More research needs to be conducted in these areas to obtain a better understanding of factors affecting police attitudes and the extent to which the traditional police subculture as described by Skolnick (1966) exists in today's police agencies.

Future research may also focus on comparing the attitudes of police officers from the same agency who work in different environments such as rural, community environments versus more urban settings. Perhaps common subcultural characteristics may be more prevalent in certain environments. It would be interesting to examine the attitudes of RCMP officers who are responsible for policing small rural

communities in Nova Scotia as compared to RCMP officers working in North Vancouver or Surrey, British Columbia.

There is also a need for comparative research with junior officers who have recently been socialized into community policing. However, this research would have to be conducted outside of Nova Scotia in a location where the RCMP have a sufficient number of officers who have recently been trained under the community policing philosophy. As previously mentioned, the majority of new recruits with the RCMP are transferred to British Columbia directly after training. Comparing the attitudes of new recruits in the RCMP to more senior officers may shed some light on factors affecting police attitudes.

There is also a need for a longitudinal study examining the attitudes of officers with different levels of seniority. The findings for this study indicate different attitudes amongst officers with different levels of seniority. However, there is no way of knowing if the attitudes of the officers reflect the different experiences of different cohorts or change over time. Only a longitudinal study can answer this

question. Certainly, more research needs to be conducted in these areas to better understand which other factors affect police attitudes and whether or not one single police subculture still exists today.

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APPENDIX A

To whom it may concern,

My name is CST. David Lilly of the Cape Breton Regional R.C.M.P. Detachment. In a few days you will be receiving in the mail a questionnaire on police attitudes. The purpose of this letter is to ask for your co-operation in a study I am conducting through the Department of Sociology at Memorial University in partial requirement for an M.A. degree. **You are 1 of 200 members of the R.C.M.P. 'randomly' selected to participate in this study.** Participation in this study is voluntary. I realize that we already have enough paperwork to do and our time is very valuable, so I have made this questionnaire as brief as possible to ensure it can be completed in the least amount of time while still covering the relevant issues.

I cannot stress enough that your 'timely' participation in this study is necessary to make this research successful since only 200 members have been selected to take part. So please take a few minutes to complete the questionnaire as soon as you receive it and not file it to do later. **Your responses are guaranteed 100% confidential as you will not be required to make any identifiable marks on the survey.** Just return the questionnaire in the self addressed envelope provided.

I would like to THANK YOU in advance for your co-operation and participation in this survey. Please contact me via ROSS (DLILLY) or phone (902) 564-1323 (W) OR (902) 539-2032 (H) at any time if you have any questions or reservations about this research. I will gladly respond to your concerns or comments. You may also contact Dr. Robert Hill, my thesis supervisor at Memorial University ({709} 737-7453 work) if you have any questions about this research project.

Thank you for your time.

DAVID LILLY, CST.

APPENDIX B

POLICE OFFICER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

In recent years, police forces across Canada and around the world have began to revise police practices with little or no input from police officers on their attitudes towards policing issues. However, this survey is intended to do just that, to solicit police officer attitudes in several policing areas. A number of statements concerning these matters follow. You are asked to give your **"personal opinion"** about each statement.

The first section of this questionnaire solicits a few personal characteristics about you. Please circle the appropriate response below each question making sure no personal identification is placed on the questionnaire. **Remember, all completed questionnaires are totally anonymous and results will only be produced in aggregate statistics.**

The second section of the questionnaire deals specifically with police attitudes. Specifically, this is what you are asked to do. Read each statement and using the answer key provided below, decide on the extent to which you **"personally"** agree or disagree with the statement. Then circle the appropriate response on the line below the statement.

You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements and disagreeing just as strongly with others. In each instance, circle the response that comes closest to representing your own **"personal"** opinion. Be sure you make only one choice for each statement. Please do not skip any items.

KEY: SA= Strongly Agree
A= Agree
N= Neutral
D= Disagree
SD= Strongly Disagree

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS: SECTION ONE

1. What is your age group?

   25-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46 UP

2. What is your sex?

   MALE FEMALE

3. What is your race?

   WHITE NATIVE BLACK OTHER (specify) _____

4. What is your current rank?

   CST. Cpl. Sgt. Stf. Sgt OTHER: _____

5. How many years have you been a member of the R.C.M.P.?

   5-10 11-15 16-20 21-25 25 up

6. In what section of the R.C.M.P. are you currently working?

   Det. GIS DRUGS C-AND-E OTHER: _____

7. How many years have you worked in your current section?

   0-3 4-7 8-11 12-15 16 OR MORE

8. In what section did you work prior to your current section? (IF ANY)

   None Det. GIS DRUGS C-AND-E OTHER: _____

9. How many years did you work in this previous section? (IF APPLICABLE)

   0-3 4-7 8-11 12-15 15 OR MORE

10. If you have worked in any other sections before those indicated in questions 7 and 8, please indicate below which ones and the number of years served?

None Det. GIS DRUGS C-AND-E OTHER: _____

0-3 4-7 8-11 12-15 15 OR MORE

11. What type, if any, of post secondary educational facility have you attended?

NONE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE PRIVATE

12. If you attended a post secondary facility, did you complete your field of study **(CIRCLE NOT APPLICABLE, OR YES OR NO UNDER THE GIVEN FACILITY)**?

NOT APPLICABLE	UNIVERSITY		COLLEGE		PRIVATE	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO

13. How many years of post-secondary education do you possess in total (including completed and non-completed programs)?

0 1-2 3-4 5-6 7 or more

POLICE OFFICER'S QUESTIONNAIRE: SECTION TWO

1. If police officers in high crime areas had fewer restrictions on their use of force, many of the serious crime problems in those neighbourhoods would be greatly reduced.

SA A N D SD

2. When a police officer is accused of using too much force, only other police officers are qualified to judge.

SA A N D SD

3. Co-operating with the media will help the police receive fair treatment by the press.

SA A N D SD

4. One role of a police officer is to handle calls that involve social or personal problems where no crime is involved.

SA A N D SD

5. Police officers must sometimes use unethical means to accomplish enforcement of the law.

SA A N D SD

6. Police officers should work with the community to gain respect and support.

SA A N D SD

7. I would arrest a fellow officer for driving while intoxicated.

SA A N D SD

8. Police officers would be more effective if they didn't have to worry about "probable cause" requirements for searching citizens.

SA A N D SD

9. Police should help settle family disputes even when no crime has occurred (ie: no assaults or threats).

SA A N D SD

10. Community members should call the police if they see something suspicious.

SA A N D SD

11. Police officers should be allowed to use choke-holds against everyone who resists arrest.

SA A N D SD

12. Many of the decisions by the Supreme Court interfere with the ability of police to fight crime.

SA A N D SD

13. Police should handle public nuisance problems.

SA A N D SD

14. Working with the community will increase the public's support of police actions and reduce community problems.

SA A N D SD

15. I would report a fellow officer for clearly violating a citizen's chartered rights.

SA A N D SD

16. Police officers should assist sick or injured persons.

SA A N D SD

17. The public should call the police to report community problems such as noisy juveniles in neighbourhoods.

SA A N D SD

18. Police officers should be allowed to use pepper spray to combat any degree of resistance to arrest.

SA A N D SD

19. Sometimes police are justified in using "questionable practices" to achieve good ends.

SA A N D SD

20. Police officers should assist citizens who are locked out of their cars.

SA A N D SD

21. Community support of the police is greatly improved by an officer's willingness to accept public advice on policing issues.

SA A N D SD

22. Police should be able to use deadly force against an armed suspect, even if no one's life is in 'immediate' danger.

SA A N D SD

23. A good patrol officer is one who patrols for serious violations rather than responding to non-emergency calls for service.

SA A N D SD

24. Police officers should be responsible for organizing, implementing and assessing programs with the aid of the public to overcome enforcement problems.

SA A N D SD

25. An effective patrol officer is one who prefers to stop a number of vehicles, and run warrant checks on people who look suspicious than to respond to calls for public assistance.

SA A N D SD

26. In order to prevent crime, it is more effective to stop and question juveniles on their actions than to waste time developing personable relations with them.

SA A N D SD

27. Policing should be seen as a service organization.

SA A N D SD

28. Police officers acting in a service capacity do not detract from their ability to fight crime.

SA A N D SD

29. Working with the community reduces the likelihood of the public physically abusing the police.

SA A N D SD

30. I would report a fellow officer for clearly using 'unnecessary' force (e.g. hitting with a defensive baton, kicking, punching) when making an arrest.

SA A N D SD

31. Citizens should report 'all' crimes to the police if they are victimized.

SA A N D SD

32. Police officers should solicit community participation in community policing programs.

SA A N D SD

33. It is a police obligation to respond to public calls for assistance.

SA A N D SD

34. The police must be responsive to the political forces in the community (e.g. community council and other community groups).

SA A N D SD

35. I would ticket a fellow officer for speeding if a warning did not suffice.

SA A N D SD