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Reproducing the Municipal Police Organization, or

"If it ain't broke, don't fix it"

by

David Gordon Horne, B.A., M.A. M.P.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

April 1, 1993

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"If it ain't broke, don't fix it"

Submitted by

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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May 19, 1993

Abstract

The social acceptance of the police within modern day society has become a preoccupation of the police. Historically, the police have sought to maintain a legitimate role within society, at times acting at the direct orders of the state, while at others, acting mostly in their own interests and upon their own agenda. Recently, in response to potential fiscal crises in the local state, and calls for police reform, the police have adopted "community-based" policing, a wide-ranging and vague strategy aimed at sharing responsibility for social control with the public.

Related to the ideology of community-based policing, the police have also adopted a information gathering technique which demonstrates the strong public support which the police institution has in Western society, the public opinion survey. Public opinion surveys concerning criminal justice topics have been used by government during the last 30 years. However, their wide-spread use among police agencies has only been a recent phenomena of the last 5 years. Surveys offer the senior police official an ideal mechanism to demonstrate public support for local police since surveys, by definition, value each and every respondents' opinion equally, and thereby, are inherently democratic. Surveys also appear to be objective since they are conducted according to scientifically correct rules of procedure and social and statistical representativeness, and, therefore, diminish the possibility of allegations of self-interest on the part of the police officials. Public opinion surveys, then, offer the senior police official the ability to demonstrate the legitimacy of his organization and, as such, act as a resource for ensuring the continued public acceptance of the police institution.

Drawing upon the theoretical perspective of Weber, the study adopts the concept of social action, insofar as humans intervene in their social world in response to what they believe to be a legitimate order. Such intervention is purposively rational, or in other words has "means-end" components. Human action therefore, sustains the legitimate order.

The study also recognizes that human action will sustain institutions such as the police, as part of the legitimate social order. Police not only intervene in their social world as "reproducers of order" (Ericson, 1982) in society, but also embark upon social action to reproduce the institution of police itself. Senior police officers are not only purposively rational actors, but act in such a way that the bureaucratic police institution is viewed as legitimate. Thus, the study relies upon Weber's concept of "bureaucracy" to explain the actions of police officials. Taken together, these concepts of social action and bureaucracy suggest that senior police officials are effective intervenors in their social world who orient their action to a what they believe to be a legitimate order in order to reproduce the bureaucratic police organization.

The study is interpretive in nature in that it seeks to understand the motives of senior police officials with respect to engaging in public opinion surveys. As such, the study seeks a understanding of senior bureaucratic police officials purposive rational action insofar as the "overt action" and the reasons for engaging in the overt action have been comprehended by the researcher (Weber, 1947:99). To accomplish this understanding of senior police official action, the study relies upon intensive interviews with relevant senior police officials and documentary evidence to reach its conclusions.

This study considers the use of public opinion surveys by two geographically adjacent police organizations, and a third police agency (adjacent to the first two) which considered a survey but did not pursue this course of action. The study compares the organizations on a number of dimensions including, community-based policing, opinions concerning consolidation of police organizations, reasons for engaging in public opinion surveys, and, uses of survey results. The study concludes that senior police officials engage in public opinions survey concerning their organizations so as to demonstrate public support to internal and external audiences and thereby, preserve their bureaucratic autonomy within the local state.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the culmination of a five year-long doctoral program, three years of which was accomplished full-time (i.e., without any other major distractions), while the remainder was completed while employed full-time. That the dissertation was completed within this time period is due, in a very large way, to the support of a number of key people.

My wife, Nancy Lewis-Horne, was most influential in this process. She took time out of her busy schedule, as Senior Resident to a undergraduate residence, a full-time mother to Duncan and Morgan, and a community college lecturer, to help me in a multitude of ways. Nancy not only read drafts of the dissertation, but also provided the moral encouragement which is critical to the completion of the program. I am deeply in her debt.

My supervisor, Dennis Forcece, also played a major role in the program. Dennis provided consistent and valuable advice and direction during all phases of my doctoral program. He also provided introductions to senior police officials in the Ottawa-Carleton, which was critical to gaining access to the various research sites.

Members of my committee, Terry Nosanchuk, Charlie Gordon and, initially, Tullio Caputo also provided valuable advice and direction during the various program phases. Their suggestions and comments greatly improved my work and expanded my horizons.

Various members of the participating Ottawa-Carleton police agencies provided assistance in interviews and collection of documents. Special thanks goes to Alex Mackie

and Steve Kanellakos (Gloucester), Wayne Levere and John MacKay (Nepean) and Richard Brzozowski and Brian Ford (Ottawa).

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police also provided support in the form of a flexible work schedule during the dissertation research and writing stage. Specifically, I am indebted to Assistant Commissioner Bob Currie and Chief Superintendent Brian Davison for their understanding.

My parents, Joan and Bob Home, played a very influential role throughout the doctoral program. They offered emotional support and encouragement during the entire process.

Deanna MacArthur and Greg Jenkins provided valuable support as research assistants, often completing assignments on very short notice and in very short order.

Finally, my children, Duncan and Morgan, endured a sometimes part-time father, but nonetheless, provided encouragement and relief from a very chaotic environment. Their warm smiles and zest for life provided me with the desire to complete this project.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Public acceptance of the police as a legitimate institution within society has been commonplace in today's Western world. Traditionally, however, the acceptance of the police as an institution has been hampered by high profile examples of police acting as a coercive and sometimes brutal force aimed at securing order amongst certain groups within society. In the past, the police have acted at the behest of government and been responsible for controlling or seeking to control working classes, aboriginal peoples and immigrants (see generally, Harring, 1983; Brown and Brown, 1973, and Boritch, 1987, respectively).

However, as Giddens (1985) advises, social control in the modern day state, has changed from the control based on physical means (i.e., brute force) to control based on surveillance, or information. Police organizations have engaged in surveillance activities, largely through the adoption of the crime control model which casts the police as "protectors of society". In response to the social unrest in the 1960's, the police adopted a "rapid response" model which emphasized the use of technology (i.e., computer aided dispatch, fingerprint identification, directed patrol) in order to "do something" about crime. In accounting for their activities or requesting more resources to fight crime, the police have frequently used information about crime (usually crime rates) in order to demonstrate their effectiveness or support their requests (Murphy and Muir, 1985).

During the late 1970's and early 1980's the limitations of the crime control model became apparent. Faced with the unenviable prospect of increasing crime in spite of increased technological and human resources, the crime control model came under

criticism as narrow, ignoring the majority of police activity, and resulting in "neglect of other important police functions" (Murphy and Muir, 1985: 75-79). In contrast, "progressive policing" philosophy suggested "community-based" policing as a strategy whereby the police and the public would be "co-producers of order", and thereby, the responsibility for crime and social order would be shared.

Amidst this shift in policing philosophies, the police can no longer rely exclusively upon crime based information to demonstrate their effectiveness. In effect, the "rules of the game" have changed in the politics of policing, where those who make decisions about police resources no longer rely solely upon arrests, or number of crimes reported or solved upon which to base their decisions. In order to demonstrate their worth, police must now provide information concerning their community and its support for the police and their activities. Police organizations have responded with a number of strategies, including police-community consultative committees and public opinion surveys, to satisfy the demand for community-oriented information.

Opinion surveys concerning the police are not new. Surveys of public attitudes towards the police in Canada, Great Britain and Australia have consistently shown support for the police. These surveys have been used in the last 30 years to gauge public support, to assist in evaluating police innovations, to measure the incidence of hidden crime, and to assess victim satisfaction with the police. Surveys have however, until very recently, not been undertaken by the police themselves. There is evidence which suggests that police are increasingly participating in the collection and dissemination of public survey information concerning their organizations, either with a third party organization (e.g.,

provincial police commission) or using internal resources.

In the last 10 years, public surveys have increasingly been used by police organizations for a variety of purposes, from strategic planning to evaluation of innovations, to demonstrating support for local independent police agencies. Faced with a local state fiscal environment which requires the police (amongst other agencies of the local state) to do "more with less", the police have adopted the collection of survey information as a strategy to suggest that what they currently are doing is "fine, thank you very much", demonstrating the public approval and legitimacy of their organizations. The social acceptance of their organizations is critical to the effectiveness of the police as they are dependent upon the public, first to provide information concerning crime, and second, to support the continuance of their organizations.

The demonstration of social acceptance or legitimacy of the police is the problem to be addressed by this dissertation. That the police are dependent upon the public for their cooperation has been recognized by mainstream (e.g., Mark, 1977) and critical observers (e.g., Brogden, 1981). As Brogden (1981:203) has advised, "[c]rucial to police power is public acceptance". This study views public acceptance of the police not as a given, but rather as a process in which the police act to construct and maintain their acceptance by the public. As such, the police "enact" (Weick, 1969) their environment.

That the police respond to their legitimate status within society with action that further increases their legitimacy is an important area for inquiry for a number of reasons. First, from a theoretical perspective, such an approach does not a priori determine the role of the police within society based on a particular theoretical model such as either "agents

of capital", "definers of deviance", or "servants of the state". Therefore, the conception of police as actors within their environment allows for human agency or the possibility of human intervention. Second, the conception of police as human agents who enact their social legitimacy does not examine human action in isolation from structural concerns. Rather, this approach links human action with structure. As Giddens (1984:17) has suggested, action and structure "presuppose each other". Examining the police as human agents who enact their social world, similarly links the actions of individuals with broader structural concerns.

Finally, the study seeks to understand the action of senior police officials. Except for a few studies of chiefs of police (e.g., Grosman, 1975, Mayo, 1983, 1987, Reiner, 1991) or senior officers (e.g., Schneider, 1991), little is known about senior police officials or their policies (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987:8). The influence of senior police officers, particularly chiefs of police, on police organizations and their operations has been documented in the literature (e.g., Holten and Jones, 1978:136; Clairmont, 1990:20; Griffiths et al., 1980:78; and Skolnick and Bayley, 1986:220). However, except for their influence on the organization, little is known about senior police officials, their activities and how the surrounding environment influences them. Therefore, this study seeks to add to the limited knowledge base concerning senior police officials.

The study draws upon Weber's conceptions of social action and bureaucracy in order to provide a theoretical explanation for the use of surveys by the police. According to Weber, humans are purposively rational insofar as they engage in overt action to accomplish some end. The action is, however, "social" insofar as humans orient their

behaviour to the actions of others. According to Weber, social action occurs in the context of a legitimate order, or socially acceptable standard for behaviour. Social action occurs in support of that social order, which includes social institutions such as the police. Senior police officials are, therefore, not only purposively rational actors, but also act in a way that the police institution itself is reproduced as part of the legitimate order.

Weber (1968) also noted that bureaucracy is a purposive rational form of social action. He (Weber, 1968:987) observed: "[b]ureaucracy is *the* means of transforming social action into rationally organized action". For Weber (1968:987), the power of bureaucracy was superior to other forms of collective social action. Senior police officers are, then, bureaucratic officials in charge of a very powerful form of purposively rational social action, the police organization.

The study examines the use of surveys as a form of social action in order that theoretical explanation of this social action can be drawn. For Weber (1968:99), an "interpretation of a course of action is arrived at when the overt action and the motives have been correctly apprehended and at the same time their relation has become meaningfully comprehensible". The study, then, documents the use of public opinion surveys and the motives of actors involved with the survey project. Since Weber suggests that actors can justify or explain their actions, intensive interviews were held with those senior police officials involved in the project. Documentary evidence concerning the surveys was also analyzed to confirm or call into question the interview information.

This study is a comparative account of three neighbouring police organizations and their use of public opinion surveys. Two of the three have recently engaged in such

projects with the researcher acting as an external consultant to both projects, while the third considered a survey but for various reasons did not pursue this course. One of these organizations "pioneered" the use of surveys in the regional police and bureaucratic communities, while the second quickly followed the lead of the first.

In addition to the topic of surveys, the study seeks to compare the three organizations on two aspects of "progressive" police administration, opinions concerning community based policing, and regional police organizations. These two environmental influences are thought to be pertinent because the first, (community based policing) is the ideology which "progressive" police organizations use to define their mission, while the second, (regional policing) has been a policy objective in various parts of the country in the last five years, and in the region under study for the last twenty years. The study uses interview and documentary evidence upon which to draw comparisons.

Concerning the surveys, the study addresses two major topics. First, the decision to embark (or not) on a survey is explored. Of particular relevance here are the justifications for the survey, which party (police chief or governing body) introduced the survey project for consideration and the decision to involve the researcher as a consultant in the project. Second, the study addresses the uses of the survey results. Here, the project is concerned with understanding where the results were used, which parties participated in the release of the findings, the uses of results associated with change in the police organization, and comparison of respondents prior expectations of the survey results and the actual results.

To address these questions, the dissertation deals with the following. Chapter 2

further elaborates Weber's concepts of social action and bureaucracy. Essentially, this project explains the adoption of public opinion surveys by police organizations as an example of bureaucratic officials intervening in their social world in order to control the circumstances of reproduction (e.g., public support and domination of subordinates) for their organizations.

Since the police are influenced by environmental trends beyond the borders of their organizations which in effect, determine the legitimate order in which police organizations must operate, Chapter 3 discusses four such relevant influences. The rapid adoption of "community-based" policing ideology and technology by the police is discussed, as are the increasing costs of policing and the trend towards large amalgamated police organizations. The first of these trends is relevant for this study since surveys are touted as technological advances which assist police administrators in delivering community-based services. The second two trends, increasing costs and amalgamation, are important since the police are faced, as are all public services, with calls to do "more with less", and amalgamation has been suggested as, amongst other things, a mechanism by which police resources can be rationalized and financial benefits thereby realized.

In Chapter 4, the methods used in the research project are described, including the research sites and the propositions to be tested. As stated above, the methods used include interviews with powerful bureaucratic officials in the three research sites as well as members of the respective police governing bodies, and analysis of relevant internal documents and the survey data. The description of research sites reveals neighbouring police organizations who respond to similar environments (in terms of demographic

characteristics), with one organization being more specialized in terms of its organizational structures than its suburban counterparts, and strong public support for at least two of the three local police organizations.

In Chapter 5, the results of the interviews and documentary analysis are presented. This evidence indicates that the strong public support came as no surprise to bureaucratic officials and the survey results were used to legitimate the police organization to internal and external audiences by demonstrating this public support. The survey information was used by both police organizations in various manners to illustrate that their organizations "ain't broke, so don't fix them".

Chapter 6 discusses the evidence gathered in light of the theoretical linkages and propositions developed. The evidence reveals support for a conception of senior police officers as bureaucratic officials who orient their action to the legitimate social order and intervene in their social world so as to ensure the continued survival of their organizations. Senior police officers act in such a way as to control knowledge about their organizations in order to influence the rank and file and local and central state authorities concerning their existence as bona fide police organizations.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Orientation of the Research Project

Introduction

The first purpose of this chapter is to describe the theoretical orientation of the research project. The theoretical approach put forward here uses a Weberian model as an explanatory device. This theoretical perspective is adopted because it provides explanation for human action related to the preservation and reproduction of a formal bureaucratic organization, in this instance, the relatively independent municipal police agency. As such, it allows for understanding the human agency relationship with social structure (Giddens, 1984). Various aspects of Weber's theory are used including the recognition of police organizations as bureaucratic in nature, and that police engage in social action and are active and effective intervenors in their social world.

The second part of the chapter uses Weber's conceptions of social action and purposive rationality to define the police. This is discussed since it is often the case that the definition of the police is taken for granted (Cain, 1979), or in other words, it is assumed that we know what the police are. In this part of the chapter, various definitions of the police are reviewed to determine what the police do which separates them from other institutions of social control and what makes it possible for the police to exist.

The third part deals with recent evidence of the police as bureaucratic officials and effective and active intervenors in their social world. There is evidence to suggest the reporting relationship between the police and their political masters is subject to much debate, with various bodies in the state currently vying for control of the police. There

are also indications that the police actively intervene in their social world, particularly in the areas of complement and police officers' salaries. One form of social action which allows for legitimation of the police agency, the public opinion survey, is also discussed.

Finally, the chapter deals briefly with alternative theoretical conceptions of the state and the police so as to locate the theoretical approach of this research project. The last part of the chapter compares the alternative theoretical approaches concerning the police and the state, and suggests that many of these perspectives do not link human action with structural properties. A summary of these perspectives is found Table 1.

The Weberian Tradition

Weber (1947:88) emphasized social action as an organizing concept, or the "subjective meaning attached to it (the act) by the acting individual (who) takes account of the behaviour of others and thereby is oriented in its course". According to Weber, social action does not exist in isolation to what is considered legitimate or socially acceptable behaviour. Rather, individuals orient their action to what is considered to be acceptable or legitimate. As such, social action occurs in the context of a legitimate social order.

Weber (1968:52) also draws upon social action in defining a formal organization as "an association with a continuously and rationally operating staff". To be rational, organizational staff must first take into account the behaviour of others and orient their behaviour. Further, Weber conceives of formal organizations in rational terms, where organizational actors carry out means in order to accomplish certain ends (Weber,

1947:112), that is, they have purposive rationality (Satow, 1975).

Similarly, Giddens (1984:200) views organizations in purposively rational terms: "organizations ... are collectivities in which the reflexive regulation of the conditions of system reproduction looms large in the continuity of day-to-day practices". Organizations, then, are concerned with the control, storage and collation of information "so as to influence the circumstances of social reproduction"¹ (Giddens, 1984:200). It is this "active attempt to control or to alter the circumstances of reproduction" (Giddens, 1984:200) that separates organizations from associations. Thus, Giddens characterizes organizations in human terms of purposive rational action, that is, "reflexive regulation", "conscious social engineering", and "active control to alter circumstances of reproduction".

Giddens and Weber agree that human social action is the critical component of defining an organization. For Weber (1968:49), organizations exist "so far as there is a probability that certain persons will act in such a way as to carry out the order of the organization". In order to carry out the order governing the organization", the individual must take into account the behaviour of others, which logically includes an assessment of what is legitimate behaviour.

For Weber, one particularly powerful organizational form which emerged in the nineteenth century, the bureaucracy, epitomized the purposively rational form of social action (Albrow, 1970:4-3). He (Weber, 1968:987) observed: "[b]ureaucracy is the means of transforming social action into rationally organized action". For Weber (1968:987), the

¹The idea that organizations are purposive phenomena is reflected in Giddens'(1979:221) earlier definition of "organization": "collectivities which are either set up as a result of, or whose form is strongly influenced by, conscious social innovation".

power of bureaucracy was superior to other forms of collective social action.

Although, Weber never defined the term "bureaucracy" (Albrow, 1970:4-0), he did spell out the conditions which characterized this form of social action. For Weber, bureaucracy is a pure form of rational legal authority which is founded upon eight propositions: including official tasks are organized on a continuous and regular basis; tasks are divided into functionally distinct spheres; officers are arranged hierarchically; trained officials carry out technical or legal work; resources of members are distinct from the member's private resources; office holders cannot appropriate their offices; and, administration is based on written documents (thus, making the office a focal point) (adapted from Albrow, 1970:44). Bureaucracy, then, is an purposively rational organizational structure with tasks as means to one or more ends.

While Weber noted the influence and prominence of the bureaucratic organization, he also made mention of the "political masters" to whom bureaucratic officials reported. For Weber, the "political masters" can derive their designation based on their election to office by the people and, unlike bureaucratic officials, need not have any formal training: "he and he alone, does not need to prove formal specialized training" (Weber, 1968: 1404-). Politicians and bureaucrats also differ in terms of honour: politicians have personal responsibility for their actions which cannot be given up, while bureaucrats' honour is derived from their "ability to execute conscientiously the order of the superior authorities, exactly as if the order agreed with (their) own conviction" (Weber, 1958:95).

Weber (1968:991) characterized the relationship between the political masters and bureaucratic officials as "the dilettante facing the expert". The bureaucrats' technical

expertise and access to information available through only through administrative channels (Weber, 1968: 1417-1418) places the political master in a position of functional dependence vis-a-vis the bureaucratic official. For Weber, the bureaucracy is a powerful entity since it has the access to information and the technical expertise upon which to base its decisions. In order to redress this power imbalance, the political masters must effectively supervise the bureaucratic officials through accessing information "independently of the officials good will" (Weber (1968:1418).

This reliance on information by the political masters to control the bureaucratic apparatus leads to bureaucratic autonomy. For Weber (1968:987), the "bureaucracy was and is a power instrument of the first order for one who controls the bureaucratic apparatus". Bureaucrats mostly control the information within their organizations and thereby, are largely in control of the bureaucratic apparatus, and autonomous of their political masters. For Weber (194-7:14-8) autonomy "means that the order governing the group has been established by its own members on their own authority". The autonomy of bureaucrat is not absolute, since the dilettante still must be dealt with by the expert, but the respective power to control information is nonetheless significant.

Following Weber, if social action occurs in the context of a legitimate order, it follows then, that action of bureaucratic officials is similarly in the context of a legitimate order. Further, if bureaucratic action is termed as purposively rational (i.e., consists of means or action towards an end(s)), it follows that bureaucratic action is purposive social action which similarly occurs in the context of a legitimate order. In order to explain the social action of bureaucratic officials, it is therefore necessary to understand what is a

legitimate social order vis-a-vis their organizations and the purposively rational action in which they must engage.

Theoretically, the action of the police engaging in public opinion surveys can be seen as occurring in the context of a legitimate order. Police agency personnel orient their behaviour in terms of others and participate in surveys because doing so is considered acceptable. Bureaucratic police officials participation in surveys is considered purposively rational in that it is a means to an end. The purposive rational social action of surveys similarly enhances the legitimate status of the police, or the structural qualities of the institution. In this way, structure (or the legitimate order) influences action (in this case, the use of surveys) and the resulting action influences structure (i.e., the enhancement of the legitimate status of the police).

The adoption of a Weberian approach to explaining the action of the police allows for an analysis which takes into account human action and relates such action to the structure which predates this action and at the same time, the structure is reproduced by human action (Giddens, 1976). Therefore, institutions are not reified (Silverman, 1970) or given status that is separate and above human action, but rather, they are the result of human action. This perspective, then, allows for inquiry as to how human action reproduces structure and how structure influences human action. Institutions, then, do not have predetermined relationships with individuals, but rather, are dependent upon the actions of individuals to define those relationships. Institutions, are also, "power containers" (Giddens, 1985) and as such, play a very influential role in defining social life.

Research in the Weberian tradition concerning the police has emphasized the "mythical" bureaucratic nature of police organizations² and the social action approach to how police intervene in their social world. For example, Manning (1977) described the presentational strategies used by the police for their public versus private organizational behaviour. Similarly, the police have been viewed as "reproducers of order" or as "makers of crime" through the use of legal and organizational resources (Ericson, 1981; 1982), "sellers" of the police organization (Beare, 1987) and as "patrollers of facts" (Ericson, 1989). Typically, these studies are founded on the belief that the police are rational actors who intervene in their social world for various reasons (Silverman, 1970). The objective of this research is to explain the sometimes contradictory behaviour of the police, who at times, demonstrate to their environment a bureaucratic-like controlled organization, while the reality is a somewhat chaotic work environment (see Manning, 1977).

Applying Theory and Defining the " Police "

Weber's emphasis on the social action and purposive nature of formal bureaucratic organizations has relevance for the police. First, the emphasis on social action suggests that organizational actors act in a manner which takes into account the behaviour of others. Second, such social action is not random, but rather is purposive insofar as there is a desired end to the means used by individuals. Taken together, the purposive social action suggests that in defining the police, careful attention should be paid to the relevant

²For an analysis of police actions concerning redeployment of resources see Rosenthal, (1984) and Wiebrens (1990).

individuals or groups to which the organizational actors orient their behaviour, and the means and ends of the police.

This section analyses the various definitions of the police to answer the following questions. First, what do the police do and what makes them different from other social control institutions or, in Weberian terms, what is the continuous rational action of the police? Second, what makes it possible for the police to exist, or in Weberian terms, to what groups or individuals do the police orient their actions?

Much of the literature and research concerning the police has not attempted to define the term "police" (Cain, 1979:148). Indeed, various theoretical approaches to the police implicitly contain definitions of the term. For example, the Durkheimian approach views the police as "enforcers of moral consensus" (see generally, Mark, 1977; Murphy and Muir, 1985; Wilson and Kelling, 1982) while the marxist-instrumentalist approach views the police as agents acting at the will of the ruling class (Brown and Brown, 1973; Haring, 1983; Boritch, 1984).

According to Cain (1979:148), in many studies concerning the police, "it has been taken for granted that we 'know' what the police, as an institution, really is". Various definitions of police in democratic societies include:

police... must be defined in terms of their key practice. They are appointed with the task of maintaining the order which those who sustain them define as proper (Cain, 1979:158).

the privately and publicly employed guardians of interest who are entitled to use force to do whatever needs doing (Marenin, 1982:252)

The civil police is a social organization created and sustained by political processes to enforce the dominant conceptions of public order. Their specific role

is as specialists in coercion...ultimately the capacity to use legitimate force (Bittner, 1970) (adopted by Reiner, 1985:2, 1989:3-4)

1) relates to the regulation, discipline and control of community, (civil as opposed to military) administration, enforcement of the law and public order

2) the civil force to which is entrusted the duty of maintaining public order, enforcing regulations for the prevention and punishment of breaches of the law and detecting crime (Grant, 1980:3).

All of the above definitions, either implicitly or explicitly, cast the police in terms of their mission, or in Weber's terms purposive rational action: that is, action in order to maintain public order. Marenin's (1982) use of the term "guardians of interest" implicitly views the police as order maintainers and raises questions about whose order or interests are being ensured (or, in Bittner's (1970) terms "the dominant order"). The legitimate use of force to ultimately ensure that dominant order is the distinguishing characteristic which separates police from other institutions concerned with social control is identified by Marenin (1982, Bittner (1970) and Reiner (1985)³. Similarly, Shearing and Leon (1977) make the point that the special access to the "non-negotiable use of force" is what separates the police from other social control institutions.

The above definitions also recognize the need (either explicitly or implicitly) for public acceptance of the police. The public⁴ is, therefore, in Weberian terms, an influential group of individuals from which police officials orient their behaviour. For example, Reiner's (1985) adoption of Bittner's (1970) use of "legitimate force" and the

³ Note that Grant uses the term "force" in place of the term "organization", suggesting the former is synonymous with the latter.

⁴ This approach recognizes "the public" as not a single entity, but rather as a multi-faceted phenomenon to which the police must respond (see Murphy and Muir, 1985).

"dominant order" suggests that the police are not concerned with force per se, but rather the force which has been deemed to be acceptable by political processes. Cain's (1979) definition similarly identifies the police as an organization concerned with producing "proper" order, suggests that which is "proper" has to be defined by those who sustain the police, thereby implying that the police rely on publicly acceptable definitions of order. Finally, Grant's (1980) use of the term "public order" similarly relies on publicly acceptable definitions of order.

In terms of "what makes it possible for the police to exist", not only is public acceptance of the police critical, the official recognition of the police organizations by the state is important as well. The identified above suggest that police can be appointed either privately or publicly (Marenin, 1982), while Bittner (1970) suggests the police are sustained through political processes. Grant's (1980) use of the term "civil force" suggests an organization other than the military, thus implying decisions concerning the police are political and based within the state⁵. The state, then, is a powerful actor (along with the public) and a significant party which makes it possible for the police to exist. Thus, in Weberian terms, the state is a significant grouping of individuals to which police officials orient their behaviour.

Grant's (1980:3) two definitions distinguish between the act of policing (the first) and the formal organization "available for the act of policing" (the second). This distinction is important because this research project concerns the formal organization of policing. By "formal organization" of policing, I am following the definition offered by

⁵Later on in his paper (1980:7), Grant suggests the organization of police agencies is a political decision.

Guyot (1977a):

groupings of people that are deliberately constructed. Organizations tend to have a proper name, definable boundaries, members who enter and leave while the organization endures, a leadership composed of office holders who make commitments on behalf of the organization, and set organizational goals (Guyot, 1977a: 105).

The above definitions of the police suggest that a major goal of police organizations is the maintenance of order. However, these definitions do not include (at least explicitly) a major goal of any organization, that of survival (Manning, 1980:98). As Manning (1977:22) has argued, "the primary aims of most bureaucracies, the police included, are the maintenance of their organizational autonomy and the security of their members". Thus, the police must not only respond to their environment to maintain order (or at least appear to do so), they must also preserve their autonomy (and survive within the state) and the safety of their members. The police, therefore, have social goals (i.e., preservation of order), but also organizational goals (i.e., survival through organizational autonomy and members' security).

Support for the idea of organizational goals and societal goals of formal organizations can be found in Weber. Since Weber described a formal organization as comprised of "continuous and rationally operating staff", the attainment of social goals for the police implies that first, there is attainment of organizational goals (autonomy and member safety). In other words, for the police to maintain order, there must be an organization in existence to do so.

Police as Bureaucratic Officials and Active Participants in their Social World: Recent Evidence

The research project starts with the assumption that senior police officers are bureaucratic officials in the Weberian sense. The traditional rational bureaucratic⁴ model of police organizations is the most commonly prescribed set of principles in the police administration literature. A cursory review of classical texts on police management (e.g., Smith, 1960; Wilson and McLaren, 1972) and some contemporary counterparts (e.g., Souryal, 1977; Potts, 1983; Holden, 1986; Leonard and More, 1987; and Sheehan and Cordner, 1989) reveals widespread agreement concerning the suitability of this model. Indeed, as Wilson and McLaren (1972:109) have pointed out the rational bureaucratic model has gained acceptance in the real world of Policing; the International Association of Chiefs of Police offers various configurations which are based on the rational bureaucratic model for police agencies, depending on the size of the department.

The traditional form of police organization has been termed a "mythical bureaucracy" (Manning, 1977) since it only appears to be rationally organized as Weber has described. In contrast to Weber's classical bureaucratic form, police organizations are characterized by a necessarily wide degree of discretion at the lower levels of the hierarchy (Manning, 1977; 1978). As a result, much of what operational police officers do is not, as Weber would have us believe, done according to written rules, nor is the office the centre point of the workplace. In the operational police organization, work is often not supervised by superior officers due to the wide geographic dispersion of service

⁴This model has also been described as "para-military", "semi-military", "traditional", or "closed"; see Sandler and Mintz (1974); Cordner (1978).

delivery (see Ericson, 1982).

While admittedly there is wide discretionary power at the lower levels of police organizations, it has also been recognized that in police organizations discretion decreases as one moves up the hierarchical chain of command (Wilson, 1968). Much, if not all of the non-operational areas of the police organizations resemble bureaucratic form, with special functions areas to investigate certain types of crime such as murder and bank robbery, a hierarchical rank structure based on status (see Guyot, 1977b), training (either formal or on the job) for all functions and roles with the organization, salaried positions, non-transferability of the police designation, and administration manuals which describe in great detail legal or administrative processes to be followed in certain circumstances (Murphy, 1986). Although different types of police organizations have been found to differ in terms of their degree of bureaucratization (Murphy, 1986), they are nonetheless still bureaucratic in form, with some closer to the bureaucratic ideal (e.g., state police) than others (e.g., local police).

Many of the current debates concerning the police involve the definition of which group within the local or central state should be, in Weber's terms, the "political masters" of police. The debates are largely brought on by disputes concerning which area of government has the right to control police expenditures. McDougall (1971) has documented the continuous debates concerning the control of local police agencies in Ontario where the costs of police have been a contentious issue between local councils and boards of police commissioners. Historically, and in present day instances, municipal councils and their umbrella organizations have argued for increased fiscal control over the

police (see McDougall, 1971, Ontario, Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1992, No author, The Clarion, 1992). The municipal argument for increased control points to the majority of the resources required to sustain the police as being derived from municipal taxes, and hence, elected representatives should have a say in where those resources are allocated.

In contrast, police governing bodies and municipal police administrators have argued for maintenance of the status quo, that is, the ability of the police boards and the municipal police administrators to determine where police resources are allocated (see Ontario, Ministry of Municipal Affairs 1992) Currently, municipal councils only have the power to accept or reject a police budget request and not scrutinize the decisions of police in resource allocation (see Rusnell, 1992; Ontario, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1992). In response, one municipal council has recently scrutinized the police request for certain types of vehicles by the local police; as one municipal councillor remarked "if we can't downsize the size of the police department, then maybe we can reduce the size of their cars" (Eade, 1992)⁷.

Police governing bodies have come under considerable attack from many observers who consider them as "effete advisory groups under the thumb of the chiefs" (Editorial, Toronto Star, June 16, 1990) or as bodies which "shield and shelter police policies rather than explain or improve them (Sewell, 1985:173). Indeed, as McDougall (1971:335) has observed "(b)oads of police commissioners have always been envisioned as better for the police than municipal police committees (of council)". Stenning (1981:193) and Hann et

⁷A recent Ontario government response to the issue of control over police budgets has identified three policy options which could be used to "disentangle" disputes between police governing bodies and municipal councils concerning police budget (see Ontario, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1992).

al, (1985) have noted that recent reviews of police governance in Ontario have strongly criticized the insularity of police governing bodies. Stenning (1981:197) observes that detractors have a common starting point:

the municipal police function is more essentially a municipal service than a judicial or quasi-judicial function, and that its comparability and relationship to other municipal services is of greater significance (in terms of how it should be governed) than any unique "judicial" characteristics it may have.

Stenning's (1981a, 1981b) study of police governance in Canada suggests that the police are fairly organizationally insulated from all forms of political control. Similar to McDougall, Stenning noted the dependence of the police governing body members on the chief of police for the resources necessary to perform their governing functions due to the part-time and short term nature of the appointment. Also, Stenning found much of governing body activity involved the police budget, labour relations, personnel matters, and police community relations (Hann et al, 1985:10). This evidence seems to suggest that the balance of other functions are left to the police themselves. Further, for those functions where the police governing body is involved (described above), the governing body members, due to their part-time status, are reliant on the police.

In Weberian terms, the existence and activities of police governing bodies serves to increase the bureaucratic autonomy of the police. The part-time nature and lack of technical expertise of police governing body members suggests that they are indeed the "dilettantes" facing the bureaucratic police official "experts", or as one observer has described above as "effete advisory groups under the thumbs of the chiefs". Municipal council efforts at securing information concerning police operations are directed at

effective supervision of bureaucratic officials. However, these efforts have, in the past, and in the current instance, been stymied by police and governing officials who have sought to maintain their autonomy from the local political bodies.

The existence of bureaucratic autonomy has traditionally allowed the police to chart the course to be followed in order that public order will be maintained. Over the past 30 years, the police have opted for a crime control model, where increasing emphasis on technology has facilitated quick response to calls for service. Linked with this emphasis on rapid response has been a police-sponsored initiative towards professionalism, where the police are seen as the experts concerning crime, and, given additional resources, are to be left alone to deal with crime as they see fit (see McDougall, 1971; Murphy and Muir, 1985, Kelling, 1978). There is evidence, however, of increasing accountability for police actions, with provincial governments and local governing bodies increasing their scrutiny of the police (Hogarth, 1982). Also, the crime control model is rapidly being replaced with the community based policing approach which views the police and the community as "co-producers of order", with the resolution of problems being a joint responsibility between the police and the community (Leighton, 1991, Murphy, 1989, Murphy and Muir, 1985).

The research project also views the police as human agents intervening in their social world. There is evidence that police have been actively intervening in many areas, including lobbying for various proposed legislative changes (Black, 1991), using their status within the law to argue that they are professional thereby enhancing their organizational autonomy (McDougall, 1971), and as advocates for changes to labour

relations and working conditions (Forcese, 1980, Jackson, 1986). For example, Forcese (1980) and Jackson (1986) have documented the increased labour relations activism of police unions and their vocal participation in public policy issues such as capital punishment and early release policy for offenders.

Two areas where Canadian police have been very successful in impacting their environment are increasing their complement, and wages and benefits. Financial information over the last 20 years suggests that the flow of resources to the police in Canada has increased significantly in nominal and real terms. For the period 1975-88, the cost of policing increased 205% in current dollar terms, and 29% in constant dollars (Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre For Justice Statistics, 1991c:8). This suggests the police in Canada are fairly successful in maintaining current levels of funding and in some respects, increasing financial support.

This increase in financial support is due to the almost doubling of the numbers of police for the period 1962-1989⁸. Also, police salaries increased for the period of 1966 to 1976 in real terms 55% (Statistics Canada, 1988b). Concerning the salary levels, Bayley (1991:17) compares 1989 rates for major Canadian police organizations (average \$48,000) to salaries paid to their American counterparts (average \$32,000) and suggests, "even allowing for the value of the dollar... Canadians are doing very well by their police".

These activities suggest that the police have, and indeed use, the capability to impact their environment. Much of the management oriented police literature is devoted

⁸In 1962, there were 27,714 police officers in Canada, while in 1989, the number of police was 54,233.

to techniques that chiefs of police have (or should use) to manage (or change) their police organizations (e.g., Wilson and McLaren, 1972; Souryal, 1977; Goldstein, 1977; Cizancas and Hanna, 1977; Carvalho, 1973, Felkenes; 1973; Morrison, 1980; Todor and Grant, 1977). For example, one significant technique that has been recently identified in the academic (e.g. Loree et al., 1989; Flanagan, 1985) and professional police literature (e.g., Hanna, 1987, 1988; Field, 1990, Couper and Lobitz, 1991; Nicholls, 1991) is the public opinion survey⁹. Surveys of community responses are touted as representative and objective assessments of problems facing police organizations as well as useful for evaluations of police-based programs and services (see Loree, et al., 1989; Field, 1990; Nicholls, 1991). Further, surveys are identified as useful for managers to assist in the development of priorities for police service delivery (see Field, 1990).

While these benefits of surveys are undoubtedly accurate, surveys also serve as a tool for legitimization of police managers and the police organization. Corwin (1987:154) suggests legitimization efforts are

preoccupied with social acceptance, which organizations needed to establish credit, and to attract resources, investors, donors, customer, and clients. To obtain endorsements organizations use practices that conform to accepted values and ideologies.

Surveys offer respondents the opportunity to provide opinions concerning the provision of police services and other issues related to police and police work and, thus, implicitly foster public acceptance of the police institution. Given that the police are concerned with

⁹For critical reviews of the use of public opinion surveys see White and Menke (1978) and Charles, (1980).

the public acceptance of their function, public opinion surveys hold the potential to be an organizational resource for police administrators to demonstrate the public acceptance of their organizations.

Peter Manning (1980:115), the most prominent observer of legitimation efforts on the part of the police, suggests that citizens' demands shape policing and in response, the police shape, create and maintain dominant control over the demand". Police, then, not only respond to their environment, but also "enact" their environment (Weick, 1969). Police organizations which engage in public opinion surveys are not only responding to a need for alternative sources of data concerning their environment (which are objective and representative of the community as argued above), but in doing the survey, police enact (or possibly enhance) their "acceptability" vis-a-vis their various constituencies. The use of public opinion survey information can also be looked upon as police administrators seeking to produce information concerning that which they seek to control (Giddens, 1984). As Giddens advises above, organizations are concerned with controlling the circumstances of reproduction, and since the police are highly dependent upon the public for financial and cooperative resources, it follows that they will seek to "control, store and collate" (Giddens 1984:200) information about the public. Further, such information will be used in order to create an "appearance of organizational order" (see Ericson, 1982:26).

According to Ericson (1982:27), police collect information about officer productivity in order to determine what officers "are up to... and (such measures) also provide data with which the organization as a whole can sell itself". Similarly, collecting public opinion survey information concerning "what the public wants" not only provides

the police administrator with such data, but provides police officials with the potential to "sell" the organization based on the fact they have gathered this information. In effect, police administrators will have "reproduced organizational order" by demonstrating they are aware of the publics' opinions and expectations of their organization. Furthermore, organizational order will be particularly enhanced should the survey results indicate general support for the police.

In this perspective, public opinion survey information acts similarly as a resource for police administrators. Public opinion survey information provides a "scientific measurement" of "community oriented police services", the latter being a recently implemented (1991) legislative requirement of police organizations in Ontario¹⁰. Thus, when an organization is under fiscal pressure, or facing challenges to its legitimacy and possible organizational mortality, public opinion survey information can be used to enhance public acceptability. These points will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

In Weberian terms, the police have clearly been successful with interventions in their social world aimed at increasing their salaries and their complement. The use of surveys by police has been identified in the professional and academic literature as legitimate social action for police administrators, who are concerned with maintaining the status of the police as part of the legitimate social order. Public opinion surveys offers the police a resource with which they can use to demonstrate their knowledge of the

¹⁰Police chiefs in Ontario are required under the Police Services Act to administer their organization "in a manner which reflects the needs of the community" and are responsible for providing "community oriented police services" (Sec. 41 (b) (c)). The inclusion of the community as a legitimate part of the police mandate is a significant departure from previous legislation which viewed the chiefs of police and all constables within the police service as officer of the law (see Police Act, RSO Ontario, 1980).

public's demands thereby demonstrating the legitimacy of the police organization. The yardstick by which the legitimacy of the police institution is measured has recently changed to formally include the community as part of the legitimate order. Public survey information logically serves to provide data by which this acceptance of police organizations can be measured.

Summary

This chapter identified the organizational and social goals of the police as organizational survival and the maintenance of order in society, respectively. Also, through an analysis of various definitions of the police, it is believed that the public and the state are significant groups to which police organizations orient their behaviour. Thus, in order to accomplish their organizational and social goals the police orient their behaviour to the public and the state.

The position of the police vis a vis their closest political masters, police governing bodies, suggests they are indeed experts facing the dilettantes, insofar as the bureaucratic police officials have unfettered access to information and substantive expertise in the operations of policing. These structural considerations suggests that the bureaucratic police officials are largely autonomous of their political masters, and evidence suggests that, in the past, and in the current instance, the police have sought to maintain this autonomy. Currently, police governing bodies apparently support the bureaucratic police officials in resisting municipal council efforts aimed at increased control of the police¹¹.

¹¹The autonomy of the police from political control has also been recognized by research in the Marxist structuralist tradition (see Ratner et al. 1987) and the realist position (see Kinsey et al, 1986).

Bureaucratic autonomy has allowed the police to choose the strategy under which they will accomplish the maintenance of order in society (i.e., their organizational goal). In the past thirty years, the police have opted to cast themselves as crime controllers, adopting a quick-response to calls for service strategy aimed at apprehending offenders (Murphy and Muir, 1985). There is evidence, however, that this model is now being replaced with a community-based model which emphasizes police-community based partnership for crime and social problems. This topic will be discussed at length in the next chapter. The legislative changes which formally include the community as part of the organizational order are indications of this change in formal goals of police organizations.

Faced with potential intrusions into their bureaucratic autonomy, the police must demonstrate to the public and the state the legitimacy of their organization. Public support for the police, and the evidence to demonstrate such support is critical to the maintenance of bureaucratic autonomy. Police organizations are now mandated (formally through legislation in Ontario) to provide public oriented police services. Public opinion survey information offers the police official with objective evidence of public support. Since police organizations seek to "collate, store and control" information to influence the circumstances of reproduction (Giddens, 1984), public opinion survey information allows for demonstration of public support and the legitimacy of the organization.

The next chapter discusses trends within society which are particularly relevant to the police. These influences include the trend toward surveys, community based policing, adoption of technology, fiscal crisis in the state, and consolidation of small

independent police organizations. These trends arguably constitute the legitimate order in which police organizations must operate, and as such, they shape the action of senior police officials, who in turn, adopt strategies which will legitimate their organizations.

Chapter 3: Trends in Policing

Introduction

The theoretical perspective adopted for this project recognized two major tenets. First, the police are recognized as largely autonomous bureaucratic officials who seek to preserve their autonomy from political control. Second, concurrent with this autonomy, the police are "free" to adopt various strategies (in response to environmental influences) which will increase their legitimacy as far as their various constituencies are concerned.

This chapter is concerned with environmental influences which have shaped policing in Canada and the police response to these patterns. Since the research project is concerned about the use of public opinion surveys in policing, the chapter begins with a discussion of the use of surveys, both in the academic and the police communities. The use of surveys by the police has links to the changing ideology on how police organizations should operate and thus, the chapter discusses community based policing as the "new" way that police organizations should operate. The shift from reactive crime control policing to community based policing is important since the formal ideology upon which policing operates forms part of the legitimate order. Bureaucratic action therefore occurs within the ideology of progressive policing.

The use of surveys is also related to police use of technology insofar as surveys offer a scientific mechanism with which to assess the official mandate of offering "community oriented police services". Increasing use of technology serves to increase the expertise of the bureaucratic police officials and, by its very nature adds legitimacy to their status. Surveys purport to represent community-wide views concerning subjects and,

by doing so, are congruent with the impersonal order necessary for a legitimate bureaucratic action. Police use of surveys, therefore, diminishes the possibility of charges of police-self interest.

Since the police are just one part of the state which competes for financial resources (Guyot, 1977a), the chapter also discusses the resource constraints under which many police organizations operate and discusses the use of public survey data during debates concerning incremental resources. In order to legitimate their organization to the local state, the police must engage in different forms of knowledge production. No longer are the police solely crime oriented, but rather, they must be public service-focused. Public opinion surveys offer the ability to demonstrate scientifically valid statements of public support for the police. The continued existence, or survival, of the police organization is contingent upon receiving a continuous flow of financial resources.

Finally, the chapter examines the push in some parts of Canada by provincial bodies towards amalgamating small police organizations into regional policing structures or replacing these small agencies with police services delivered under contract by provincial police structures. Consolidation of police services is important since these new structures pose a significant threat to the current bureaucratic autonomy of senior police officials. In effect, where regionalization or provincialization occurs, the bureaucratic autonomy of senior police officials is replaced with a new form of control. Public opinion data, albeit in a few cases, has emerged in debates related to regional policing and been used to legitimize the existence of local police organizations.

Together, these environmental influences constitute a changing legitimate social

order in which police must operate. Senior police officials orient their behaviour to the legitimate social order and adopt various strategies, such as surveys, so that their action "fits" into this order. As a result, their organizations appear legitimate or socially acceptable and bureaucratic autonomy is maintained.

Public Opinion Surveys

Occasional surveys concerning public attitudes towards the police have been in existence since the 1950's, primarily in the United States, but also in Canada, Great Britain and Australia (Biderman et al. 1972). Many early surveys were concerned with the public perceptions of police fairness, knowledge of police wrong-doings and relations with ethnic minorities (Biderman et al., 1972). According to White and Menke (1978:204), the public opinion survey was considered to be a legitimate technique by which the relationship between the police and their citizens could be determined. Surveys commissioned by the U.S. President's Crime Commission in 1967 were widely quoted and very influential concerning police policy and programs (White and Menke, 1978:206).

In Canada, the first surveys concerning the police were performed by academics. Courtis (1970:43) studied Torontonians to "discover how the public sees the police and the process of law enforcement", while Cooley (1972) surveyed citizens in Ottawa concerning the use of police discretion, and Koenig (1974) examined British Columbians' attitudes towards the police and crime problems. Academics are currently active within this field of research, often examining relationships between situational variables, such as victimization, (see Yarmey, 1991), or rural-urban differences (see Zamble and

Annesley, 1987; Murphy and Clairmont, 1990) as well as demographic variables (e.g., age) and attitudes towards the police (Brillon, 1984).

Results of surveys indicate consistent public support for the police¹². Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:66) suggest:

The research on adult and adolescent attitudes toward the police that has been conducted to date in Canada suggests high levels of support for the police and generally high levels of satisfaction with police services.

This observation is supported by survey data accumulated to date of Canadians perceptions of police organizations. According to a Gallup survey (Bozinoff and Macintosh, 1991) released September 9, 1991, "78% of adult citizens approve of the way their local police force is performing its duties". Gallup found regional differences in police approvability ratings:

Atlantic region	73% approval
Quebec	66% approval
Ontario	87% approval
Prairie region	77% approval
British Columbia	83% approval

Results from local surveys of local police agencies support the Gallup findings. For example, Sparkes (1991) conducted a survey of residents of North Bay, Ontario and found that 87% of respondents rated the overall performance of the North Bay Police Force as "good" or "very good". Studies in the Ottawa/Carleton areas reveal that two municipal police agencies (Gloucester and Nepean) were rated favourably by their citizens

¹²Victims and persons of visible ethnic background are less favourable toward the police (for ethnicity see Koenig, 1974; Brillon, 1984 and Murphy and Lithopoulos, 1988; for victim opinions see Yarmey, 1991; Statistics Canada, 1991a; Poister and McDavid, 1978; Brillon, 1984; Murphy and Lithopoulos 1988; Skogan, 1979).

(Horne et al., 1989; Horne and Forcese, 1990). Surveys conducted in 1986 and 1989 in Toronto suggest the majority of Torontonians believe the police are doing a good job of enforcing laws, promptly responding to calls, being approachable and easy to talk to, and supplying crime prevention information¹³, although the percentage responding favourably to these questions has declined in the 1990 survey (Metropolitan Toronto Police, 1991).¹⁴

Police organizations have recently used public opinion surveys for many purposes. Some organizations (Gloucester Police Force, 1990; Metropolitan Toronto, 1991) have incorporated surveys into strategic planning processes, using public opinion data as part of an environmental scanning process. Other organizations have engaged in surveys to evaluate innovative programs such as foot patrol (Hornick, et al, 1990), team policing (Schwartz and Clarren, 1977), community police stations (Walker and Walker, 1989), crime prevention programs (LeClaire, 1984) and organizational change (Cizanckas and Feist, 1975). Some police agencies (e.g., Bondurant, 1991; Couper and Lobitz, 1991; Field, 1990; Nicholls, 1991; Lunney, 1991; Nepean Police, 1992) have engaged in client contact surveys that ask "how did we do" in relation to citizens' last contact with the police.

The use of public opinion surveys has recently gained acceptance as a legitimate management tool for police executives. Interestingly enough, in a text appropriately titled

¹³Statistics Canada (1991a) reports nation-wide results of a 1988 survey that are supportive of the Toronto findings, although the percentages of favourable respondents concerning these items are lower (enforcing laws: 60%; responding to calls: 50% being approachable: 66%; supplying crime information: 56%).

¹⁴Interestingly enough, Gallup (1991) reports that police approvability ratings "have not changed significantly since Gallup first posed this question to Canadians in 1969, suggesting a populace which is generally content with police services."

How to Manage your Police Department an American police chief (Hanna, 1987:19)

recommends surveys of public opinion as a technique for progressive police management:

Police managers and elected city officials must have a general awareness of citizen perceptions of police in order to deliver a police service that is responsive and sensitive to citizen concerns and expectations.

Another indication of the legitimate status of public opinions surveys can be found in the official publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, **The Police Chief**. This periodical has recently featured a number of articles (e.g., Bondurant, 1991; Couper and Lobitz, 1991; Field, 1990; Nicholls, 1991) written by police personnel which describe agency's positive experiences with public opinion surveys. These articles generally conclude that public opinion surveys provide police organizations with valuable information.

Police in Australia are currently engaging in biannual (every 6 months) surveys of public opinion. These periodic surveys have been justified as useful for testing "new operational concepts prior to implementation on a wider scale (and to assist in choosing) between different proactive policing approaches for different policing environments" as well as for corporate management purposes (e.g., provide "realistic feedback on community concerns"; "help formulate policy and manage police community relationships"; Collins, 1991).

Many British police chiefs (e.g. Hirst, 1991, Golding, 1991) suggest that surveys should be used to measure the quality of service (defined as the gap between publicly defined standards and citizen satisfaction with police service). Further, one senior police official (Woodcock, 1991:179-180) suggests that for major police forces, survey data

should be "publicly available" and presented,

directly alongside the crime figures. They are a far more important measure of success or failure than to judge the effectiveness of a police force partially on the whim of petty criminals to have offences taken into consideration.

In Canada, the interest in public opinion surveys by police organizations is also evident in the increasing number of jurisdictions where they have been completed. Since 1985, surveys have been completed in many major centres, such as Toronto, (Murphy and Lithopoulos, 1988, Metro-Toronto Police, 1991), Calgary, (Lewis, 1988), Halifax (Clairmont, 1988), Vancouver and other British Columbia municipalities (Linguanti and McIntyre, 1991), Edmonton, (Don, 1991; Hornick et al. 1990), the Regional Municipality of Peel, (Lunney, 1991), and Regina, (Draaisma, 1992). During this time period, surveys have also been completed in smaller centres, such as Gloucester (Horne et al., 1989), Nepean, (Horne and Forcese, 1990), North Bay, (Sparkes, 1991), Ingersoll, Ontario (Loree, et al, 1989) and Alexandria, (Karon, 1992).

Prior to 1985, some of these police organizations (e.g., Calgary and Regina) had experience with public opinion surveys, while many of them had no previous exposure. Before 1985, surveys concerning the police were completed in many major Canadian cities, but for the most part by academics. It is not known the extent to which the local police agencies were involved with these early surveys.

Since 1985, Canadian police organizations have also performed public opinion surveys with internal personnel, (e.g., Lewis, 1988; Don, 1991; Lunney, 1991), or participated in public opinion surveys as a cooperative effort with an external organization (e.g., university; Horne et al., 1989; Sparkes, 1991; police college; Loree et al. 1989).

Police organizations have also purchased public opinion survey services under contract with a third party (e.g., Horne and Forcese, 1990; Metropolitan Toronto Police, 1991; International Results Group, 1992). In British Columbia, public opinion surveys are performed on behalf of municipal forces by the provincial police commission (Linguanti and McIntyre, 1991).

Surveys have been completed for a variety of reasons, from strategic planning, evaluation of police innovative programs, to determination of client satisfaction, i.e., "how did we do? The number of police organizations recently engaging in public opinion research, either independently, through cooperative efforts, or purchasing public opinion survey services under contract is increasing. Also, there is evidence to suggest that public opinion research by the police is ongoing. Clearly, the use of public opinion surveys is now seen as a legitimate police management response. One factor which may contribute to the acceptance of public opinion surveys is the finding that the public are generally supportive of the police. However, to attribute the increase in public opinion research to this one finding is overly simplistic. This action of participating in public opinion surveys is related to the overall shift in ideology of how policing should operate. The next section discusses the "new" ideology of progressive police organizations; community-based policing.

Community Based Policing

The adoption of the community-based policing model as the manner in which police services should be delivered has been a recent development in the United States,

Canada, Great Britain and Australia. Murphy (1989:338) explains this trend as a "reform movement" in response to "expensive and expansive police services, declining neighbourhood safety in core urban areas, class or race based social conflict and a convincing academic critique of police efficiency and effectiveness". In Canada, there has been an ideological shift from "fire-brigade policing", where rapid response to calls for service was emphasized, to the philosophy of "community based policing" (Leighton, 1991). Community based policing stresses police-community cooperation partnership in order to resolve public order problems (see generally, Murphy and Muir, 1985, Murphy, 1989, Leighton, 1991).

"Community-based policing" has been defined in a many and varied ways. Manning (1984) observes that the term includes program-based elements and conceptual perspectives. Leighton (1991:487) defines "community-based policing" as a "full partnership between the community and their police in identifying and ameliorating local crime and disorder problems". Thus, "community-based policing" has been used as a catch-all term to include everything from store-front offices, to philosophies of police operations.

Murphy and Muir (1985) suggest 5 principles of community-based policing:

1. Community plays important role in police decision making: the community is an active as opposed to passive participant in police operations.
2. Police objectives are broad - to reflect what is actually done. Service and order maintenance functions should be formally included in police objectives.
3. Diverse functions are legitimate; police perform many functions (including service and order maintenance) and all functions are acceptable and not as adjunctive to crime control.

4. There should be a shared responsibility between police and the community for crime.
5. Police should have proactive involvement with the community to anticipate public order problems.

The "demand" for community based policing has come from inside police organizations (e.g., Heywood, 1980; Braiden 1985) as well as academics (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) and, government areas (e.g., Normandeau and Leighton, 1990a, 1990b; Murphy and Muir, 1985, Loree and Murphy, 1986; Ontario, Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, 1989). In a 1990 speech announcing the discussion paper A Vision of the Future of Policing in Canada: Police Challenge 2000, the federal Solicitor General, Pierre Cadieux, urged all police officials to "implement community policing as the most effective way to police the Canada of the future" (Solicitor General, 1990).

Not only has community policing been synonymous with "progressive policing", but the term has been adopted by many police organizations. "Community policing" has been incorporated into consecutive mission statements of Canada's largest police organization, the R.C.M.P. (see Inkster, 1990, 1991), legislation that governs policing within the Province of Ontario, the recent Police Services Act, and the Force Objectives of the Metropolitan Toronto Police (1989), Canada's largest municipal police organization. Community based policing has also been described as the "way of the future" for certain smaller municipal police organizations (e.g., Gloucester Police Force, 1990). Based on recent enumerations of officers in various jurisdictions and organizations within Canada, "community based policing" is the official operating philosophy of

organizations which account for at least 44%¹⁵ of all Canadian police officers.

Thus, it appears that police organizations have "institutionalized" (Ranson et al. (1980:10) the idea of community based policing. Ranson et al. (1980:10) suggest organizations are "constrained to search for 'morally sustaining ideas' from its institutional environment, ideas which lend support to its decisions and structures". Adopting the community-based policing model allows police organizations to locate themselves within the dominant ideology of how police organizations should operate.

There is evidence the adoption of community-based policing ideology is impacting police executives. Coutts and Durivage (1992:57) asked police executives to rate the importance of various training needs and discovered some of the highest ratings were defined in relation to roles which incorporate community based policing ideology, such as "police as a service vs. crime repressor" and "community ownership of order maintenance". In a similar vein, Schneider's (1991:159) study of police executives' definitions of organizational performance) found police chiefs selected indicators that reflected traditional performance measurements, such as crime rates, but also mentioned "public opinions concerning the agency as useful for measuring performance".

Surveys perform a symbolic action which demonstrates the willingness of the police to listen to the public and as a political mechanism for the "democratizing" (Marenin, 1989) of the police and the public. Marenin (1989:80) explains:

surveys are a democratizing influence on the police and the public. The very fact of doing surveys and having it known that such surveys are conducted shows that

¹⁵This estimate was calculated from the sum of the number of police officers employed by the R.C.M.P., the O.P.P. and the Metropolitan Toronto Police, divided by the total number of police officers in Canada in 1988; see Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, (1990).

the police are attempting to be responsive to public opinion (irrespective if whether opinions yield useful policy directives). Also, polls by their very nature are democratic; they value each respondent and his or her opinion equally and pay no heed to class or status or privilege. If done frequently enough and if some practical consequences are seen to follow, the conducting of polls can educate the public, make them appreciate their potential for influence and power.

Not surprisingly, the use of public opinion surveys by police organizations is directly related by some police executives to the ideology of community policing¹⁶. Indeed, as Hanna (1987: 13-20) recommends, public opinion surveys are just one technique among many (the others being traditional crime prevention programs such as Block Watch) to increase citizen collaboration with police. Interviews with police executives in the Ottawa/Carleton area suggests that public opinion surveys are justified as an integral part of providing "services to the community" (Renaud, 1992, Thompson, 1992).

The symbolic nature of surveys is reflected in the comments of Woodcock (1991), a senior British police official, as described in the first part of this chapter. He suggested that public opinion survey data should be presented alongside crime figures when evaluating police agencies. As such, he appears to be recommending a somewhat different presentational strategy (Manning, 1977, Beare, 1987) than the traditional themes which police organizations have used to "sell" themes of policing to their constituents such as

¹⁶ Marenin (1989) also suggests that public opinions surveys should be completed as part of a community policing strategy.

"crime fighting and crime control" (Beare, 1987:8)¹⁷ . By emphasizing the use of public opinion survey information, Woodcock implicitly suggests the police use an additional theme (i.e., service) to sell policing to the community.

Public opinion surveys, then, "fit" into the legitimate social order of the community-based policing organization. Since the progressive ideology of policing has now incorporated the community, bureaucratic police officials are now responsible for demonstrating the legitimate status of their organizations. Public survey information which demonstrates positive public support for the police allows senior bureaucratic officials to "prove" the effectiveness of their organizations.

Increased Use of Technology

The literature on the work environment of policing suggests the day to day work activities have changed in response to technological changes in society. Walker (1984) suggests that prior to the introduction of patrol cars, two way radio communications systems and the telephone system, police had relatively little access to citizens' lives. With the introduction of the patrol vehicle, many police organizations changed patrol operations from foot to motor patrol (Walker, 1984). Widespread installation of

¹⁷Beare (1987:1) identified five themes used to "sell" policing:

1. Ideology of Law and Professionalism
2. Crime Fighting and Crime Control
3. Ideology of Differential Policing
4. Isolation of a "Dangerous-Class"
5. Maintenance of a Proactive Police Response

Of these five themes, crime fighting and crime control, and isolation of a "dangerous class" most directly relate to the crime control model of policing identified by Leighton (1991) and Murphy (1989).

telephones and the adoption of the two-way radio communications systems allowed police organizations to respond in a "crime control" fashion, which emphasized rapid response to calls for service. According to Walker (1984:76), "technology generated a 'quantum leap' in public expectations of the police and an increased demand for order (and) because there was now a mechanism for getting someone (the police) to 'do something' about minor disorders and nuisances, the public came to expect that they would not have to put up with minor irritations".

Harring (1981:26) also views technological impacts upon police organizations as significant in his observation that much of the patrol officers' activities has been "Taylorized", that is, broken down into a "number of simpler elements under the control of police administrators". In addition to increased use of technology (particularly computer aided dispatch systems), Harring (1981:27-30) notes the increased use of civilians in traditional police functions (such as traffic enforcement), and the adoption of pay-for-performance experiments and suggests these factors have narrowed the activities of police officers and increased the potential for management scrutiny and ultimate control of workers.

In viewing the impact of technology on the police, however, Forcese (1992:277) has suggested police are not passive actors, but rather willingly adopt certain innovations, such as computer and firearms technology. Forcese (1992:277) notes "when chiefs of police meet, delegates have before them displays of products for policing, from gas masks to uniforms, from high intensity flashlights to assault rifles". The importance of technology to police executives is illustrated in the Canadian Association of Chiefs of

Police participation in the opening in 1990 of the Canadian Police Research Centre (a project supported by the CACP, the RCMP and the National Research Council). This research and development centre will "provide the police with a technological shopping centre" (Forcese, 1992:278).

The justifications for the use of technology by police agencies have ranged from increased efficiency through the automation of previously manual tasks (e.g., more effective deployment of resources through computer aided dispatching) to increased effectiveness (e.g., increased accuracy of matching of fingerprints found at the scene with those of known criminals). Technology (and science) also produces a legitimacy for police actions (Ericson and Shearing, n.d.). According to Ericson and Shearing (n.d.:7),

"Science, like law, is a form of action used to discover the truth and settle problems by constructing a view that satisfies certain criteria of rational acceptability. It too promises special powers of construing the truth which reduce complexity to statements of authoritative certainty. It also offers the procedural characteristics of being universal, uniform, general, and neutral. It gives the police a general warrant of the type, 'Because we are doing things in a scientific way, we are doing them the right way and you have no legitimate grounds for criticism'" (emphasis added)

The public opinion survey has been recognized as a scientific mechanism to measure the relationship between the police and the public. White and Menke (1978:204) comment:

This growing interest in applying social science to criminal justice concerns is due to an ideology of rationality based upon the scientific model, wherein policy recommendations and decisions are to be informed by scientific data and theory. The large scale survey has become a widely accepted technology in this task.... the survey is widely used both to assess the mood of the public toward criminal justice agencies and to provide data upon which to formulate policy recommendations and decisions.

Further evidence of the scientific aspects of surveys, can be found in justifications

for their use. For example, Loree et al., (1989) and Richards (1989:16), suggest that survey-based information provides a more representative view of the community, and acts as an antidote for the "tunnel vision" often encountered in responding to crime incidents. The use of the term "representativeness" relates the scientific nature of surveys, as a technique which is more correct than traditional mechanisms (e.g., police governing bodies) for gauging of public support.

There is also evidence that scientific aspects of surveys are linked to the ideology of community based policing. Murphy and de Verteuil, (1986:5) explain:

A fundamental assumption of community policing is that the planning and delivery of police services should be informed by a sound knowledge of citizen and community needs and expectations. The community policing survey provides data to develop comprehensive and representative information about neighbourhood concerns, citizens' attitudes and expectations of police and delivery of police services.

Thus, public opinion survey information is regarded as objective and scientific information concerning the community's support for the police: as Ericson and Shearing (n.d.) suggest, science (and by extension, the public opinion survey) is "universal, uniform, general and neutral". As such, this information is congruent with the bureaucratic ideal of impersonal order: the police, themselves, are not suggesting they have public support, but rather, scientifically gathered information is demonstrating this fact. The survey is accomplished through adherence to rules of procedure and, therefore, an acceptable action since the legitimate order recognizes that all bureaucratic information must be gathered according to rules which are necessarily removed from self-interests of the bureaucratic officials. Surveys, then, through their scientific status conform to the legitimate order in which bureaucratic police officials operate.

Increasing Fiscal Pressure

The increase in police budgets and salaries, largely due to police-based initiatives, over the last 20 years was noted in the previous chapter. However, due to fiscal restraint at various levels of government, police administrators are currently faced with tight budgets and no possibilities for growth in manpower. As a result, police administrators must either re-deploy existing personnel in order to accommodate additional demands placed on their organizations or adopt new strategies to secure increased funding and personnel. Many police organizations are required to "do more - with less", (Murphy and Muir, 1985; Bayley, 1991) and one small town mayor recently attempted to disband the local 5-person police agency due to rising costs of their services (Walker, 1992).

As noted above, police organizations have traditionally used the themes of increasing crime and portrayed themselves as guardians of public safety to "sell" police budget requests (Beare, 1987). Some police agencies have consistently released annual crime statistics which frequently portrayed an increase in a number of categories of crime in concert with their annual budget request (Editorial, Calgary Herald, January 26, 1992; James, 1992; Editorial, Ottawa Citizen July 13, 1992). One editorial writer describe this practice as a series of "convenient crises" (Editorial, Calgary Herald, January 26, 1992), where the police would point to an convenient increase in crime to prop up demands for more resources at budget time. Other observers have labelled the practice of linking increasing crime statistics as the "politics of fear" (James, 1992) or "budget blackmail" (Ibbitson, 1992) or "fear mongering" (Editorial, Ottawa Citizen, February 5, 1992).

I suggested above that Woodcock's comments suggesting the display of public

opinion statistics alongside crime statistics demonstrates an additional theme of "service". Further, linking the display of public opinion statistics with crime statistics suggests that these first data could also be used to support budget requests. At least, the practice of publishing of public opinion survey statistics in the annual strategic plan (e.g., Metro Toronto Police) aids the police in appearing to be prepared to support a budget request.

In some cases, public opinion survey-based data has been used by police organizations in discussions concerning police resources and budgets. Research conducted for this project indicates that public opinion survey information was presented by the local police to a public meeting concerned with budget of various municipal departments (Kanellakos, 1992). This presentation acted as a device for gaining acceptance of an annual budget request.

Whether this is an isolated example of the politics of selling "service" remains to be seen. It is interesting to note that some recent police-sponsored surveys (Sparkes, 1991 and International Results Group, 1992) have asked questions concerning cost of service. For example, a recent survey in Calgary (International Results Group, 1992:34-38) asked two resource related-questions: is the cost of \$149 per person an acceptable amount, and, would you be prepared to pay more for policing services in Calgary? In response to the first question, 60.3% of all respondents said "yes", while 17.9% said "no- too low", 6.9% said "no - too high" and, 14.9% did not know. When asked if they would be prepared to pay more for more for policing services in Calgary, 70.5% of respondents said "yes" while 20.5% said "no" (International Results Group, 1992:35). Those who responded yes to the "willing to pay more" question were asked a series of questions concerning how

much they would be willing to pay: "the majority of all respondents said they were willing to accept an increase of \$25.00 per person per year" (International Results Group, 1992:35).

Whether data such as these have been used in budget discussions in Calgary or other locations is not known. That questions concerning the cost of police services are being asked in public opinion surveys concerning the police indicates, at the minimum, that police managers are "doing their homework" in preparation for resource discussions. It is quite possible, and arguably, very likely, that if a police budget is under scrutiny, that data such as those mentioned above would be used to facilitate acceptance.

The fiscal crisis of doing more with less in the local state is part of the legitimate social order. Senior bureaucratic police officials are aware of the fiscal crisis in the local state and are orienting their action to deal with this situation. Traditionally, police organizations have used crime-based information in order to sell the need for increased financial resources. With the shift in philosophy to community based policing, police organizations are arguably shifting their information focus to gather public opinion data which could be used in budgetary discussions. That the police are asking questions of the public concerning the receptivity of the public to pay for increased spending on policing indicates the bureaucratic officials are "doing their homework" and viewing such information as a resource with which they can legitimate their organization.

Regionalization and Provincialization of Municipal Police Organizations

While the majority of police officers¹⁸ in Canada provide services through independent municipal police organizations, there are indications that these organizations (particularly in small towns of less than 25,000 population) may be regionalized (i.e., amalgamated into larger forces) or possibly provincialized, (i.e., replaced by a larger police agency operating under a contract to the municipality: see Murphy, 1991). Beginning in the 1960's in Ontario and continuing in the 1970's in Ontario and Quebec, the replacement of small independent police organizations with large regional agencies has been dramatic. As Ericson (1982:4) has pointed out, in 1962 there were 278 independent police agencies in the province of Ontario, while in 1975, there were only 128 such organizations.¹⁹ Even today, there are three areas of the country where municipal police organizations are being overtly targeted for takeover by larger police agencies: Ottawa-Carleton, (Adam, 1992; Ottawa Police Planning Section, 1992; Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1992b, 1992c), the capital region district of British Columbia (British Columbia Task Force, 1990) and in large suburban areas of New Brunswick (Grant, 1992).

Regionalization has been seen by some observers as a mechanism by which municipal police organizations can be modernized and costs savings can be achieved

¹⁸According to Statistics Canada, 57.17% of all police officers are members of independent municipal police organizations (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1990).

¹⁹The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (1990:15) observes there are 131 independent police agencies in Ontario, and, 403 similar organizations in Canada (1989 data).

(Ontario Task Force on Policing, 1974; Ontario, 1976; Fairweather, 1978; British Columbia Task Force, 1990, Grant, 1980, 1992). The "conventional wisdom" (Loreto, 1984) for police organizational structure holds that, for a police organization to be effective, it must possess certain capabilities. An effective police organization, it is argued, must possess the capabilities to provide patrol services, reactive detective services (in response to reported crimes), and proactive detective services (to deal with organized crime; Grant, 1980:63, 1992:24). Failure to provide such a "minimum capability factor" (Grant, 1980:64) would give cause for provincial governments to amalgamate small police organizations.

Although less visible than regionalization, provincialization of local police organizations is still being discussed. Grant (1992) recommended the replacement of some small municipal police organizations with the provincial police agency in New Brunswick (the RCMP acting under contract to the province). In North Bay Ontario, a local alderman recently persuaded the city council to ask the Ontario Provincial Police to provide a "costing", or an estimate of what the OPP would charge to replace the over 100 members of the municipal police agency (Hooper, 1992). In Kemptville Ontario, in 1991, as noted in the above discussion of increasing fiscal pressure, the mayor attempted to disband the 5 member local police organization and was reportedly negotiating with the Ontario Provincial Police to provide services (Walker, 1992).

Much of the reaction to proposals of regionalization and provincialization has been clearly negative. In January, 1992, the New Brunswick Police Association (NBPA), in response to the anticipated regionalization recommendations of the "Grant Report",

released a report which claimed that municipal police do a better and more cost efficient job than the RCMP (Waters, 1992). Relying upon crime statistics and cost data to make their comparisons, the NBPA anticipated Professor Alan Grant's recommendation that all police organizations with less than ten officers should be replaced by either a regional force (in areas adjacent to large urban centres) or the RCMP. In March 1992, Grant (1992) subsequently recommended a "rationalization of police services" through regionalization and provincialization, to which the provincial government made positive responses (reference from New Brunswick newspapers). In North Bay, a newspaper editorial supported the local police agency (Editorial, North Bay Nugget, May 14, 1992), while the local police association suggested they were "disappointed and hurt" by the suggestion they could be replaced (Belanger, 1992).

In Ottawa-Carleton, the proposal for regionalization of police services made by the Ottawa Police to Graeme Kirby, a regional review commissioner hired by the provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs has met a mixed review. As part of a region-wide review of local government, Kirby released an interim report in early September, 1992 which discussed the possibility of a regional organization which would replace the 3 municipal police agencies and the Ontario Provincial Police which operate under a municipal contract and as a provincial police service in the region (Adam, 1992).

Reaction from the two smaller municipal forces, Gloucester and Nepean, has been negative, citing increased distance between the community and the police with regional

policing²⁰. Both Gloucester and Nepean Police organizations provided Kirby with written position papers on regionalization, the former being written by academics from Carleton University (Lewis-Horne et al., 1992) and the latter written by a Nepean Police officer (Erfle, 1992). In contrast, Ottawa (the largest independent police organization in the region) views the regionalization proposal positively, suggesting that increased public and police officer safety will result (Lewis, 1992). Ottawa Police also wrote a position paper to support their views (Ottawa Police, Planning and Research Section, 1992).

Regionalization of police services has been a "hot-topic" in Ottawa-Carleton for over twenty years. Loreto (1984) notes that Ottawa-Carleton is the only large urban area in Ontario that does not have a regional police structure²¹. Loreto (1984:342-343) attributes the absence of regional policing in Ottawa-Carleton to active opposition to the concept on the part of Nepean, Gloucester, and Vanier police agencies²². Further evidence of this opposition can be found in then Nepean Reeve A.S. Haydon's letter to the Solicitor General in 1975 where Haydon outlines his response to the Ontario Task Force on Policing recommendation of regional policing:

The Task Force Report indicated that the reasons for recommending regionalization of police forces are that duplication, overlap and fragmented responsibilities would be eliminated.

²⁰Despite vocal opposition to regional policing, in his final report Kirby recommended to the Minister of Municipal Affairs that such an organization be established to replace the Ottawa, Nepean, Gloucester Police organizations and the detachments of the Ontario Provincial Police in Ottawa-Carleton.

²¹This same observation is made by Ottawa Police (1992: 1).

²²Support for this observation is also found in Henry Mayo's 1976 review of regional government in Ottawa-Carleton (see Ontario, 1976).

This statement is made without any proof whatsoever that these conditions exist or that policing in Ottawa-Carleton would be improved by one police force. In fact, nowhere in the report on Policing in Ontario are examples given to define what problems exist and how the proposed solutions would solve the problems to the public's (sic) benefit.

The essential point is that while the familiar slogans about the need to centralize in order to rationalize and economize may be appealing because of their simplicity, THEY MAY AS WELL BE WRONG.

(Haydon quotes an American study authored by Elinor Ostrom):

OUTPUT OF POLICE IN THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNITIES IS HIGHER THAN THAT OF THE CITY-WIDE POLICE FOR NINE OF TWELVE INDICATORS. RESIDENTS OF INDIANAPOLIS DID NOT RECEIVE HIGHER LEVELS OF POLICE OUTPUT AS MEASURED BY ANY INDICATOR. THE FINDINGS STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT RELATIVELY SMALL POLICE FORCES ARE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN LARGE FORCES IN MEETING CITIZEN DEMANDS FOR POLICE Protection. (emphasis in original)

Mr. Minister, at the risk of offending the architects of the Report on "Policing in Ontario", I believe it to be a very superficial document that stands shakily on either no factual basis or incorrect data (quoted in Loreto, 1984:591).

Public opinion survey-based information has been used in debates about regional policing. For example, as part of the New Brunswick regionalization report by Grant (1992), a public opinion survey was undertaken by a market research firm as a "background study". Scant reference is made to the public opinion survey in the Grant's final report and there is little indication that the results were used.

In Nepean, Ontario, results of successive surveys of public opinion concerning the adequacy of municipal police services were reproduced in the position paper on regionalized policing (Ertle, 1992). These results which showed strong support for the local police were buttressed by a telephone poll which asked respondents about which

organization (Nepean or regional police) should provide police services in Nepean. These surveys provided the local police with evidence to suggest that they were doing a good job in the eyes of their citizens and that regional policing was not a welcome option.

Regional policing is clearly part of the legitimate order in which local police organizations must exist. According to Loreto (1984) regional policing was in the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's the "conventional wisdom" or appropriate organizational model for providing policing services in urban and immediately adjacent areas. The provincial governments in Ontario, British Columbia and New Brunswick clearly favour the regional police model. There is evidence which suggests that suburban independent police organizations strongly resist the regional police model and have used public opinion survey information to buttress their position. This seems explainable in that a regional police organization would likely decrease, if not eliminate, the autonomy which suburban senior bureaucratic police officials now enjoy.

Summary

This chapter discussed the legitimate social order which is relevant for police organizations and senior bureaucratic police officials. The emergence of public survey information is viewed as legitimate so as to reflect the public's opinion of the police. Public opinion surveys are viewed as bona fide measures of citizens attitudes towards the police since these techniques are congruent with the dominant ideology of community based policing. Surveys, it was pointed out, value each and every respondent equally and serve a democratizing function much like community based policing (in its ideal form) democratizes police decision making through delegation of power to deal with problems

to citizens who share this responsibility with the police.

The increased use of science and technology similarly provides a legitimation technique for the police. As Ericson and Shearing (n.d.) have noted above, science is "universal, uniform, general and neutral", and therefore, is congruent with the impersonal order which is so important in bureaucracy. Surveys similarly rely upon person-neutral procedures in order to provide a representative assessment of the community's support of the police. Surveys have been justified in scientific terms such as "antidote for tunnel vision" and providing comprehensive and representative information concerning the public support for the police. As such, surveys "fit" with the impersonal order considered to be critical to bureaucratic organizations.

Taken together, the increased use of surveys can be explained as the intersection of two forms of rational action: purposive rationality and value rationality (Satow, 1975). In the latter form of rationality, humans engage in social action because, in and of itself, such action is the "best" action, or undertaken as Weber (1947:115) suggests, "entirely for its own sake and independently of any prospects of success. The first form of rationality, purposive rationality, suggests that certain human actions are adopted because various means are compared and the best mean is chosen given the desired end. Surveys offer both forms of rationality as illustrated by the comments of Murphy and de Verteuil (1986): comprehensive and representative information (purposive rationality) concerning the community's expectations of the police (value rationality).

Survey information acts as a resource for senior bureaucratic police officials in their dealings with the financial and consolidation aspects of the legitimate order. The

fiscal crisis in the local state is part of the legitimate order; police (and other public sector organizations) are required to "do more-with less". Senior bureaucratic officials are aware of this trend and, in one instance, used public survey information to demonstrate the legitimacy of the local police organization. In another instance, the public was surveyed concerning their willingness to pay more for police services. These examples indicate that senior bureaucratic officials are orienting their social action to the fiscal crisis within the state and using (or at least planning to use) public opinion survey information as a resource during budget discussions.

The existence of independent municipal police organizations is also called into question with the prevailing "conventional wisdom" (Loreto, 1984) of regional policing. The replacement of municipal police organizations (particularly small or geographically adjacent agencies) by the provincially supported regional police structure suggests that consolidated police organizations are indeed a component of the legitimate order for policing. Senior bureaucratic police officials in small independent police agencies have used public opinion survey information as a resource to suggest that their citizens are satisfied with police services, so "why change?". In effect, the bureaucratic officials are suggesting they are engaging in community-based police services (part of the legitimate order), and public opinion surveys (another part of the legitimate order) support that their action is "working" (i.e., the public is satisfied; we have objective and scientific evidence of this claim). Other legitimation devices, such as a position paper authored by academics and citation of American research which disputed the benefits of regional policing, have also been used to claim that independent municipal policing is better than a regional

structure.

The issue of regionalization has been in the background of policing in Ottawa-Carleton region for over twenty years. Given that regional policing is part of the legitimate order of policing in Canada, it poses a significant threat to the organizational survival and corresponding autonomy of senior bureaucratic officials in suburban Ottawa-Carleton police organizations. Suburban police officials are aware of this threat and have likely responded through social action such as community-based policing and use of public opinion surveys to counter the arguments of consolidation and legitimate the existing police organization.

In addition to other topics, the issues of community based policing and opinions concerning regionalization will be explored in the research project. The next chapter describes the sites for the research project, the three independent municipal police organizations in the Ottawa-Carleton region, and the propositions to be tested.

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Chapter 4: The Research Project

Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated the increased participation of police organizations in public opinion survey research. Police use of public opinion survey information is linked to broader environmental influences which impact upon Canadian police, such as changing trends in the ideology of progressive policing (i.e., "community based policing"), increased use of technology, increasing fiscal pressure on the police (i.e., "do more with less") and, in some instances, replacement of indigenous municipal police organizations with regional or provincial police agencies. Police participation in public opinions surveys is seen as a legitimate management response in the context of the legitimate social order.

This chapter outlines the research methodology used for the project. The chapter also describes the research sites from a historical perspective and the formal structure of the three police organizations. Since the study is concerned theoretically with police executives intervention to control the environment in which their respective agencies operate, this chapter describes the objective of their efforts; the formal organizational characteristics of each police agency. One aspect of their environment, the public support for the police is also described through an analysis of recently gathered public opinion survey information. Finally, based on the theoretical perspective adopted for this project and previous research, this chapter develops propositions which were tested in the research project.

Methodology

Since Weber described humans as rational beings, and therefore, able to explain their actions the project focuses on human accounts of the social action of concern, the use of surveys. This research project is concerned with understanding the bureaucratic officials reasons for participation in public opinion surveys, and the use of public opinion survey data by police executives and members of police governing bodies. Further, the project is concerned with the use of these data in the control of the police organization and the environment in which it is located. Also, since public opinion survey information is but one of many management responses, the project is concerned with understanding managerial responses to two environmental influences on policing: community based policing ideology, and, regionalization of police services. These latter two trends were thought to be particularly relevant for the organizations in this study since the former (community-based policing) is mandated through the provincial Police Services Act as the official manner in which policing is to be delivered, and the latter (regionalization of police services) has historically been an issue in all three police organizations.

The project is a comparative study of two police organizations which have recently completed a public opinion survey, and a third agency, which has considered this option, but for various reasons, has not done so. The first two organizations, Gloucester and Nepean, are located adjacent to each other within the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton. Gloucester and Nepean participated in public opinion surveys in 1989 and 1990, respectively. The third agency, Ottawa, is immediately adjacent to Gloucester and Nepean.

The research was undertaken using a combination of subjective and objective measures. Intensive interviews provided subjective data and were held with police officers (twelve interviewees; four from each agency), and members of the respective police services boards (three interviewees; one from each agency) (i.e., appointed members of the police governing body) (see Appendix B: Getting Access for a description how access to these agencies was accomplished). Objective information was gained through analysis of the following documents: survey results, annual reports, strategic plans, and budgets, internal memos and other relevant policy statements. The documentary analysis provided a complementary measure of the impact of the survey information on the police organization.

For the interviews, four major areas were explored. First, opinions concerning the mission of the respondents' respective organizations and the use of survey information in relation to this mission was explored. Second opinions concerning regionalization were solicited. Third, the decision to participate in a public opinion survey and the surrounding events was discussed. Fourth, the results of the survey, including the uses of the survey results and, respondents' views concerning same, were the subjects of discussion.

The survey data was part of a broader study to determine attitudes towards the police and public order problems in Gloucester, and Nepean (see Appendix A: Chronological Summary for a description of events concerning these survey projects). These surveys used mail-out questionnaires and were performed in the springs of 1989 and 1990, respectively. In Gloucester, 1,000 questionnaires were mailed to randomly selected residents over the age of 19, while in Nepean, 1500 questionnaires were sent to

randomly selected residents over 19 (1,000 questionnaires), persons listed in visible ethnic community association membership rolls, (200 questionnaires) and high school aged (13-18 years) persons (300 questionnaires)²³.

In each survey, recipients were selected from the Municipal Tax Assessment Data Base, an annual enumeration of persons living in municipalities. The return rates were comparable: 43.33% (Gloucester) and 45.4% (Nepean). The instruments used contained some questions that were specific to the individual police organization and community, but for the most part, items were standard.

The Research Sites

In order to situate the three research sites within the Ottawa-Carleton regional municipality, this section presents comparative information related to the region including population and local government services. In order to understand the populations served by the three organizations, the section also briefly describes basic demographic information (age, gender and mother tongue) for each of the three cities: a more detailed description of population characteristics can be found in Appendix E. Finally, the section describes the three organizations, in terms of their history and formal organization.

Gloucester, Nepean and Ottawa are the three largest municipalities in the Ottawa-

²³. These data were collected in collaboration with the respective agencies and, as such, to a large extent, the specific indicators reflect the information needs of powerful decision makers. The data are also limited insofar as the items will not provide answers to "sociologically interesting" questions, such as use of force, or police misconduct. Also, the method by which the data was collected, mail survey, is limited insofar as the medium of communication is writing, thereby under-representing persons with limited education. If interviews were performed, or a combination of questionnaires and interviews, the results would have yielded a much more representative (in terms of socioeconomic status) sample. However, the data does permit comparisons between communities' views of their respective police organizations. More importantly, the survey results were taken by participants in this study as valid measures of community support, and therefore, are part of the legitimate order in which these police organizations exist.

Carleton region, the other eight being separate independent cities, townships or villages. Together, Gloucester, Nepean and Ottawa account for almost eighty per cent of the population within the Region, with Ottawa accounting for almost half of the Regional population. In terms of population, Gloucester and Nepean are almost the same size, or just under one hundred thousand people.

In terms of other population characteristics, Ottawa has a large proportion of persons sixty years of age and over (19.5%), as compared to Gloucester and Nepean (6.47% and 9.73%, respectively: see Table 15, Appendix E). In contrast, Gloucester and Nepean have larger proportions of population aged thirty to forty-nine years (34.49% and 31.38%, respectively), as compared to Ottawa (27.61%). This suggests that Gloucester and Nepean are suburban "bedroom" communities, as compared to their urban counterpart, Ottawa.

Gloucester has a large proportion of French speaking residents compared to Ottawa and Nepean. In Gloucester, twenty seven per cent of residents report French as their mother tongue as compared to sixteen per cent in Ottawa and six percent in Nepean. In contrast, almost eighty per cent of Nepean residents report English as their mother tongue, as compared to sixty seven per cent in Gloucester and sixty seven per cent in Ottawa.

Regional and Local Services in Ottawa-Carleton

Currently, the provision of government services is accomplished through a "two tiered" form of government in Ottawa-Carleton (Ontario, Ottawa-Carleton Consultation

Commission, 1992a). Some services are provided by the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, while the vast majority of services are provided by each of the eleven municipalities. The recent review by the Regional Commissioner (Ontario, Ottawa-Carleton Consultation Commission, 1992a; 1992b) has recommended a realignment in the breakdown of responsibilities (including policing), in order to shift most control of local services to the region. In order to situate the proposals for future responsibilities, Table 6 provides a description of current functions provided by the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton and those offered at the local level.

Table 1: Regional and Local Functions²⁴

Regional Functions	Local Functions
Capital Borrowing for Reg. & Local Purposes	Tax Collection of Local, Reg. and School Boards
Emergency Measures	Fire protection
Civil Defence	Police protection
9 - 1 - 1 System	
Daycare	Hospitals
Social Services	Hydro
Public Health Services	Libraries
Homes for Aged	Parks and Recreation
Arts Grants	
Water Supply and Distribution	Storm Drainage
Collector Sewer System and Treatment Works	Local Sewers
Solid Waste Disposal Sites	Garbage Collection
Regional Planning	Local Planning
Land Severances	Land Severances
Review of Local Planning	Zoning and Building Regulations
	Housing and Urban Renewal
Transportation: Regional (Arterial) Roads	Local Streets
Traffic Control	Parking
Transit	
Transitway System	

From Table 1, the following can be seen:

- many core local government functions, such as policing and fire services are provided at the local level.

²⁴ Data for this table is drawn from Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Planning Department (1991).

- functions which cut across municipal boundaries such as transit, water, solid waste disposal and main roads are administered at the regional level.
- the only apparent duplication of function between the two level involves land severances. The Regional government rules on application for severances from "Cumberland, Goulbourn, West Carleton, Osgoode and Rideau townships and the Village of Rockcliffe Park...all other municipalities have their own committee to rule on applications" (Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, 1991).
- public order-related services which are administered by the Region include disaster planning, civil defence and 9 - 1 - 1 telephone system.

Police Organizations in Ottawa-Carleton

For policing services, Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester are the only municipalities which maintain independent municipal organizations. The Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) provide service to the remaining eight municipalities, with only Kanata and Rockcliffe Park²⁵ engaged in a contractual relationship where service levels are negotiated between a municipality and the provincial agency on a periodic basis (usually every 5 years)²⁶. The other remaining six municipalities are policed on a provincial basis by the OPP, that is, police services are not paid for directly out of municipal taxes (Ottawa Police, Planning and Research Section, 1992). There are indications that the provincial policing status of Cumberland is about to end as municipal politicians have recently been debating how to respond the imminent demand from the provincial government to pay for policing services in Cumberland (Ottawa Police, Planning and

²⁵. Interestingly enough, the Village of Rockcliffe Park (policed by the Ontario Provincial Police) is bordered on all four sides by the City of Ottawa.

²⁶. According to Juristat (Statistics Canada, 1992:14), in 1991 the Ontario Provincial Police had 13 municipal contracts in the province.

Research Section, 1992).

Two other aspects of multi-jurisdictional police agencies in Ottawa-Carleton also warrant comment. The Ontario Provincial Police also provide traffic patrol on the provincial highways, including the Queensway which runs through the region. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police also perform many operational functions in Ottawa-Carleton, including protective services for diplomatic missions and embassies, traffic control functions on National Capital Commission roads, and security on Parliament Hill and the Prime Minister's residence (Ottawa Police, Planning and Research Section 1992).

Gloucester Police and Nepean Police have successfully maintained their independent status in the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton for almost 20 years, in spite of two independent commissions which recommended regional policing be established. In 1974, the Task Force on Policing in Ontario (Ontario, 1974) recommended that Ottawa area forces be amalgamated; the same recommendation was put forward in 1976 by Henry Mayo, a Carleton University professor and chief commissioner of the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Review Commission. In his report, Professor Mayo (Ontario, 1976:185) noted that Gloucester and Nepean resisted the suggestion of a regional police agency for fear of increased per capita costs being borne by tax payers of those municipalities as a direct result of amalgamation.

According to Loreto (1984), Ottawa-Carleton is the only urban area in Ontario where regional government exists, but regional policing does not. Ottawa-Carleton's regional government was the first outside of Toronto to be established in Ontario, and according to Loreto (1984:340-343), in an effort to quickly establish regional government,

the then Minister of Municipal Affairs backed off when there was strong resistance to suggestions of an amalgamated police service. Regarding the Minister of Municipal Affairs, Loreto (1984:343) states: "(p)olitically, it was important for the new minister to 'make his mark' and therefore, the whole exercise in Ottawa-Carleton was 'telescoped'". One opponent of regional policing identified in Chapter 2 was Andrew Haydon, who at the time was Reeve of Nepean and later went on to be Chairman of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton.

In addition to their common opposition to regional policing, the Gloucester Police and Nepean Police share another common historical experience; between 1957 and 1963, the respective police organizations operated as a single organization, known as the "Gloucester-Nepean Police Department" (Villeneuve, 1982:26). The joint police organization was formed after discussions between the elected and administrative officials of the respective townships. Prior to the joint organization, policing services for the area were provided by the Ontario Provincial Police. However, OPP services appeared to be "too costly" for Gloucester officials and the joint force was formed with a complement of a Chief Constable, a Sergeant and five Constables (Villeneuve, 1982:26).

The Gloucester-Nepean Police Department existed until December 31, 1963, when the partnership was dissolved. One historical account suggests the joint force was discontinued due to the rapid growth of each of the townships (Villeneuve, 1982:28). However, the same account notes in June, 1963, the Gloucester Council requested that the Gloucester-Nepean Police Committee provide more manpower and 1 additional vehicle for police services in Gloucester. Also, just prior to the dissolution of the joint police

organization, the Orleans Trustees of the Police requested that bilingual officers be appointed to serve the northeast section of the township. Another source (Loreto, 1984:340) suggests the dissolution of the Gloucester-Nepean Police was due the "persistence of political rivalries". Taken together, these events and observations suggest the separation of the Gloucester and Nepean Police organizations may have been for reasons other than simply growth in the respective townships.

The Ottawa Police provide service to the cities of Ottawa and Vanier. Vanier is a small independent city, with a largely french-speaking population. The city of Ottawa borders all sides of Vanier. At one time, Vanier had its own independent police agency, however in 1984, owing to large imminent capital costs of a new police building, the Vanier Police Commission decided to purchase police services from neighbouring Ottawa (Lyon, 1992). The Ontario Police Commission (1983:iv) study of the issue specifically mentioned that the Vanier Police and Ottawa Police were not to be amalgamated, but rather the Vanier police officers would be integrated into the Ottawa Police personnel structure and that Ottawa would provide policing services on a contractual basis with the City of Vanier. On January 1, 1985, Ottawa assumed responsibility for policing Vanier (Ottawa Police, Planning and Research Section, 1992).

Recently, media reports (MacLean, 1992) have suggested that Vanier City Council are examining alternatives to purchasing services from the Ottawa Police. The Vanier Mayor is quoted as "we want to look at all our options... we are not displeased with the Ottawa Service but there are some things that could change" (MacLean, 1992). In the same article, the Ottawa Police Chief remarked that "if Vanier switches forces, it means

lay-offs for Ottawa with women and visible minorities the first to lose their jobs" (MacLean, 1992). Interesting enough, the Ottawa Chief linked the Vanier issue to regional policing: "with all this complaining and bickering going on between forces, I think the Ontario government will look at a regional force for this whole area (MacLean, 1992). In a recent position paper on regional policing, the Ottawa Police (1992a:7) also noted that Vanier is "entertaining contract bids from other police agencies, for when the contract expires in 1994".

The Gloucester Police, Nepean Police and Ottawa Police organizations are currently headed by Chiefs with similar backgrounds. The Gloucester Police Chief, Raymond Renaud was the Deputy Police Chief in Gloucester and has spent his entire police career in that organization: Chief Renaud was promoted in August of 1992. The former Gloucester police chief (who sponsored the first public opinion survey), Lester Thompson, held his post for over 9 years and was recruited for the position from the Ottawa Police. The Nepean Police Chief, Wayne Phillips, has been in his position just over 3 years and was recruited from the ranks of the Nepean organization. The Ottawa Police Chief, Tom Flanagan, has spent his entire career with the Ottawa Police rising through the ranks as is typical of many Canadian police executives (Grant, 1980).

Formal Organizational Structure

The following describes the formal structure of the three organizations under study. The analysis includes a description of sworn and civilian personnel for each agency and provincial and national comparative data, sworn personnel by rank and

civilian personnel by function within each agency, and a comparative analysis of the formal work areas of each organization²⁷. The analysis demonstrates that all three police organizations possess the "minimum capability factors" (Grant, 1980, 1992) necessary for establishing separate organizations. Also, this section demonstrates that the Ottawa Police are a much larger and more highly specialized agency, across administrative, field operations and criminal investigative functions, than their suburban counterparts.

Table 2: 1990 Sworn and Civilian Breakdown: Gloucester, Nepean, Ottawa, Ontario and Canada²⁸

Organization/Jurisdiction	% Sworn Personnel	% Civilian Personnel
Gloucester	74.8	25.2
Nepean	73.5	26.5
Ottawa	70.9	29.1
Ontario	71.3	28.7
Canada	70.3	29.7

Table 2 shows 1990 formal personnel composition of the Gloucester Police, Nepean and Ottawa Police organizations and the national and provincial breakdowns. Sworn personnel (i.e., those with unrestricted peace officer status under the Ontario Police Services Act) account for comparable proportions of complement (74.8% of all personnel

²⁷ Information concerning the respective financial resources broken down by areas described in Tables 12A, 12B, and 12C was requested for each of the three agencies. Only one of three agencies responded to this request.

²⁸ Sources for these data are 1990 Annual Reports for Gloucester Police, Nepean Police, and Ottawa Police, and unpublished reports from Statistics Canada (1991d): Police Administration Statistics: Annual Survey, 1990.

in Gloucester, as compared to 73.5% in Nepean and 70.9% in Ottawa). The Gloucester and Nepean figures are slightly higher than the comparable national and provincial proportions (70.3% and 71.3%, respectively: Statistics Canada, 1991d), while the Ottawa sworn personnel complement is comparable with the provincial and national data. Civilian personnel, (i.e., those who are members of police organizations, but do not have unrestricted peace officer status under the Ontario Police Services Act) are similar in proportion of total complement (25.2%, 26.5% and 29.1% in Gloucester Nepean and Ottawa, respectively). Comparable information for national and provincial complements suggest similar proportions of total complement (29.7% and 28.3%, respectively; Statistics Canada, 1991d).

Table 3 provides the breakdown of sworn personnel for the Gloucester Police, Nepean Police and Ottawa Police for 1990.

Table 3: Gloucester Police, Nepean Police, and Ottawa Police: Sworn Personnel by Rank 1990²⁹

Rank	Ottawa		Nepean		Gloucester	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Chief	1	.2	1	.7	1	.7
Deputy Chief	2	.3	2	1.5	1	.7
Superintendent	5 ³⁰	.8	-	0.0	-	0.0
Inspector	24 ³¹	3.9	5	3.7	5 ³²	3.7
Staff Sergeant	28 ³³	4.6	8	6.1	6	4.4
Sergeant	139	22.6	18	13.6	19	14.2
Constable - First Class	361 ³⁴	58.8	86	64.7	72	53.7
Constable - Second Class	25	4.1	5	3.7	19	6.7
Constable - Third Class	12	2.0	5	3.7	15	11.2
Constable - Fourth Class	19	3.1	3	2.3	3	2.2
Cadet	-	0.0	-	0.0	4	3.0
Total	613	100.0	136	100.0	134	100.0

From Table 3, the following can be seen:

- the percentage of sworn personnel designated as "senior officers", or those above the rank of staff sergeants, is comparable for the three organizations (5.1% for

²⁹. "Sworn personnel" are defined as those who are sworn as "peace officers" pursuant to the Ontario Police Services Act.

³⁰. Includes the rank of Staff Superintendent.

³¹. Includes the rank of Staff Inspector

³². Includes in this category is one incumbent at the rank of Staff Inspector.

³³. Includes the rank of Staff Sergeant Major.

³⁴. For Ottawa, this rank includes those officers designated as "Senior Constables".

Gloucester, 5.8% for Nepean and 5.2% for Ottawa)³⁵.

- the percentage of sworn personnel designated as "under officers"³⁶, or those persons in the sergeant and staff sergeant ranks, similar for Gloucester and Nepean (18.6% for Gloucester, 19.7% for Nepean)³⁷. In comparison, Ottawa has a much larger proportion of under officers (27.2% of personnel).
- the percentage of sworn personnel holding the rank of "constable", is comparable for the Gloucester and Nepean (76.8% for Gloucester (includes Cadet rank), 74.4 for Nepean). In comparison, Ottawa has a smaller proportion of constables (only 68.8% of personnel)³⁸.
- in terms of overall sworn personnel, Nepean and Gloucester are essentially the same size of police agency. In comparison, Ottawa is more than four times larger than each of the other two organizations.
- the number of different ranks varies across the organizations: Gloucester has eight distinct ranks (cadet, constable, sergeant, staff sergeant, inspector, staff inspector, deputy chief and chief), while Nepean has six (constable, sergeant, staff sergeant, inspector, deputy chief and chief). In contrast, Ottawa has ten formally designated ranks (constable, senior constable, sergeant, staff sergeant, staff sergeant major, inspector, staff inspector, superintendent, staff superintendent, deputy chief and chief).

In terms of agency size, at six hundred and thirteen sworn personnel, Ottawa is the largest non-regional police organization and the fifth largest independent agency in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 1991d). Ottawa is larger than six regional police

³⁵. Statistic Canada (1991d) reports that the proportion of senior officers of all sworn personnel is 4.66% for all of Canada, and 4.27% for Ontario.

³⁶. Statistics Canada (1991d) uses the term "non commissioned officers" for Sergeants and Staff Sergeants. However, unlike the military, police "senior officers" do not formally or informally receive a commission, hence it is illogical to term Sergeants and Staff Sergeants as "non-commissioned officers".

³⁷. Statistic Canada (1991d) reports that the proportion of under officers of all sworn personnel is 25.06% for all of Canada, and 25.07% for Ontario.

³⁸. Statistic Canada (1991d) reports that the proportion of constables of all sworn personnel is 70.27% for all of Canada, and 70.65% for Ontario.

organizations: Durham (539 personnel), Halton (342 personnel), Niagara (571 personnel), Waterloo (520 personnel), Sudbury (228 personnel), and Haldimand-Norfolk (78 personnel). The second largest non-regional independent police agency is London, with a sworn complement of three hundred and eighty personnel (Statistics Canada, 1991d).

With one hundred thirty six and one hundred thirty four sworn personnel, respectively, Nepean and Gloucester are the fifteenth and sixteenth largest organizations in the province (Statistics Canada, 1991d). Other comparable police agencies are Guelph (137 personnel) and Kingston (114 personnel). A review of sworn complement across the province reveals that Nepean and Gloucester share the distinction of being the only two mid-size police organizations in Ontario which are located immediately adjacent to a much larger police agency (Statistics Canada, 1991d).

Table 4 provides the breakdown of civilian personnel for the Gloucester Police, Nepean Police and Ottawa Police for the year 1990.

Table 4: Gloucester Police, Nepean Police and Ottawa Police Civilian Personnel by Work Area/Function³⁹

Work Area/Function	Ottawa		Nepean		Gloucester	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Managers and Supervisors ⁴⁰	17	6.7	2	4.0	3	6.6
Executive Assistants	0	0.0	-	0.0	2	4.4
Community Program Staff ⁴¹	3	1.2	2	4.0	1	2.3
Computer Support Staff	13	5.1	2	4.0	-	0.0
Clerks ⁴²	158	62.2	26	52.0	18	40.0
Communications Staff ⁴³	60	23.7	14	28.0	16	35.5
Bylaw Enforcement	0	0.0	3	6.0	5	11.2
Identification Technician	3	1.2	2	2.0	-	0.0
Total	254	100.0	50	100.0	45	100.0

³⁹. Civilian Personnel are defined as those personnel who do not act as peace officers as defined by the Ontario Police Services Act. Special Constables are included in this category as their peace officer status is limited. Persons under contract (as opposed to being part of the bargaining unit) are also included in this category.

⁴⁰. Included in this category are positions with the designation of "manager" or "supervisor" or "budget personnel" (Gloucester) in the position, except where the incumbent supports computers.

⁴¹. Included in this category crisis intervention/social work personnel and the telephone counselling coordinator ("Teen Talk Program": Nepean).

⁴². This category includes positions designated as "clerks" and "clerk-typists".

⁴³. Included in this category are receptionists, switch board operators, radio dispatchers and clerks devoted to the communications function.

From Table 4, the following can be noted:

- the percentage of civilian personnel who are in the management/professional area, i.e., those designated as managers and supervisors, executive assistants, community program staff and computer support staff, is comparable for Gloucester and Nepean (13.3% for Gloucester, 12.0% for Nepean). Comparatively, Ottawa has just under seven per cent of all civilian staff in this category.
- for clerical staff, there is a 12 per cent difference between Gloucester and Nepean (the proportion of clerical staff in Gloucester is 40%, while the clerical staff in Nepean account for 52.0% of all civilian personnel). Ottawa's proportion of clerical staff is much higher than the other organizations (62.2%).
- for communications personnel, the proportion of personnel devoted to this function in Gloucester is the highest (35.5%), followed by Nepean (28.0% in) and Ottawa (23.7%).
- other civilian personnel, including bylaw enforcement and identification staff account for comparable proportions (11.2% in Gloucester as compared to 8.0% in Nepean and 7.5% in Ottawa).
- for the most part, all three organizations have similar categories of civilian employees. The exceptions are: executive assistants (Gloucester only) and bylaw enforcement (Gloucester and Nepean), and computer support personnel (Ottawa and Nepean).

Tables 5A, 5B, and 5C list the formally designated work areas in the three research sites for 1990.

Table 5A: Formally Designated Work Areas: Ottawa Police, Nepean Police and Gloucester Police, Administration

Ottawa	Nepean	Gloucester
Financial Services	Financial Services	Budget and Finance
Budget and Finance	Records	Records
Technical Services	Bylaw	Bylaw
Court Liaison	Court Liaison	Court Liaison
Transportation	Transportation	Transportation
Training, Recruitment (2 units)	Recruiting and Training	Recruiting and Training
Supply and Property	Property	Property
Personnel Services	Building Maintenance	Building Maintenance
Information Services	Quartermasters Stores	Quartermaster
Central Records	Summons and Warrants	Warrants
Computer Services	Computing Services	Research and Planning
9 - 1 - 1	Personnel	Auditing
Communication Services	Communications	Freedom of Information
Communications Centre		Citizen Complaints
Information Desk		Lottery Permits
Freedom of Information		
Firearms		
Court Services		
Case Management		
Court Security		
Internal Affairs		
Planning and Research		

From Table 5A⁴⁴, the following can be seen:

- there are similar units in all three organizations. For example, all three organizations have Budget and Finance areas, Court Liaison, Records and Transportation functions. Similarly, in Nepean and Gloucester, each has a Recruiting and Training unit, while in Ottawa Recruiting and Training are two separate units. Other examples of like-designated units are: Property and Supply (Ottawa) and Building Maintenance and Quartermasters Stores (Gloucester and Nepean).
- there are examples where like-designated work areas are common only to two of the three organizations. These are: Planning and Research (Gloucester and Ottawa), computing services (Ottawa and Nepean) and Freedom of Information (Gloucester and Ottawa), Bylaw (Nepean and Gloucester), Summons and Warrants (Nepean and Gloucester) Personnel (Ottawa and Nepean), and Communications⁴⁵ (Ottawa and Nepean).
- there are formally designated work units which are unique to one organization (primarily Ottawa). These are: Lottery Permits (Gloucester), Auditing (Gloucester), 9-1-1 (Ottawa), Firearms (Ottawa), Court Security (Ottawa), Case Management (Ottawa), Internal Affairs (Ottawa), Technical Services (Ottawa).
- in terms of the number of work areas, Ottawa has 24 formally designated units, Gloucester has 15, and Nepean has 13 such areas. Thus, for administrative functions, Ottawa is much more specialized, in terms of formal organizational structure, as compared to its suburban counterparts.

⁴⁴. This term "administration" is used in a generic sense to designate work areas that are administrative in nature and does not necessarily reflect the reporting relationships within Gloucester Police, Nepean Police and Ottawa Police. The designated units listed in this chart are drawn from the respective 1990 Annual Reports of the Gloucester, Nepean and Ottawa Police organizations.

⁴⁵. Gloucester has personnel who perform communications functions, however, these staff are part of the operational platoon system and are not formally designated as a separate communications work area (Kanelakos, 1992).

Table 5B: Formally Designated Work Areas Ottawa Police, Nepean Police and Gloucester Police, Field Operations⁴⁶

Ottawa	Nepean	Gloucester
Platoons A,B,C,D,E	Platoons (8)	Platoons (8)
Youth Services	Youth	Youth
Victim/Crisis Unit	Victim and Crisis	Victim Crisis Services
Traffic	Traffic	Traffic
Marine Patrol	Marine and Underwater	
Tactical Squad	Emergency Response	
Underwater Squad	Community Services	
Crowd Control		
Bike Patrol		
Community Services		
Community Officers		
Beat Squad		
Community Policing Services		
Youth Squad		
School Patrol		
Safety Village		
Multicultural Services		

From Table 5B, the following can be seen:

- there are formally designated areas which are common to all three organizations: Platoons, Youth Services, Victim and Crisis and Traffic.
- Nepean and Ottawa have like-designated areas which are common only to these agencies: Marine, Emergency Response (Tactical), and Community Services.
- Ottawa has the following uniquely designated areas: Crowd Control, Bike Patrol, Community Officers, Beat Squad, School Patrol, Safety Village, and Multicultural Services.

⁴⁶ This term is used to designate functions which provide services directly to persons in the community or directly supports police work areas which provide services to persons within the community and does not necessarily reflect reporting relationships within the Gloucester Police, Nepean Police and Ottawa Police. The designated units listed in this chart are drawn from the respective Annual Reports (1990) of the Gloucester, Nepean and Ottawa Police organizations.

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- there are like-designated work areas common to two of the three organizations: Fraud (Ottawa and Nepean) and Break and Enter (Ottawa and Gloucester).
- Ottawa Police have the following uniquely named work areas: Auto Theft, Enforcement, Arson, Sexual Assault/Child Abuse, Crime Stoppers, Polygraph, General Assignment and Major Crimes. Thus, for criminal investigation functions, Ottawa is much more specialized, in terms of formal organizational structure, as compared to its suburban counterparts.

Public Support for Local Police Organizations

This section discusses the public support for local police organizations largely based on the survey findings concerning the two suburban agencies, Gloucester and Nepean. There are no similar data concerning the Ottawa Police. However, information drawn from focus group meetings with Ottawa citizens and consultants hired by the Ottawa Police indicates positive public support for this organization (Continental PIR Communications, 1991). This section demonstrates the positive public support available to local police organizations.

Survey responses which are pertinent to the local police organizations^{4*} are presented. Aggregate responses to items which were common to both questionnaires are presented below. Major areas of inquiry common to each survey included:

1. Satisfaction with police response to certain types of problems (i.e., "What kind of job would you say that the (local) Police does in your community responding to the following?").
2. Satisfaction with face-to-face contact in different situations (e.g., traffic

*. This section does not discuss findings which are not directly reflective of the positive police organization thesis. For example, each survey dealt with respondents' perception of seriousness of problems in the respective cities. Since this question (and others) involved phenomena which are external to the police organization, or only marginally related, it was not selected for analysis. Other questions not selected included; self-reported victimization, respondents' ratings of the importance of certain police programs, perceptions of safety in certain areas and suggestions for change in police services.

enforcement, traffic accident).

3. Rating of police person qualities (e.g., fairness, honesty) exhibited during face-to-face contact.
4. Satisfaction with aspects of telephone call to local Police (e.g., ability to answer in French or English, or time taken to answer initial call by operator).
5. Overall rating of police agency (i.e., "Overall, how well does the (local) police exhibit the following qualities?").
6. Overall comments concerning the respective police organizations.

The analysis below is a comparative discussion of the survey results as they were presented to the respective police organizations. The discussion assumes the survey results are representative of the public at large within the respective municipalities since these data were collected according to random sampling techniques, with respondents selected from municipal enumeration lists. Also, these data were presented as representative of the respective municipalities' population to the respective police organizations and received as such.

Findings from the Surveys

Question: "What kind of job would you say, that the (local) Police are doing in your community in response to the following?" (Respondents were asked to rate the police response as very poor (1), adequate (2), or very good (3); mean scores are provided in Table 6 below).

Table 6: Rating of Police Organization Response to Specific Situations

Item	Nepean			Gloucester		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents
stealing from homes	2.22	.621	267	2.09	.563	139
stealing from stores	2.24	.543	201	2.14	.502	93
damage to property	2.10	.606	234	2.00	.577	118
family disputes	2.24	.566	180	2.12	.552	85
drug abuse	2.08	.595	231	1.92	.618	111
noise and disturbances	2.24	.641	275	2.18	.618	157
calls for information	2.57	.556	282	2.50	.575	153
community relations	2.53	.586	321	2.45	.584	153
visible minority relations	2.21	.578	170	2.18	.601	77

Table 6 illustrates positive citizen ratings of the job the local police organizations are doing in response to specific situations in each municipality. In Nepean, the mean scores for all items fell between "adequate" and "very good": the highest mean score was for "calls for information" (2.57) and the lowest mean score was for "drug abuse" (2.08). In Gloucester, all mean scores, except for "drug abuse", were between "adequate" and "very good": the highest score was for "calls for information" (2.50) and the lowest mean score was for "drug abuse" (1.92).

Question: Respondents were asked their level of satisfaction with the face-to-face contact with a member of the (local) Police, with "1" representing "not satisfied", "2" representing "somewhat satisfied" and, "3" representing "very satisfied". Mean satisfaction scores are presented in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Respondents' Rating of Satisfaction with Face-to-Face Contact in Specific Situations

Situation	Nepean			Gloucester		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents
traffic enforcement	2.25	.801	116	2.37	.740	91
traffic accident	2.36	.758	83	2.32	.818	37
casual conversation with on-duty officer	2.73	.712	89	2.66	.581	56
reported a problem in neighbourhood	2.41	.710	93	2.46	.686	83

Table 7 shows positive citizen ratings of the face-to-face contact which respondents had with a member of the local police organization. In Nepean for all specific types of situations, mean satisfaction scores were between "somewhat satisfied" and "very satisfied"; the highest satisfaction score was for "casual conversation with on-duty officer". Similar to the Nepean results, in Gloucester, for all specific types of situations, mean satisfaction scores were between "somewhat satisfied" and "very satisfied"; the highest satisfaction score was for "casual conversation with on-duty officer".

Question: Respondents were asked to rate the police person with whom they had face-to-face on a number of qualities, with "1" representing "not at all", "2" representing "somewhat" and, "3" representing "very much". Mean quality scores are presented in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Respondents' Rating of Police Person Qualities

Quality	Nepean			Gloucester		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents
fairness	2.60	.613	281	2.64	.586	235
courtesy	2.71	.535	310	2.74	.513	245
honesty	2.74	.509	276	2.78	.480	238
good appearance	2.87	.329	300	2.84	.389	238
knowledge of their job	2.73	.517	291	2.71	.498	240
concern for your problem	2.47	.724	293	2.61	.618	237
effectiveness	2.48	.708	296	2.58	.610	236

Table 8 shows positive respondents' ratings of police persons' qualities in both municipalities. In Nepean, all mean quality scores were between "somewhat" and "very much"; the highest mean quality score was for "good appearance". Similar to Nepean, in Gloucester, all mean quality scores were between "somewhat" and "very much"; the highest mean quality score was for "good appearance".

Question: Respondents were asked to rate the Gloucester (or Nepean) Police response to requests made by telephone, with "1" representing "not at all", "2" representing "somewhat" and, "3" representing "very much". Mean quality scores are presented in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Respondents' Rating of Satisfaction with Specific Aspects of Telephone Contact

Specific Aspect	Nepean			Gloucester		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents
the ability of the person answering the call to answer in French and English	2.73	.554	201	2.68	.606	177
the time taken to answer the initial call by the operator	2.69	.526	230	2.65	.630	180
the time taken to respond to your request or question	2.59	.627	227	2.60	.665	181
the politeness of the response	2.78	.501	234	2.79	.489	188

Table 9 shows positive citizen ratings of satisfaction with various aspects of telephone requests in both municipalities. In Nepean, all mean satisfaction scores were between "somewhat satisfied" and "very satisfied"; the highest mean satisfaction score was for "politeness of response". Similar results were found in Gloucester: all mean satisfaction scores were between "somewhat satisfied" and "very satisfied"; the highest mean satisfaction score was for "politeness of response".

Question: Respondents were asked to rate on an overall basis the Gloucester (or Nepean) Police in terms of specific qualities, with "1" representing "not at all", "2" representing "somewhat" and, "3" representing "very much". Mean quality scores are presented in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Respondents' Rating of Overall Police Organization Qualities

Quality	Nepean			Gloucester		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Respondents
fairness	2.65	.516	360	2.62	.554	227
courtesy	2.76	.466	372	2.71	.506	276
honesty	2.76	.455	354	2.72	.502	241
good appearance	2.87	.343	380	2.83	.405	299
knowledge of their job	2.76	.462	359	2.73	.476	251
concern for your problem	2.68	.518	370	2.68	.518	269
effectiveness	2.63	.547	363	2.61	.510	264

Table 10 shows positive respondents' ratings of overall police organization qualities in both municipalities. Similar to the previous question concerning individual officer qualities, in Nepean all mean quality scores were between "somewhat" "very much"; the highest average quality score was for "good appearance". Likewise, in Gloucester, all mean quality scores were between "somewhat" "very much"; the highest average quality score was for "good appearance".

Question Respondents were asked if they had any comments about the local police organization. Verbatim comments were analysed and grouped into the categories listed below in Table 12. As multiple responses were allowed in the analysis, Table 11 provides the number of mentions (i.e., the number of times a certain category of comment was mentioned) as opposed to the number of respondents making similar comments.

Table 11: Categories of Comments Concerning Local Police Organizations

Category of Comment	Nepean		Gloucester	
	Number of Comments	Percent of Total	Number of Comments	Percent of Total
Very positive	53	42.5	81	37.5
Program Suggestions	8	6.6	59	27.4
Positive Situations	14	11.3	19	8.8
Negative Situations	7	5.7	17	7.8
Other	42	33.6	40	18.5

Table 11 shows positive respondents' comments concerning local police organization qualities in both municipalities. In Nepean, the largest proportion of comments involved respondents who were very satisfied with the local police. Comments such as "doing a great job" or "a super police force" are examples included in this category. Respondents also wrote about specific situations (11.3%) which were positive insofar as they were pleased with the assistance rendered by the Nepean Police officer(s). Taken together, these categories make up just more than half (53.8%) of all comments offered about the Nepean Police. In contrast, negative situations amount to just under six per cent of all comments offered.

In Gloucester, the largest proportion of comments concerning the local police were positive. Comments such as "very satisfied", "they care and are responsive to most needs", and "officers are tops" are included in this category. Respondents also mentioned

positive situations where respondents were pleased with service provided in specific circumstances. Taken together these categories comprise almost half (46.3%) of all comments offered. On the other hand, negative comments concerning specific situations where respondents were not satisfied with the Gloucester Police accounted for just under eight per cent of all comments.

Summary: Public Support for Local Police Organizations

From the above survey results, strong public support can be observed for local police organizations and the services and programs they offer. In Nepean, all ratings of police response to problems were positive, as were respondent satisfaction with face-to-face and telephone contact, and respondents ratings of overall organizational qualities. When asked to provide comments about the Nepean Police, just over half of the comments were positive, while only a small proportion were negative.

In Gloucester, respondents ratings of local police response to problems were, with one exception, positive. Respondents ratings of satisfaction with face-to-face and telephone contact were also positive as were assessments of overall organizational qualities. When asked to provide comments about the Gloucester Police, just under half of the comments were positive, while less than ten percent of comments were negative.

Summary: The Research Sites

The cities of Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester are the three largest municipalities in terms of population within the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton. Together,

these municipalities account for almost eighty per cent of the regions population, with Ottawa accounting for almost half. Except for a few small differences in some demographic characteristics (e.g., mother tongue in Nepean and Gloucester), these population of these cities do not appear to be differentiated to any great degree.

Many of the local government services, including police, are provided by municipalities. Further, there has been a long standing resistance to the creation of an amalgamated police organization within Ottawa-Carleton. While speculative, this desire for local control could also be the reason that the only joint police organization, the Gloucester-Nepean Police, dissolved after only a short period of operation.

The analysis of formal structure of the respective organizations indicated many similarities and differences between the research sites. In terms of sworn versus civilian personnel complements, the proportions within the three organizations are comparable. Ottawa is clearly the largest of the three organizations and has proportionately more sworn personnel at higher ranks than its suburban counterparts. There are similar job classifications for civilian members of all three police agencies, while Ottawa has proportionately more personnel as clerks. There are formally designated work areas which are common to all three organizations in administration, filed operations and criminal investigation. However, Ottawa has more formally designated work areas, in each of the major areas than Gloucester and Nepean.

Public support for the two suburban police organizations is very positive. Except for one item for the Gloucester Police organization, all other items revealed positive responses for the Gloucester and Nepean Police agencies. While there are no comparative

data available for the Ottawa Police, there is anecdotal information which indicates positive public support. These findings are similar to results of surveys completed in the last 20 years for all police organizations in Canada (as described in Chapter 2).

In summary, all three organizations appear to be providing service to similar populations which exhibit strong public support for the police. The Ottawa-Carleton police organizations possess many common formally designated work areas. As such, they appear to providing the "minimum capabilities" for what one observer (Grant, 1980, 1992) has determined to be required for formal designation of a separate police organization

Propositions for the Study

Conceptions of the Police Mission

The adoption of community based policing as an ideology can be explained theoretically from the Weberian social action perspective. The social action perspective suggests that the police intervene in their social world in response to environmental demands which they perceive as relevant for their organizations. Chapter 3 outlined four of these environmental influences, including the rapid and widespread adoption of community based policing as a philosophy around which police services should be organized. Theoretically, the adoption of community based policing ideology is an example of police response to the dominant ideology of progressive policing.

In Chapter 3, the influence of "community-based policing" as an ideology of progressive policing organizations was discussed. As Murphy (1989) and others (e.g.

Seagrave, 1992) have pointed out, "community based policing" has replaced the crime control model as the way that police organizations should be delivering their services. The influence of the community based model on police managers and administrators was documented in research by Schneider (1991) and Coutts and Durivage (1992).

The influence of the ideology of community based policing was expected to be found in official statements concerning the respective organizations' mission. Also, since community based policing has been found to be part of police executives' definitions of an effective organization, it was also expected that in this study police executives would offer statements which would reflect community based policing ideology. Based on the above, the following propositions were derived:

1. Police organizations will adopt in written form the ideology of community based policing.
2. When asked about the mission of their organization, police executives will adopt community based policing ideology in their explanations.

The Public Opinion Survey as Purposive Rational Social Action

Weber (1947:115) stated there are two forms of rational social action, purposive-rational and value-rational social action (Satow, 1975). In the first of these two, humans engage in such behaviour since doing so will achieve some end. Action is purposive in that individuals evaluate various means to achieving an end and choose the "best" means based on the relative efficacy of the alternatives. In the second, humans engage in social action because the action, in and of itself, is of value. Value rational social action involves human beings choosing the "best" alternative "entirely on and for its own sake and independently of any prospects of external success" (Weber, 1947:115).

Public opinion surveys have been recently recognized as providing a means by which agencies can be evaluated, that is, in Weber's terms, having purposive-rationality. According to White and Menke, (1978:204) "the survey is widely used to assess both the mood of the public toward criminal justice agencies and to provide data upon which to formulate policy recommendations and decisions" (see also Loree et al, 1989 and Richards, 1989 for purposive rational justifications for surveys). It follows then that those in charge of police agencies would likely view the survey as providing the ability to evaluate their organization through the provision of information concerning the relative efficacy of various parts of their organization. Indeed, research by Schneider (1991) suggests that police administrators use multiple indicators to determine the effectiveness of their organizations including measures which reflect public acceptability. Based on the above, the following proposition was developed:

3. When asked how they would measure if their organization was accomplishing its mission, respondents will choose a wide range of indicators including public opinion surveys.

Participating in a Survey: Who is in Control?

Weberian influenced perspectives (e.g., Ranson et al. 1980) suggest that the influence of powerful actors in defining and reproducing organizational structure is significant. In the police literature, the influence of senior police officers, particularly chiefs of police, on police organizations and their operations has been documented (e.g., Holten and Jones, 1978:136; Clairmont, 1990:20; Griffiths et al., 1980:78; and Skolnick and Bayley, 1986:220). McManen and Ericson (1984) have noted that inside officials (of

which police executives are part) engage in the politics of cooptation when faced with demands from external pressure groups. The decision to engage in a public opinion survey can, therefore, be explained theoretically as an example of the influence of senior officials in defining their organizational structure.

Weber (1968:991) characterized the relationship between the political masters and bureaucratic officials as "the dilettante facing the expert". The bureaucrats' technical expertise and access to information available through only through administrative channels (Weber, 1968: 1417-1418) places the political master in a position of function dependence vis a vis the bureaucratic official. Weber (1968:1418) suggests that in order to have effective supervision of the bureaucracy, political masters must get access to information "independently of the officials good will".

In Chapter 2, observers of police governing bodies, noted the power of police commission members vis a vis the police organization (Hann et al., 1985). However, Stenning (1981) has documented the part time and short term tenure of members of the police governing bodies as factors which "tended to give rise to a practical dependence of the police board on the chief for the resources and expertise needed to develop, supervise and administer policies, for the management and deployment of police resources" (Hann et al., 1985:13). Also, Hann et al. (1985:77) concluded "governing authorities tend to become involved in decisions in the areas of budget and finance, personnel issues and labour management relations". Since the decision to undertake a public opinion survey is related to the state of police/community relations it is expected that police governing body authority involvement will be limited. While the substantive

issue of police/community relations is believed to be uncommon ground for members of the police governing body, the decision to embark on a public opinion survey requires the outlay of financial resources and, as such, the governing authority will be involved primarily from a financial aspect.

Based on the foregoing, the following propositions were derived:

4. Police chiefs and senior officers will be more involved with the public attitudes survey, as compared to police board members.
5. Members of police services boards involvement in the public opinion survey will be limited to the financial aspects of the project.

Participating in a Survey: How is the Decision Concerning the Survey Justified?

Weberian influenced theories of the police suggest they adapt policies which are seen to be legitimate, or socially acceptable. Furthermore, these socially acceptable policies are adopted based on rationally-derived rules, that is, rules which reflect purposive-rationality or means-end concerns. Sources of these rules for the police include public acceptance, financial concerns, and legal constraints.

Indeed, public acceptance of the police organization as legitimate ensures the continued flow of financial resources which are necessary to ensure the continued existence of the police organization. The legitimacy of the police is also attributable, in part, to their legal status within the state as the sole agency with access to non-negotiable use of force to ensure order. Given these aspects of policing, the Weberian-influenced perspective suggests that the police adoption (or non-adoption) of public opinion survey technology can be explained by participants in terms which reflect public acceptance,

financial and legal concerns.

Chapter 3 noted that public opinion concerning the police has been consistently positive and some police agencies have recently engaged in managing public acceptance resources through their use of, or participation in, surveys. Also, the management of financial resources has been a "hot topic" with police managers and historical information suggests the police have been successful in increasing their level of financial resources. Finally, the law has been identified as a constraint and resource, insofar as the 1990 Police Services Act prescribes that "community oriented policing services" be delivered in each municipality.

Based on these observations, the following proposition was derived:

6. The justification for participation in (or not participating in) completing the survey will involve reasons related to public acceptance, financial resources, and legal constraints.

Participating in the Survey: Promotion of Acceptance through Third Party Participation

Perspectives influenced by Weber suggest the bureaucratic officials (and therefore, the police) are concerned with the social acceptance of their organizations and the control of knowledge. The police organization, according to this perspective, must be seen as legitimate so that the production of order is possible. The use of an external "objective" reviewer of the police function to evaluate the police organization is, theoretically, a legitimation technique. The inclusion of an external participant removes the possibility that the police are engaging in a public opinion survey for self-interests sake, thereby

increasing their control of the knowledge concerning their public approval. By using a third party to produce results which are arguably known to bureaucratic officials before the survey begins, the bureaucratic officials in effect "sanitize" their involvement.

Using a third party also adds the credibility of the outside party to the police organization. As such, the use of an external party to collect and report public opinion data serves as a "blessing of the fleet function" (Gordon, 1975:370) where the third party is asked to lend his "reputation" to the project. Given the preoccupation of bureaucratic officials with public acceptance, additional forms of legitimate participation acts as an additional resource for bureaucratic officials.

Chapter 3 suggested that police organizations are participating in public opinion surveys in concert with third parties (e.g., universities or polling firms). In this study, Gloucester and Nepean police organizations chose to engage the assistance of university personnel. Each of these organizations may have considered alternatives to this choice, including an internally administered survey or contracting with a for-profit research firm.

Chapter 3 also documented the potential for "organizational mortality" of small police organizations. Regional police organizations have become, for some provincial governments, a commonly accepted "conventional wisdom" (Loreto, 1984), or in other words, the way in which things should be ordered. For those organizations faced with potential mortality, participation of an external consultant would provide additional credibility for the struggle to preserve their independence.

Based on this, the following propositions were derived:

7. The organizational status of the supplier of research services was a

consideration in the awarding decision.

8. The decision to choose an outside consultant will be justified in terms of the objectivity of the third party.

Regionalization of Police Services

The Weberian perspective is also useful for explaining the police response towards large amalgamated police organizations. According to Weber (1968), bureaucracies are powerful purposively rational (i.e., constructed as a means to an end) organizations, populated by experts and are hard to destroy. As such, bureaucracies become, in Weber's terms (1968:988) "objectively indispensable".

It follows then, that in order for bureaucracies to accomplish their ends for which they have been constructed, they must continue to exist. As Manning (1977:102) has argued, the ultimate concern of the police is "survival". Given that organizations, according to Weber (1947:101-102) are not independent of individuals, but rather reflective of the "social action of individuals", it follows then, that this resilience to organizational mortality comes from human action, or bureaucratic officials acting in a manner such that their organizational existence or survival will be maintained.

Chapter 3 outlined efforts by provincial governments in Ontario, British Columbia and New Brunswick to amalgamate small independent police organizations into regional agencies. Beginning in the 1960's, continuing in the 1970's and 1990's, the push for large police organizations has been evident. The resistance of small police organizations to such effort was documented both in New Brunswick and the Ottawa-Carleton area.

In Ottawa-Carleton, the resistance to regionalization of police services has been consistent since discussions of regional policing began in the 1970's, with most, if not all, of the opposition coming from the Nepean Police and Gloucester Police. This is explainable from a Weberian bureaucratic perspective since these small organizations will be subsumed into a larger regional organization thereby eliminating their autonomy. Bureaucratic officials in these small organizations will, theoretically, act in a way which will preserve their autonomy.

Weber's concept of status honour can be used to explain the Ottawa Police position which favours regionalization. Regionalization of police services in Ottawa-Carleton would not only replace the multi-jurisdictional structure with a single regional organization, but also create the second largest independent municipal police organization in the province. Such an organization would in effect, "eliminate the competition" for status within the region, with the proposed Ottawa-Carleton Police (not the Gloucester-Nepean-Ottawa Police) remaining as the sole voice of independent municipal police in the area. The proposed Ottawa-Carleton Police would be larger than all other regional police agencies, except for Metro Toronto, and such numbers would undoubtedly raise the Ottawa profile with other police agencies. More importantly, the Ottawa-Carleton Police would then join the ranks of regional police organizations within the province. Since regionalization of police services has been viewed as a "progressive" (or the "conventional wisdom": Loreto, 1984), the allure of an amalgamated police structure is likely.

Regionalization of police services also offers large police organizations the ability

to spread policing costs over a larger base. As chapter 3 discussed, the costs of policing are rising due to increased numbers of police officers, and therefore, it is likely that such costs will become a concern of the politicians in urban areas since it is in these areas where the size of police organizations has grown more rapidly in comparison to smaller areas. Also, since police to population ratios are, generally, highest in urban municipal areas (Statistics Canada, 1991d), policing a larger population base would lower the ratio of police to population and allow police costs to be distributed over a larger tax base, thereby "rationalizing" police costs or making those who pay a lower per capita cost more, while those who pay currently pay a higher per capita cost, will pay less.

Based on the above, the following propositions were derived:

9. When asked about regionalization, Gloucester Police and Nepean Police will be resistant to an amalgamated police organization.
10. When asked about regionalization, Ottawa Police will be positive towards an amalgamated police organization.

Using the Results: Promotion of a Legitimate Organization to Maintain Autonomy and Increase Status

The distribution of results can be understood from the Weberian perspective. Weberian-influenced perspectives are concerned with the social acceptance of the police. Since the results of previous public opinion surveys have demonstrated strong support for police, the use of these results suggests a legitimation tactic for senior police officials. Theoretically, the distribution of positive public opinion survey results can be explained from a Weberian perspective as an example of a senior police officials seeking to ensure the acceptability of their organization to those political masters which are relevant.

Weber (1958) also advises that society is comprised of classes and status groups⁴⁹. The latter are concerned with the social definition of their group (as opposed to the economic approach of classes) or as Weber (1958:187) describes "every typical component of the life fate of men that is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of *honor*" (emphasis in original). For Weber, (1958:187) "status honor is normally expressed by the fact that above all else a specific style of life can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle".

For Weber (1947), sociology was the study of social action, which includes the "definition of the situation", insofar as individuals have understandings of each others behaviour. Individuals also have understandings of organizational members behaviour as well. Surveys can provide evidence of members of the community's "social relationship" (Weber, 1947) with the police, that is, their "subjective meaning" or definition of the organization and it's services. Since Weber (1947:119) advises that social relationships are for, the most part, congruent between the parties' meanings, we would expect to find that the public's perception of the police organization to be similar to that of the police executives, senior officers and police services board members.

The expected similarity between police executives' and board members perceptions of public support and public opinion survey results is due partly to their positions within the organizational structure. Police executives and Police Services Board members, by virtue of their position, deal with members of the general public, interest group

⁴⁹ Weber advises that status groups can cut across classes, or that an individuals class position does not determine his status group membership. Weber (1958: 199) also suggests that for bureaucratic official's social esteem is "guaranteed by the prescriptive rules of rank order" upon which bureaucratic structure is founded. Status honour, therefore appears to be relevant for the examination of bureaucratic officials.

representatives, and members of the local political environment such as municipal councillors. As such, it is expected that senior executives would have a fairly accurate assessment of public support prior to the public opinion survey being completed. Also, since political support for the police has been demonstrated in the past 20 years with budget and corresponding person-resources increases, with little public outcry, it is expected that continued support in the form of positive public opinion survey results would be forthcoming.

Chapter 3 identified the rapid adoption of community based policing as the official ideology by many Canadian police agencies. Chapter 3 also identified the adoption and fascination of many police agencies with the latest technology innovations. Each of these structural trends suggests, theoretically, that senior bureaucratic officials seek to be included in the circle of community oriented and technologically-equipped agencies, as such adoptions increase their status within the bureaucratic and police communities. In this vein, distributing the survey will assist in increasing the status of the participating organization.

Chapter 3 also identified the influence of senior police officers and, to a lesser extent, that of members of police governing bodies. Further, the resource dependence of the police organization was noted, where the success of the police budget submission to city council was dependent upon efforts to make the police "look good" (Beare, 1987). Chapter 3 noted that surveys of public attitudes towards the police have generally produced favourable reviews, and coupled with the "blessing of the fleet function" of using an outside academic consultant, the results of the survey could be used to legitimize

the current police organization. Relying on Ericson's (1982) observation that police administrators will seek to control that over which they have little effective control (i.e., subordinates), it was argued that police administrators will attempt to control, store and collate information about their public, in order that they may make authoritative statements about that subject. Finally, there is evidence that police administrators engage in co-optive behaviour, where groups critical of the police are drawn into official review processes, and over the long term, their opposition is diffused (McMahon and Ericson, 1984). Thus, it is expected that police decision makers will use survey results, in general, to legitimize their organization, increase their status in the police and bureaucratic communities, and more specifically, to support budget requests and diffuse any opposition, or potential opposition, from interest groups.

Given the above, the following propositions were derived:

11. Survey results will be distributed to recipients who may influence the status and the legitimacy of the police organization.
12. Powerful organizational decision makers understanding of the community's expectations of their organizations will be, for the most part, congruent with results of the survey.
13. The academic consultant(s) will be a participant in the distribution of the results.

Using the Results: Controlling the Circumstances of Reproduction

In the Weberian tradition, Giddens (1984:200) suggests that organizations are concerned with the storage, control and collation of information "so as to influence the circumstances of social reproduction". As Ericson has described above, senior police officials gather information concerning that which they seek to control, such as

subordinates and public opinion. Since public acceptance of the police organization is crucial to effectiveness of the police, the use of positive public opinion survey information, theoretically, can be understood as influencing the "circumstances of social reproduction".

Ranson et al. (1980) have suggested that current organizational structures are such because they reflect the interests of powerful organizational actors. Also, the resistance to change of police organizations has been documented in a number of cases. Finally, McMahon and Ericson (1984) have documented senior police administrators search for legitimacy of current organizational structures amongst certain adversarial constituencies.

Given these findings, the ability which surveys provide police administrators to control the circumstances of social reproduction, and the positive review of the respective organizations which the surveys provided, it is expected the survey results will be used to justify the status quo and very little organizational change will be the evident.

Based on the above, the following propositions were derived:

15. There will be little change within the police organizations as a result of the survey.
16. The survey results will be used to justify the current organizational structure, including the formal structural arrangements of the organization.

Summary

This chapter set forth a research strategy aimed at understanding police agencies participation in a public opinion survey. A combination of subjective and objective measures was used to understand the reasons for participating in a survey, uses of survey information, and opinions concerning organizational mission and regionalization of police

services. A brief review of the respective organizations' histories suggested that regionalization of police services has been under discussion for over 20 years. The chapter also discussed the formal organizational structure of the three research sites, focusing on the size of each agency, rank structure, and formally designated work units within each organization.

A review of the formal structure of these three organizations suggests there are common work areas between the agencies, and that Ottawa, is more specialized in terms of rank structure and formally designated work units than its suburban counterparts. A review of survey results indicates that the two suburban police organizations have strong support from their public. All three police organizations can be said to provide the "minimum capability factors" (Grant, 1980, 1992) identified as necessary for establishing a separate police agency. Specifically, all three organizations provide reactive capabilities to calls for service, a reactive investigative function and a proactive investigative capability. A cursory review of standard police administration textbooks (e.g. Wilson and McLaren, 1972; Leonard and More, 1987) reveals many similarities in the names of formally designated work areas in these three organizations as those identified in model police organizations. As such, on the surface, these organizations can be described as "full service" police agencies.

This chapter also derived a number of propositions which will be tested using data gathered from the research sites. The next chapter presents the findings of the study and assesses the support for the propositions.

Chapter 5: Findings from Interviews and Analysis of Internal Documents

Introduction

The previous chapter described the three research sites and developed propositions for the project. Chapter 2 described the theoretical approach for the project, which included a recognition of the police as bureaucratic officials who intervene in their social world. Theoretically, the project is concerned with understanding the use of public opinion surveys as part of the legitimate social order in which the police operate and, the use of surveys as purposive rational action or as a resource for police administrators which will assist in the maintenance of their autonomy within the state. Such collection, storage and control of "community based" information using "scientific techniques" was thought to provide a powerful tool for police administrators to maintain their autonomy, particularly in discussions concerning incremental resources (i.e., yearly budgets) and elimination of local police agencies through the establishment of regional police structures.

Given this theoretical perspective, the research project dealt with the following four areas:

1. What are the respective agencies conceptions of organizational mission, the use of public opinion survey information related to that organizational mission.
2. The decision to engage (or not to engage) in the public opinion survey.
3. What are the respective officials' opinions concerning regionalization?
4. The actions involved with the results of the survey.

This chapter presents analyses of the findings from the interviews and documentary analysis which are relevant to the propositions outlined in Chapter 4. Interviews with members of all three police organizations (including Police Services Board member) were completed over a six month period in 1992 (January to June: see Appendix B: Getting access to the research sites). At the request of the researcher, each of the interviews was electronically recorded using a hand-held tape recorder. No requests for electronic recording were denied by interviewees. In Gloucester and Nepean, interviewees were chosen based on their involvement with the public opinion survey projects, while in Ottawa, those persons who were involved in decisions related to public opinion surveys and related projects were interviewed. As such, the comments reproduced hereafter do not reflect a truly representative sample of all organizational actors within each agency. The comments do, however, come from powerful organizational actors, that is, those who exercise the prerogatives of decision-making for each agency.

During these interviews, confirmation of an early written request for access to internal police documents was also secured. Documents were collected during and after the interviews. A list of relevant documents of each agency is presented in Appendix D. These documents range from the survey results themselves to internally generated memoranda concerning the survey proposals (for all three organizations) and results, and minutes of police services board meetings where the respective surveys and other projects were discussed. Access was also provided to briefing notes for speeches where the survey results were used, press releases, and articles written by police organization

personnel which mentioned the survey. Some of these documents were known to the researcher due to his prior experience with the survey projects, however, many were not. Agency personnel assisted in identifying and searching out documents and providing same to the researcher (see Appendix B: Obtaining Access).

1. Conceptions of Organizational Mission

Propositions: Conceptions of the Police Mission

1. Police organizations will adopt in written form the ideology of community based policing.
2. When asked about the mission of their organization, police executives will adopt community based policing ideology in their explanations.

Given the above propositions, during the course of the interviews and documentary analysis, certain themes which reflect community based policing ideology were expected. These themes included: the recognition that crime is not only a police problem, but also a community problem which the community has an active role in dealing with; community based policing involves the police and the community as "co-producers of order"; the objectives of police agencies are broad to reflect what is actually done; a proactive involvement of the police with the community; and, the diverse functions of a police organizations are legitimate (Murphy and Muir, 1985).

During the course of the interviews it was learned that all three police organizations had recently undertaken a "strategic planning exercise". In 1989, Gloucester was the first of the three to formally engage in "strategic planning", followed by Ottawa (1990) and Nepean (1992). Generally, the strategic planning exercises involved mostly senior officials and police services board members (sometimes using an external consultant to facilitate the discussions: Ottawa and Gloucester) meeting for one or two days to discuss their organizations, its strengths and weaknesses, and the future direction of the police agency. Often when interviewees were asked about the mission of their organizations, the common response was "have you seen our strategic plan?". More than

one respondent referred to his organization's strategic plan when the subject of mission was brought forward.

A review of the strategic plans for all three police organizations finds varying support for the first proposition. For example, the Strategic Plan of the Ottawa Police (1991:3) states the mission in the following way:

It is the Mission of the Ottawa Police to promote a safe and secure environment for all the citizens we serve through the provision of the highest quality of police services with integrity and sensitivity to human rights and the multicultural and bilingual nature of our population.

The Ottawa Police Strategic Plan (1991:4) further defines the mission statement with a discussion of "organizational values" insofar as public safety is identified as "our highest concern", with "prevention of crime" ranking second and community involvement rated as the third most important value. The hierarchy of values also includes statements concerning personnel (as ambassadors, or requiring a safe and secure work environment, requiring knowledge and skills training, and "representative of the demographic composition of the community": rated 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th respectively), and "state of the art" (i.e., "keeping abreast of technical and social advances"). "Public needs" are explicitly mentioned as the 9th (and last) value in the hierarchy: "we need to manage so that at all times we are conscious of public needs". Thus, Ottawa Police strategic planning documentation mentions "public needs" and "community involvement", two aspects of community based policing ideology, but as well, more traditional themes such as "prevention of crime", and police as guarantors of safety are offered (see Beare, 1987). Community based policing ideology is also found in the Ottawa Police Strategic Plan

(1991:21) in reference to the opening of community police offices (Community Police Centres).

In Gloucester, strategic planning documentation includes more explicit references to community based policing ideology. The mission statement (also reproduced in the Annual Report: Gloucester Police, 1991) includes outlines three responsibilities of the Gloucester Police: service to the public, recognition of the Gloucester Police members, and maintenance of a strategic planning process which "will keep the Gloucester Police at the leading edge of policing across the Province and the country" (Gloucester Police, 1990). "Service to the Public" is defined as:

The FIRST RESPONSIBILITY of the Gloucester Police Service is to the public who requires policing services as protection to themselves and/or their property....

The Gloucester Police Service is committed to working closely with the residents and businesses of Gloucester - the Police Service will feel part of the community and the community will feel part of the Police Service. **Community based policing will be the way of the community for the Gloucester Police Service** (emphasis added).

The strategic planning documentation also includes a number of "five year strategic objectives (1992-1996)" (Gloucester Police, 1990), where community based policing ideology is further discussed under the "service" strategic objective:

The Gloucester Police sees Community-Based Policing as an integrated **PARTNERSHIP** between the community and the police service. This partnership means on-going, regular **COMMUNICATION AND INVOLVEMENT** between the police and the community. The objective will be to **IDENTIFY MUTUAL CONCERNS** in the community and to work together at addressing these concerns such that the current high standard and cost effective level of policing being provided to the community may be maintained.

Some of the other five year strategic objectives include, "cooperation with other Ottawa-

Carleton police agencies", "monitoring of community need", searching for "alternative revenue sources", and various initiatives in "management and administration" (e.g., employee wellness plan). (Gloucester Police, 1990). From an analysis of the documentation alone, it cannot be determined what the relative importance of the strategic objectives are (unlike Ottawa's organizational values), however, it would seem logical that since community based policing is mentioned in both the mission statement and the strategic objectives as a guiding principle for delivery of police services, the ideology of community based policing is significant for the Gloucester Police. In Nepean, references to community based policing ideology can be found in strategic planning and other internal documentation. The mission statement (Nepean Police, 1992b) is stated as: "(t)o deliver high quality policing with integrity and pride in a professional sensitive manner understanding the community's diversity and needs". This last clause, "understanding the community's diversity and needs" is part of the community based policing ideology.

Included in the draft plan of May 1992, is a list of strategic issues ranks in order of their importance to the Nepean Police. "Community Based Policing" is ranked at the top of the ten issue list. While the term "community based policing" is undefined in the draft strategic plan, the action plan involved with community based policing strategic issue involves opening new community police centres such that "the concept of community based policing (would) encompass the entire city by 1997". The strategic plan also identifies the steps necessary to accomplish the objective, of "research and identify areas for expansion" and "channel resources". Mention of the community policing

program was also made with direct reference to the Barrhaven storefront police office in the Nepean Police 1990 Annual Report (Nepean Police Service, 1991:6).

As stated above, comparing the respective police organizations's missions as recorded in written documentation, support for the proposition that all three will include community based policing ideology in their mission statements is mixed. Mission statements by their very nature are broad and somewhat imprecise, however, the above reveals some clear distinctions between the organizations. First, while all three had references to community based policing ideology (e.g., service to the public), the emphasis of each agency was different. In Ottawa, the mission statement describes more traditional themes such as "protection of the public", and the hierarchy of values clearly states this value to be prominent. Similar to Ottawa, Nepean's Strategic Plan links the ideology of community based policing to decentralized storefront police offices. In Gloucester, the mission statement mentions protection (like Ottawa), but clearly enumerates community based policing as the "way of the future" and describes at length a "partnership in co-producers of order" (Murphy and Muir, 1985) approach in the strategic issues section. From the strategic planning documentation, Ottawa and Nepean apparently view community based policing as a program (Manning, 1984) while Gloucester's conception of community based policing is more philosophical and closer what leading authors (e.g., Murphy and Muir, 1985; Normandeau and Leighton, 1990a) in the field have described as community based policing.

Not surprisingly, during the interviews with police officers and members of police services boards the difference in emphasis in terms of organizational mission was evident.

During these interviews, respondents were asked : "in your opinion, what is the mission of the Ottawa (Gloucester, Nepean) Police?". This question was asked to determine not only the respondents views concerning the subject, but also to compare the answer to the official mission statements articulated in official statements.

Interviews with members of the Ottawa Police confirm the observation made above concerning the traditional crime control nature of the organizational mission. For example, when asked about his organization's mission, the chief replied "I think the mission of the Ottawa Police is to protect the public, enforce the laws in a manner which is fair and non discriminatory with regards to human rights and the Charter of Rights" (Flanagan, 1992). Other members of the organization essentially agreed with the chief of police, referring directly to the mission statement as written in the strategic plan (Brzozowski, 1992; Ford, 1992). One Deputy Chief (Lyon, 1992) echoed the enforcement of laws-crime control theme and put his conception of mission in a historical perspective:

we have isolated ourselves to a certain extent over the years in our patrol cars. When I first became a police officer we walked the beat and, Sparks Street, Bank Street, Rideau Street we were more accessible to the public. And then as the years went by we became more remote I guess is the answer and we put computer terminals in cars and.. so I guess what our mission is, is to get back to interact with public because crime is increasing, if you notice the crime stats, violent crime is up, house breakings have levelled off but that may start to go up again. Quite frankly the police cannot do it by themselves, we have to have the help of the public and I guess to get that help we are going to have to be more willing to talk to them and change our philosophy in that regard.

A member of the Ottawa Police Services Board offered a broader conception of the mission: "(w)hat the mission is, is to do policing the way the community wants to be policed" (Hill, 1992).

In Gloucester, when asked about the mission of the organization, respondents consistently spoke in terms which reflect community based policing ideology. For example, the Chief stated:

the mission today is really one of developing that partnership with the community, learning to service the community rather than us deciding what we are going to do and saying there it is, we have to get closer to the community and deliver the type of services they are looking for. That I think is being more identified on a day to day basis and part of what is going on with budgets in the city of Ottawa right now, I think people in the community are getting sort of a shock, before they didn't have any input as to what was happening in the city...

The adoption of community based policing ideology was consistent for all Gloucester respondents:

to provide a quality police service. That is a big stem of it. To be aware of the community's concerns with respect to safety from an external point of view, internally develop an environment so we can develop people... and also provide a cost efficient service to the community (Mackie, 1992).

the mission of our service is in fact to provide the best possible service and when trying to evaluate what in fact is the best possible service, we needed to know what is it that our clients expected from us and this is how we decided to have community input to decide if they were satisfied with what we were presently doing and if not, what should we change in order to meet their needs (Renaud, 1992).

I think the direction we have been really pushing is providing a quality service and I mean how do you define quality service but Gloucester police is trying to provide the best service we can within our available resources...The mission statement talks about implementing a community based policing strategy which would be a quality type service in the sense that you are interacting with the community, a partnership with the community (Kanellakos, 1992).

I guess basically to ensure that there is a climate of well being, lack of fear among the citizens ...there is a need for some kind of a service which answers many of today's social problems such as domestic assaults and teenager problems (Heitshu, 1992).

In Nepean, responses to the mission question reflected an approach which views police as a service-related organization. For example, the Nepean Chief viewed the mission in terms of assisting in producing social order: "The mission is plain, in my way of thinking it is so that we can,... co-exist and live in harmony". Another Nepean Police officer sees the mission as "multifaceted" requiring the police to not only respond to requests for service from the public (including emergency requests), but also to do community based policing, or "trying to get back to the community", and "with the new legislation under the Police Services Act we are legislated to hire proportionately to the population minority target grouping" (McKay, 1992). One officer sees this mission as being in transition:

we are moving towards a more public relations, more preventative policing as opposed to reactive and also getting the public involved with us. In other words, they are almost going to have to start being equal partners in protecting our own community.....What they are trying to do is to continue to catch the bad guy, but if we can put up road blocks in front of this guy ahead of time, with both the police officer as such and the general public I think that is the direction we are trying to go. Proactive as opposed to reactive (Levere, 1992).

The changing nature of the police mission was noted by a Police Services Board member and the themes of citizen involvement, police-as-a-service, police as enforcers of law were also reflected in his comments concerning the organization's mission:

The mission statement now is I suppose to act as professionals in enforcement and prevention of the law. We are a hired agency doing work for the citizens, the citizens are our employers. They are the ones who are paying our salaries, and buying us our equipment so we have a contract with them and we are in business, in business to supply policing services in all the different facets to our community and if they are our employer then we better find out what they want in policing, it is not up to policing institutions to decide what kind of policing their citizens want (McGuire, 1992).

Summary: Propositions Concerning Different Conceptions of Mission

1. Police organizations will adopt in written form the ideology of community based policing.
2. When asked about the mission of their organization, police executives will adopt community based policing ideology in their explanations.

The foregoing analysis of the written documentation of the three agencies reveals distinct differences in the approach to the organizational mission. Ottawa's mission statement emphasizes more traditional crime control and protection of public safety themes. Gloucester and Nepean respective mission statements emphasize themes which reflect community based policing ideology: partnership with the community and preservation of order. Given the differences in formal mission statements, proposition 1 has only mixed support.

Based on the interviews, there is also mixed support for the second proposition. Interviews with personnel in all three organizations provide consistent support for the analysis of documentation, that is, interviewees viewed their organizational mission in the same terms as the formal written mission statements. Similar to the analysis of documentation, the interviews revealed differences in how members of the respective police organizations view their mission. Members of Gloucester and Nepean, for the most part view their respective organizational missions in community based policing terms, such as "partnership with the community", "service to the public". These views are fairly consistent within each of Gloucester and Nepean, the only exception being a member of the Police Services Board (who offered law enforcement as an additional component of the organizational mission). On the other hand, for the most part, Ottawa

interviewees expressed the mission in more traditional crime control terms, i.e., enforcement of the law. The only exception to this in Ottawa was the service-to-the-community approach of the Police Services Board interviewee.

Proposition: The Public Opinion Survey as Purposive Rational Social Action

3. When asked how they would measure if their organization was accomplishing its mission, respondents will choose a wide range of indicators including public opinion surveys.

Respondents in all three organizations were asked "how would you measure whether your organization is achieving its mission?". Based on the previous research, it was expected that a wide range of indicators would be chosen, including traditional crime based indicators, such as clearance rates, changing incidence levels, as well as organizational hygiene indicators such as complaints against officers and internal morale. Public opinion surveys were also thought to provide useful information for evaluation of police agencies and therefore, it was predicted that these data would be mentioned.

When asked "how would you measure whether your organization was achieving its mission?", Ottawa Police respondents selected a wide range of indicators. For example, a number of respondents (Flanagan, 1992; Lyon, 1992) suggested that monitoring the number of complaints laid against police officers would be useful to know, as well as letters of thanks from the public concerning individual officers action (Flanagan, 1992), while telephoning victims of crime to determine their opinions concerning their contact with the officer was also mentioned (Lyon, 1992). Also mentioned was mail-out "call letter" to various community groups in town that were

known to the Ottawa Police asking for each group's written or oral feedback (Flanagan, 1992, Lyon, 1992, Brzozowski, 1992). The responses to these letters was included in the recently released Ottawa Police Enviroscan (Ottawa Police 1992).

The Chief mentioned officer morale as being important since "if you don't have very good morale on the police organization your not going to have a satisfied public because the police officers that are there are not going to be dealing with the public properly and it is going to show and I think that one is sort of an indicator of the other". The Chief and the Police Service Board member mentioned the focus groups consultation done by the a local communications consulting (Continental PIR Communications, 1992) firm as providing feedback information on how the Ottawa Police are communicating with citizens. The member of the Ottawa Police Services Board also suggested that the Chief and his deputies receive a great deal of informal feedback concerning the Ottawa Police through social contacts and business meetings (Hill, 1992).

When asked about "how would you measure whether your organization was achieving its mission" like their Ottawa counterparts, Gloucester respondents offered a wide range of indicators. The chief suggested that prior to the survey they had no concrete evidence that the service they were providing was a good service, but rather his assessment "was based on my experience". The Chief went on to say:

I guess there are a number of ways, one of them I would find is customer satisfaction. I guess one of the first ones I look at, as far as professional standards is, are we getting a lot of complaints about our service. I think that is one with great impact. Secondly, how effective we are is, another yard stick there is the solution rate. That is one.

Other respondents suggested "the response we get from the community, the feeling we

get...(w)hether they are positive or negative...(Mackie, 1992)" public complaints (from official complaints procedures as well as through aldermen and police service board members or other politicians), meetings with service clubs and community groups (Renaud, 1992; Kanellakos, 1992), reports from the media (Renaud, 1992) and quality review procedures for incidents of arrests where complainants are telephoned to determine caller satisfaction are useful for measuring achievement of the organization's mission.

When asked "how would you measure whether your organization was achieving its mission", Nepean respondents primarily mentioned the public opinion survey. The Chief suggested the public opinion survey was the only accurate way of measuring how the Nepean Police are delivering services to the public (Phillips, 1992). The chief had sponsored an internally administered public opinion survey in early 1992 and planned to sponsor surveys in the future on an every 18 to 24 month time frame. Furthermore, the chief did not believe that public complaints were a useful measure since there were a small incidence of complaints: "(we) got 42 complaints and 34,000 calls for service, I mean that is not bad, so it does not really tell you what your public thinks of what you are doing..." (Phillips, 1992).

Other respondents (e.g., Cuthbert, 1992, Mckay, 1992) also mentioned the surveys as being useful, but mentioned that "internal morale" was important in determining whether the organization is accomplishing its mission: "I think it is very important to hear from the front line" (Cuthbert, 1992). One respondent (Cuthbert, 1992) compared the public opinion survey results (two waves) with feedback from the "front line":

Both surveys stated that we did very well. Out of a scale of one to four, we got three and a half. The front line does not say that we got 3.5. I would say that the

front line says we are lower.

The use of a public opinion survey as a "report card" for the police in Nepean was mentioned by the Police Service Board member as was the more traditional measure of clearance rates for crime (crime solved as a percentage of crime reported: McGuire, 1992).

Summary: Proposition Concerning Public Opinion Surveys as Purposive Rational Social Action

3. When asked how they would measure if their organization was accomplishing its mission, respondents will choose a wide range of indicators including public opinion surveys.

Concerning proposition 3, responses to the "how would you measure the organization's progress towards its organizational mission" question yielded mixed support for this proposition. Ottawa respondents, for the most part, mentioned a wide range of indicators, including the Ottawa Police organizational-equivalents of a public opinion survey (focus groups and call letters to community interest groups). Respondents in Gloucester suggested wide range of indicators, but only one (the Chief) mentioned the public opinion survey as useful in measuring organizational progress. In contrast, almost all respondents in Nepean mentioned the public opinion survey as well as a number of other indicators.

Responses to the measurement of organizational progress question are, however, consistent with Schneider's (1991) recent study. Schneider (1991) found that police administrator's adopted a wide range of indicators which reflected a multiple model

approach to viewing the organization. Specifically, the police administrators viewed police organizational effectiveness in traditional terms (e.g., clearance rates for crime), public satisfaction measures (e.g., response from the community) and human relations indicators (e.g., morale). Respondents in Ottawa, Gloucester and Nepean (except for the Nepean Chief) all mentioned multiple indicators, while many identified public opinion surveys, or their organizational-equivalents.

2. Engaging in a Public Opinion Survey

Propositions: Who's in Control: Police Chiefs or Police Service Board Members

4. Police chiefs and senior officers will be more involved with the public attitudes survey, as compared to police board members.
5. Members of police services boards involvement in the public opinion survey will be limited to the financial aspects of the project.

Chapter 3 outlined what is known about the relationship between police executives and police service board members. Essentially due to their part-time nature of the appointment, police service board members roles are traditionally limited to budget discussions and labour negotiations. Since public opinion surveys are related to the police-community relations area, it is expected that police chiefs and senior officers, as opposed to police services board members will be primarily involved with the public opinion survey. Further, since there are costs associated with public opinion surveys, police service board member involvement was expected to be limited to the financial aspects of the project.

Based on the above, the following was predicted. First, it was expected that the

initiators of the public opinion survey projects would be the Chiefs of Police. Second, it was expected that police organization personnel would spend more time and perform more functions in relation to the project than police service board members. Third, it was expected that, in agencies which participated in the survey, police personnel would be the major participants in the design of the questionnaire. Fourth, due to the financial aspects of the project, it was expected that the final approval for the project would rest with the respective Police Services Boards. Finally, except for the final approval role, the police services board role would be one of consultation, that is, kept abreast of developments but not integrally involved.

Interviews with agency personnel and documentation reveal very limited support for the proposition 4 and proposition 5. In only one organization did the police chief initiate the public opinion survey and police personnel were integrally involved with the project. In the two other organizations, the police services board members were instrumentally involved with discussions related to surveys. One police services board sponsored the survey, while the other police services board approved another project, thus, postponing action on the Chief's recommendation for a public opinion survey.

As stated in Chapter 3, Ottawa Police did not undertake or participate in a public opinion survey. This inaction was not due to resistance of the Chief of Police or his personnel. Indeed, the Chief stated on more than one occasion to the Police Services Board that he was in favour of a public opinion survey. In January, 1990, the minutes of the Police Services Board meeting indicate that the chairman of the Board initiated discussion of the survey and reflected the Chief's interest. In response, the Board agreed

to study the idea and discuss it at the next joint commission meeting⁵⁰. The minutes of the Board meeting of November 13 indicate the Chief revisiting the discussion of the January meeting concerning the survey; Board approval in principle was also given at this meeting and the chief was directed to "bring back a proposal on how it is to be conducted" (Ottawa Police Service Board, November 13, 1990). The Planning and Research Section of the Ottawa Police (Ottawa Police, 1991) prepared a proposal for such a study to be conducted by Ottawa police personnel dated February, 1991. However, the proposal was never discussed by the Board.

In the Board minutes of February 18, 1991, the chairman introduced a consultant who brought a proposal for a study of Ottawa Police communications with the media and the public and turned over control of the meeting to the vice-chairman. The Board minutes reflected that the study's objective was "to find out where the force is and where it wants to go" in the area of communications. The communications study proposal provided for focus groups, where small groups of citizens were gathered to determine their opinions about the Ottawa Police. The chairman moved that the Ottawa Police Services Board spend \$15,000 on the communications study: the motion was approved and the chairman reassumed control of the meeting.

When asked why the board chose a communications audit and not a public needs survey the chairman stated:

I think the concern was that it (the survey) might produce some information but it might not be extensive enough in terms of developing a long term strategy and

⁵⁰. Representatives of Police Service Boards in Ottawa, Gloucester, Nepean meet on an irregular basis to discuss areas of mutual concerns; no minutes of these meetings are taken or record of decisions made (Heitshu, 1992).

that there is a risk that the way questions are asked or the people asking them would generate an overly good response. So you get over 85% of the people saying the Police are wonderful, I'm not sure how helpful that is when you are patting yourself on the back. So what we felt would be more, at this stage anyway, for the Ottawa Police would be more helpful if we had a professional do an in depth thing with not 85% of the people thinking the police are wonderful but how much do some of the people in the community know about policing. Do they know about our crime prevention, do they know about our publications, is the message getting out to them?... (The survey) is great for PR and to try and get the newspapers to print it saying that all these people like the police I suppose but in real terms it doesn't help go on from where you are.

The chairman (Hill, 1992) justified the choice of the communications audit in terms of providing better information to assist the Ottawa Police in how to deal with their intended audiences.

While discussing the communications audit, the chairman was asked "who initiated the proposal"? At first, he responded that the Board initiated the proposal and then went on to say that the communications study was his initiative:

When I became chairman five years ago or whenever it was, we had at least a media relations problem, we were not open, we were very defensive, we tried not to deal with the media. We had a different Chief then who was not comfortable with the media, was not comfortable in front of a camera and therefore appeared even more defensive than he even really was. One of my main aims was to change that. Make us more open, more accessible, keep the media more onside, talk to them. So that sort of has been a slowly escalating push of mine and the board supported me and supported that and so did certain individuals (Hill, 1992).

According to the Board's secretary (a Ottawa Police Staff Superintendent), he discussed the project in May, 1991 with the Chief and the survey proposal was "put on hold" for a number of reasons. First, "numerous changes" such as community police centres were taking place, and these innovations "may impact on results". Second, there was a need to have the "objectivity" of (an) outside agency" (Page, 1992).

The Ottawa Police budget workpapers of October, 1991 reveal a forecasted budget item for a public needs survey to be conducted with the assistance of an outside agency. In the November, 1991 budget workpapers the survey item is mentioned but the incremental cost is removed. When asked to explain the change, the Board secretary (Page, 1992) replied the budget item for public needs survey was cut by the Chief and the senior officers following direction from the Police Services Board to present a "no growth" budget for the next year: "individual items not reviewed, the idea is still a good idea" (Page, 1992).

In the case of the Ottawa Police, interviewees and documentation suggest that there is little support for proposition 4. Clearly, the initiator of discussions concerning the communications study and the public opinion survey was the chairman of Police Services Board and not the Chief or his officers. Also, it is clear that the Board was not in a consultative role: the Board approved the appropriation of funds for communications study and participated developing the terms of reference for the project. The Board also directed the Chief to present a "no-growth" budget, which in effect, eliminated the public need survey. Given this, there is also little support for proposition 5; the Board's role included financial aspects of the projects (both the communication study), but went much beyond the traditional financial role. By initiating the communications study and imposing a "no-growth" budget, the Board arguably moved into the substantive policy areas of the police.

Based on the Nepean experience there is also little support for propositions 4 and 5. The Board in Nepean initiated discussions about the public survey, directed the Chief

to obtain more than one bid for the project, reviewed the questionnaire, and distributed copies of the final report to the media. The Chief and his personnel acted in a support capacity, but most of the initiative for the project came from the Police Services Board.

The prime advocate for the public opinion survey was a Police Services Board member. When asked if he recommended the public opinion survey to the Board, the member responded "No, I demanded it." The Police Services Board member stated that although he was one vote on a five person board, "I am a powerful vote". The Board member learned of the Gloucester survey in a joint police services board meeting (Ottawa, Gloucester and Nepean Police Service Board members) and was aware that Carleton University based personnel were assisting in the Gloucester survey.

The Board not only initiated the survey and defined its scope, but also requested the police invite the researcher to present the findings of the Gloucester survey at a Police Services Board meeting. At this meeting the Board also defined the scope of the project stating that they wanted the visible ethnic minority community surveyed as well as the general population. Also, the Board wanted high school students surveyed to determine their attitudes about the police in Nepean. After the presentation, the Board requested the police service to search out other project proposals from other survey organizations (Levere, 1992). Nepean Police discussed the project with private firms and received one proposal other than Carleton's (Levere, 1992). The Sergeant assigned to the project evaluated each of the proposals, and made a verbal recommendation to the Police Services Board. In his memo to the Chief, the Sergeant summarized his evaluation:

It is very difficult to pick one company over the other or one survey instrument over the other. Both Companys (sic) are very professional in their approach to

this survey proposal. Both instruments being looked at, have good and bad points, however I feel that either one are capable of obtaining the desired results.

I feel that Carleton University has the edge however for a number of reasons:

- 1) Their experience with the Gloucester Survey
- 2) The background Mr. Horne has with analyzing Police related subjects.
- 3) The personal interest Mr. Horne has shown for this survey appears to go beyond a mere business deal.
- 4) The Mail Out survey appears to be the least expensive way to go.

In the minutes of March 20, 1990, the Board accepted the Sergeant's recommendation and awarded the contract to Carleton University.

The Nepean Police Services Board also reviewed drafts of the questionnaires (adult and youth instruments). According to a member, the Board spent considerable time with the draft questionnaires: "we were directly involved in it, we had our input" (McGuire, 1992). Also, the Board distributed the final report to the media at an open Board meeting (McGuire, 1992).

Nepean Police participation in the project involved mainly administrative support. In addition to reviewing of the bids as described above, the Sergeant assigned to the project contacted Carleton University research staff (researcher and dissertation supervisor), submitted draft questionnaires to the Police Services Board, and assisted with the selection of the sample. The selection of the sample involved securing a computer-readable version of the municipal Tax Assessment Data Base from the City of Nepean Finance Department and liaising with community ethnic groups to get access to their membership lists. The Sergeant also tried to secure cooperation with the local school

boards to obtain permission to administer the survey in class; permission was not forthcoming so persons between the age of 13 and 18 (randomly selected from the Tax Assessment Data Base) had questionnaires mailed to their home address.

In Nepean, interviews and documentation suggest that there is little support for proposition 4. The initiator of the public opinion survey was a member of the Police Services Board and not the Chief of Police. The Board defined the scope of the project in terms of which target groups were to be surveyed. The Board also reviewed drafts of the questionnaires and participated in the release of the final report to the media. The Nepean Police Sergeant assigned to the project played primarily an administrative support role, however, he also was influential in determining the supplier of survey services. Based on the above, there is also little support for proposition 5 in Nepean. The Police Services Board's role included the financial aspects of the public opinion survey as well as active participation in the survey itself.

In Gloucester, the Chief of Police and the Deputy Chief were the driving forces behind the public needs survey. The Chief initiated the idea of a public needs survey, while the Deputy Chief made contact with Carleton University concerning the survey, and participated in construction of the questionnaire. The Chief and the Deputy Chief also wrote to the Governments of Ontario and Canada (respective Solicitor Generals) to solicit additional funds for the survey. The Police Services Board had little involvement except for approval of the project and allocation of interim funds for the administration of the project. The Chairman of the Police Services Board also participated in the release of the final report (Kanellakos, 1992).

In the interview, the Chief stated that he read about the use of surveys in The Police Chief, the official periodical of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (Thompson, 1992). The article described a survey done by a small American police organization. The Chief circulated the article to his Deputy Chief. After initial discussions, the Chief decided that he wanted some external assistance to complete the survey and the Deputy Chief contacted the dissertation supervisor to begin discussions (Thompson, 1992). Overall, the Chief's involvement was termed "direction and support" (Kanellakos, 1992).

The Deputy Chief participated in a work group made up of Carleton University-based researchers and Gloucester Police personnel (see Appendix A). During work group meetings the Deputy Chief defined the scope of the project. He was interested in knowing, in general terms "how we are doing in providing services to the community" and "should we be doing things that we are not now currently doing". Early in the work group discussions, it was decided that, due to limited funds for the project, a mail-out survey to persons randomly chosen (by hand) from the recent voters list would be the survey method. The survey questionnaire was also developed by the joint work group.

The Deputy Chief and the Chief also respectively approached the provincial and federal Ministries of the Solicitor-General for additional funds for the project (Thompson, 1992, Renaud, 1992). The Deputy Chief and Chief wrote letters requesting the funds with an attached proposal for the research written by the Deputy Chief and the Carleton University research staff (researcher and dissertation supervisor). In the spring of 1990, a meeting was held at Gloucester Police Headquarters with a representative of the federal

Ministry of the Solicitor General and the Deputy Chief and other Gloucester Police members of work group concerning the request for funding. The letter from the Chief to the provincial Ministry of the Solicitor General was more successful insofar as the province granted the request for \$9,200 for the survey.

The Gloucester Police Services Board was the ultimate approval authority for the public opinion survey (Kanellakos, 1992). The Police Services Board also approved an interim allocation of funds to enable the project to get underway. Finally, the Chairman of the Police Services Board participated in the release of the survey results. The Chairman of the Police Services board summarized the "arms length" approach of the Board to the survey:

(we were involved) basically more from an interest point of view that this was worthwhile and we were being told as it went along that it was and finally when we got the results and, I must admit that because the results were so favourable that everybody in hindsight can say it was a great idea, although it would have been a great idea at any time because you need to know what the people are going to think.

In the Gloucester case, interviewees and documentation suggest there strong support for proposition 4. The Gloucester Police (Chief, Deputy Chief and other personnel) were much more involved with the public opinion survey than the members of the Police Services Board. The Chief initiated the idea, while the Deputy Chief actively participated in the survey, including the design of the questionnaire. Most importantly, the Chief and Deputy Chief made key decisions concerning what parties were going to get involved, the scope of the project and which agencies to approach for funding. The Boards limited involvement was dealing with start-up funds for the project, thus providing support for

proposition 5.

Summary: Propositions Concerning Who is in Control: Police Chiefs or Police Services Boards

4. Police chiefs and senior officers will be more involved with the public attitudes survey, as compared to police board members.
5. Members of police services boards involvement in the public opinion survey will be limited to the financial aspects of the project.

The foregoing analysis demonstrated that, in two of the three research sites, there is little evidence that the police chiefs are in control of the public opinion survey issues. Members of the Police Service Board in Nepean introduced the issue, defined the scope of the project, participated in the survey and employed members of the Nepean Police in a support capacity. In Ottawa, the Police Service Board introduced the topic of public opinion surveys and arguably replaced the survey with a project of a higher priority (the communications study). The Ottawa Board also moved to delay if not eliminate the project from the 1992 budget through imposing the "no growth budget" in the fall of 1991. Only in Gloucester did the Police chief and the Deputy Chief display control of the public opinion survey.

Proposition: Justifying the Public Opinion Survey

6. The justification for participating in (or not participating in) completing the survey will involve reasons related to public acceptance, financial resources, and legal constraints.

During the interviews, it was expected that the topic of public opinion surveys would be rationalized or explained by participants in a number of ways. First, since the opinion survey was of members of the public, it was expected that justification references would reflect a "service to the public theme", including, "citizens' expectations", "customer satisfaction with police service", "understanding what the public wants". Second, since police resources are a "hot topic" for senior police administrators and members of police service boards, it was expected that justification of the survey would include references which reflect a financial or scarcity of resources theme such as "determining the quality of service we are getting for our money", or finding out "what the taxpayer thinks of our services". Finally, since the relatively new Police Services Act prescribes that police organizations deliver "community oriented police services", and the survey has been suggested as an objective technique to do so, it was expected that this legislation would be mentioned as justification for implementing a public opinion survey.

Similar themes were expected to be found in documents obtained from each agency. Since approval for these public opinion surveys or other projects of this nature is often made by the respective Police Services Board, it was expected that such approval would be based on written proposals. In two of the three cases (Ottawa and Nepean), such proposals were found, while in the third (Gloucester), the organization approached external funding agencies to support and hence, justified the project in writing.

In Ottawa, documentation (police service board minutes and research proposal) included justifications for a survey of a public acceptance nature. The proposal to undertake an internally administered survey (Ottawa Police, 1991:) suggested: "the police

exist so that they may provide service to the public...(a)s a result it may be necessary from time to time to probe the public in order to ascertain their perceptions." The Chief is reported to have used a similar theme in a Police Service Board meeting: "he would like to do a survey on citizen satisfaction or dissatisfaction with regards to the Force... (a)s Chief of Police he would like to find out how people want to be policed" (Police Service Board Minutes, November 19, 1990).

Another theme linked to justifying a survey in the Ottawa case was the explicit recognition that such a project had been recently undertaken in Gloucester and Nepean; such a theme could arguably be described as "inter-agency competition". The "inter-agency competition" theme was found to be mentioned almost in passing by interviewees (Lyon 1992, Hill, 1992) as they were aware of what other agencies in the area were doing. When the topic of a public opinion survey was first introduced to the Police Service Board (by the Chair), it was done so by noting that the Gloucester Police had recently undertaken a survey and the copy of the survey report was distributed to Police Service Board members (Ottawa Police Services Board Minutes, January 9, 1990). The theme of "inter-agency competition" also appeared in the internal survey proposal in that Gloucester and Nepean were again mentioned as having recently completed a survey (Ottawa Police, 1991:3). The internal proposal also noted that both Gloucester and Nepean had involved the Centre for Research in Community-Based Policing at Carleton and described the process in which Carleton was involved (Ottawa Police, 1991).

In Ottawa, the justification for an internally administered survey did not reflect themes of decreasing financial resources or recent legal requirements. However, as noted

above, the budget papers of fall, 1991 justify an expenditure for an external-to-the-Ottawa-Police survey in terms of perceived objectivity: "(i)t is proposed that, in order to provide objectivity in conducting a public attitude and needs survey we contract out to an external organization specializing in such work". This theme of perceived objectivity was also mentioned by a senior Ottawa Police officer above as a reason that the internally administered survey was not implemented (Page, 1992).

A somewhat different interpretation of the decision not to participate in a public opinion survey was offered above by the Chairman of the Police Services Board (Hill, 1992). As described above, the member suggested the survey was not undertaken due to the inadequacy of the information that it would provide. As noted above, he (Hill, 1992) suggested:

So you get over 85% of the people saying the Police are wonderful, I'm not sure how helpful that is when you are patting yourself on the back. So what we felt would be more, at this stage anyway, for the Ottawa Police would be more helpful if we had a professional do an in depth thing with not 85% of the people thinking the police are wonderful but how much do some of the people in the community know about policing....(The survey) is great for PR and to try and get the newspapers to print it saying that all these people like the police I suppose but in real terms it doesn't help go on from where you are.

The decision not to engage in an externally-administered public opinion survey did, however, involved financial resources. From the above discussion on control, the Police Service Board imposed a "no-growth budget", which effectively eliminated the funds requested for the survey. An interviewee (Lyon, 1992) suggested that the reason the survey was not done was "there's no money".

In the Ottawa case, documentation and interviews suggest there is minimal support

for proposition 6. While the justification for the internal survey was nominally linked to public acceptance themes, no evidence was found which linked financial resources or legal requirements to the survey. Instead, the theme of "inter agency competition" was used implicitly to justify the internal survey.

Concerning the internally administered survey, there were divergent views concerning the justification for not engaging in this project. The theme of "perceived objectivity" of an outside agency was identified by a senior officer while the Chairman of the Police Services Board suggested that such a survey would not provide useful information. The Chairman, in effect, turned around the use of public acceptance information, saying that such data would not assist him in moving the organization forward. For the externally administered survey, the lack of financial resources was identified as instrumental in the decision to not go forward with the project.

In Gloucester, much of the justification for the public opinion survey involved public acceptance themes. For example, concerning the justification of survey the Chief (Thompson, 1992) remarked "I was trying to identify with what the citizens of Gloucester saw were the needs". Not surprisingly, the Deputy Chief echoed these comments:

we needed to know what is it that our clients expected from us and this is how we decided to have community input to decide if they were satisfied with what we were presently doing and if not, what should we change in order to meet their needs.

An additional theme was also used in justifying the public opinion survey in Gloucester. The survey project was identified as part of a strategic planning process, a component of "progressive police organization" theme, in a letter requesting financial

assistance to federal Ministry of the Solicitor General:

The Gloucester Police Force with the support of the Board of Commissioners of Police has embarked on a Five Year Strategic Plan. A critical component of this initiative is a survey directed to the residents of Gloucester which measures attitudes towards this Force. All police organizations are highly dependent on the citizens to whom they deliver services; this research will assist us greatly in our continuing function of understanding our community.

Please find attached, a research proposal prepared with the assistance of Dr. Dennis Forcese and Mr. David Horne of Carleton University. The proposal is part of a larger planning process which will assist the Force to meet the needs of a growing and evolving community.

The survey will assist in measuring public attitudes towards a variety of police programs.

This initiative, which is unique to Ottawa - Carleton area, requires additional funding....

Interestingly enough, the above passage reflects other components of the "progressive police organization" theme insofar as "Carleton University" is mentioned as a participants, and the uniqueness of the project (vis a vis other Ottawa-Carleton agencies) is identified. Progressive police organizations have been described (amongst other things) as promoting innovation, cooperating with other public institutions and engaging in research and strategic planning (see Normandeau and Leighton, 1990a, 1990b).

The "public acceptance" and "progressive police organization" themes were also linked in the written response to the researcher's request for permission to include the Gloucester Police in the research project:

Reasons for the survey:

- (a) one component of environmental scan phase of the strategic plan.**
- (b) determine what public perceptions of police are in Gloucester.**

(c) identify where service is meeting the needs of community and where there is need for improvement (Kanellakos, 1992).

The interviews and documentation suggest that, in Gloucester, the public survey was opinion survey was justified using "public acceptance", and "progressive police organization themes. No themes of decreasing financial resources or new legal requirements were offered in the documentation or interviews. Therefore, since the justification for the survey included only one of the three expected themes (public acceptance) there is little support for proposition 6.

In Nepean, justification for the introduction of the survey, included public acceptance criteria. In his memo to the Chief concerning the suppliers of surveys services, the Sergeant assigned to the project discussed the reasons for engaging in the survey:

Question A: Why should such a study be conducted?

A Public Needs Survey, conducted by the Nepean Police Service, would provide the Service with an accurate indicator, as to the public's perception of the Nepean Police Service in general and our efficiency in particular. It will also provide us with some insight as to identifying areas within Nepean that the public feel the police should direct more attention to.

Question B: What will be gained from such a study?

This study will:

- 1) Provide the Nepean Police Commission and the Administration with current information which they can assess our strengths and weaknesses. (note there were handwritten notes in the margin to indicate such a study "can give us an outsiders look at our ...strengths and weaknesses").
- 2) Provide the Administration with statistics with which they can base future decisions concerning a) Organizational structure and b) Program changes - additions or deletions.

- 3) Provide the Service with a reasonably accurate indicator, showing how well we are relating to target groups such as our youths (14-17) and Visible Minorities.
- 4) Provide us with a yardstick with which we can measure our successes and failures concerning any changes we make after the survey has been completed and acted upon.
- 5) Provide an excellent public relations tool for two reasons: a) A personal letter from Chief Phillips going into more than 1000 homes plus being distributed to 300 youths will add to the credibility of our request and (b) the survey itself allows the public to feel that they are being given an opportunity to influence the way they are being policed in the future.
- 6) The Carleton Survey will give our service exposure to other police groups such as C.P.C. (SPAC lectures), Ontario Police Planners Conference and published results in the C.P.C. journal (Integrity of the force protected).

This above justifications view the survey as a rational tool or "yardstick" by which organization performance can be measured (answer to question A and, Question B, points 1 to 4). Other themes included in the memo are "public acceptance", insofar as the survey is described as a technique to foster acceptance of the police (point 5) and "progressive police organization", where the professional status of the Nepean Police is enhanced through Carleton's use of the result of the Nepean survey in recognized police facilities (point 6).

This "yardstick" approach is reflected in the comments of the Chief (Phillips, 1992):

The reason for it (the survey) was simply that we go along in our own merry way not knowing how we are doing. We think we are doing O.K. but we have no conclusive method of knowing how well or how bad we are doing unless we test the water and I guess that is the main reason for going through the exercise. Now once done it is useless unless you do something with it and so what we did do with it was we analyzed the results of it and the major problems, specifically that we were not dealing with youth in a proper manner and we tried to address that.

The use of a survey as a management device to measure organizational progress and inform the senior administration of citizen priorities was also reflected in the comments of the Police Service Board member (McGuire, 1992) who championed the survey:

We are a hired agency doing work for the citizens, the citizens are our employers. They are the ones who are paying our salaries, and buying us our equipment so we have a contract with them and we are in business, in business to supply policing services in all the different facets to our community and if they are our employer then we better find out what they want in policing, it is not up to policing institutions to decide what kind of policing their citizens want. For example, I felt that the police in Nepean may have been a little too tough on traffic violations and so I discussed with the board and with the Chief, maybe doing something to get the guys to lay off a little, give warnings and things of that nature for going five miles or 10 km over the speed limit or a stop street with nobody else around where a person slows down and then goes through it. Maybe those are the kinds of things we ought not to be jumping on in traffic enforcement. But I didn't know what the citizens wanted, I would have bet that they would have wanted a less restrictive enforcement on traffic violations and to find out what they thought on that aspect, whether or not they thought they were getting enough protection in this area rapes or armed robberies or whatever. Let's find out what the citizens priorities were. So we do this survey and the result comes back that number one the citizens want traffic enforcement. I was totally surprised, I thought they would come back saying that we were too damn tough but the number one item was traffic control enforcement, not armed robberies, not prevention of rapes not.... but traffic control so that tells us what our citizens want and we better listen to them. So we have to change the whole spectrum of the way we look at things from "the cops are them and we are us" to "we are in charge of the law and the policemen are our hired representatives to do as we want but not what we want individually done but as what we collectively want done" because obviously if you get a speeding ticket, you don't want that police officer to give you that ticket individually but it is interesting to find that collectively you want traffic laws enforced so that is where we must take our direction. We have to change the whole accent on policing from the police as a separate entity doing their own thing, deciding what laws will be enforced and how they will enforce them to finding out what our community wants those police to do and so that is where the survey comes in, that gives the police force the direction from the employers as to what they want....

The above comments of the Board member demonstrate the survey as a management tool,

not only to evaluate citizen perceptions of satisfaction with the organization, but also as a technique by which management can be informed about citizens' perceptions of what police should be doing. As such, these comments reflect not only public acceptance themes (e.g., satisfaction with current police services) but are also suggestive of "progressive police organizations" themes. Murphy and de Verteuil (1986) suggest that in order for police organizations to be community oriented (read progressive) public input should be used in police decision making. The Police Services Board member's comments are reflective of this community oriented progressive police organization theme.

The Police Service Board member's comments concerning "the citizens are the one paying our salaries" implies a concern with the "costs of policing" theme. Public input (through surveys) and citizen involvement in police activities is justified from a cost of police resources standpoint:

We have to have much more citizen involvement because we cannot afford the cost of policing....In community based policing we are going to ask you then I said to the people in Barrhaven to come and volunteer, we want you to operate the police office. We have an expert there, but he is the expert, your carrying out the fundamental aspects of the law enforcement. So if someone has a car stolen from their home and they call in, surely to goodness it does not do one bit of good to send out a \$200,000 per year, which is what it costs, policeman to your home to tell him that your car was stolen and to make out a report because all you really want as a citizen, all we can do for you at this time is twofold; one is to take a report and put it in our system so everybody will be on the lookout for that car, that is fine, but all you need from a practical point of view immediately is an occurrence number so you can call your insurance company and you can say pay me the money for my car pursuant to your contract for insurance with them so that doesn't require a police officer, all it requires is an intelligent, trained citizen who is a volunteer, take the theft report, give you an occurrence number and put that information into our computers.....So in other words we cannot afford as citizens paid at the rate we pay the police officers and equip them and train them to go and do all the stuff that doesn't require their expertise and so there the citizens must do that.

In Nepean, the use of "public acceptance" "progressive policing organization" and "cost of police resources themes to justify the survey was apparent in the documentation and interviews. There was no indication that the theme of recent legal requirements were used to justify the survey. Given the justification for the survey reflected two of the three expected themes (public acceptance), there is moderate support for proposition 6 in Nepean.

Summary: Proposition Concerning Justifying the Public Opinion Survey

6. The justification for participating in (or not participating in) completing the survey will involve reasons related to public acceptance, financial resources, and legal constraints.

It was expected the decision to engage or not to engage in a public opinion survey would be justified using explanations that reflected 3 themes: public acceptance, financial resources and legal requirements. In all three research sites, the public acceptance theme was used to support a public opinion survey. In one research site (Ottawa), the public acceptance theme was used to defeat a proposal for an internally administered survey. In this same site, the scarcity of financial resources was used justify not engaging in an externally-administered public opinion survey. The cost of police resources was also used in Nepean to justify the increased use of public input and involvement in police operations. The use of legal requirements to explain why a survey was or was not completed did not occur in any of the research sites. Based on the foregoing, the appears to be mixed support for proposition 6.

Additional themes were, however, used to justify public opinion surveys. First,

in Ottawa, the theme of "inter-agency competition was used to implicitly to suggest that other area police organizations are engaging in public opinion surveys. Second, in Gloucester and Nepean, variations of the "progressive police organization" theme which suggests that activities such as having public input into police priority setting, organizational innovation, and, strategic planning and research are part of "leading edge" police organizations and the survey is part of this approach.

Propositions: Choosing a Consultant

7. The organizational status of the supplier of research services was a consideration in the awarding decision.
8. The decision to choose an outside consultant will be justified in terms of the objectivity of the third party.

Chapter 2 discussed the possibility of Ottawa-area suburban independent police agencies facing organizational mortality due to amalgamation of services. Indeed, historically, regionalization has been "in the background" of the Gloucester and Nepean Police agencies. One strategy that could be used to ensure the independence of the municipal police organization is the alliance of the police organization with an external third party in order to demonstrate the "objectivity" of the public opinion survey. Further, the adoption of a third party would serve as a "blessing of the fleet" function, where the consultant would lend his reputation to the project.

Based on the above, it was expected that during the interviews, respondents would explain the choice of the consultants in terms of their organizational status. Themes such as "respected academic researchers", and "knowledge of police organizations" were

believed to be influential in the choice of the consultants. Furthermore, the "objectivity" of the third party consultants, insofar as the consultants had no vested interest in the results of the project, was expected to be used in justifying the choice.

The organization which chose not to engage third party consultants was expected to cite cost as an explanation for their decision. Public opinion research services purchased from outside the organization reflect an incremental cost for that specific activity, as opposed to hiring of a person or persons to perform public opinion surveys and other research activities. As such, the latter of these two options was expected to be more attractive as it produces better "value for money" benefits than the former.

In Gloucester, documentation and interviews suggested that the "objectivity" of the consultants was a consideration initial decisions concerning the survey project. Concerning the survey, the Chief (Thompson, 1992) stated:

Now I didn't want us to do it. I made up my mind very early on that, we the Gloucester Police should not be doing this survey. To give a lot of credibility and in the event that it came back very negative or it came back very positive, people would look at it and say well you fixed that survey, where if Carleton did it then it would remove us. That was one of the reasons.

The response to the researcher's initial letter requesting permission to include the Gloucester Police in the survey also mentioned the objectivity of the consultants: "provided legitimacy to (the) process by being at arms-length relationship with the collection of data" (Kanellakos, 1992).

Other themes, reflecting "efficiency of the survey work", were also mentioned as benefits in choosing the consultant. The response to the researcher's initial letter mentioned "specialization /expertise" and "efficiency of internal resources" as benefits

from the chosen consultant. Apparently, the Gloucester Police initially considered employing students to assist in the survey, but the idea was turned down by the Chief (Thompson, 1992; Renaud, 1992). The Gloucester Deputy Chief explained the decision to choose the consultants was linked to the above analysis of their internal resources (Renaud, 1992). He (Renaud, 1992) stated: "we did not have the expertise to tell us how to determine how many should be sent out so we decided to look at academics to assist us". The decision to involve outside expertise also involved a realization that internally, the Gloucester Police did not have other necessary resources for the survey:

Well we had a number of things, if we were to consider doing it in house, we looked at things like who in fact would be doing it, how are the results going to analyzed, who will do the analysis, do we have a computer program that could do the job, would we have to buy a computer program and then this is what brought us to go to Carleton in order to get the expertise we needed to fulfil that particular part of our strategic plan (Renaud, 1992).

The Gloucester Police approached only the researchers at Carleton University and did not approach any other suppliers. Contact regarding the survey was made with the dissertation supervisor by the Deputy Chief based on prior personal contact.

In Gloucester, the use of "objectivity of the third party" and "efficiency of work" themes was apparent in the interviews and documentation. The first of these themes (objectivity) was expected, while the second (efficiency) was not. There was no indication that the organizational status of the university-based consultants was a factor in the selection. Based on these observations, there is little support for proposition 7 and strong support for proposition 8.

In Nepean, the choice of the external consultants was much more complex than in Gloucester. As mentioned above, the researcher was initially invited to present the

Gloucester survey results to the Police Services Board. Subsequently, the Nepean Police were asked by the Police Services Board to secure bids from other suppliers of public opinion research services. In his memo to the Chief concerning the survey project, the Sergeant who evaluated the bids itemized the benefits of a survey, including (as mentioned above), provision of data to measure organizational progress, enhancement of public acceptance and promotion of professional police image by Carleton University.

The same memo described the principals involved in each of the firms bidding on the Nepean survey. Carleton University researchers are described as follows:

Carleton University is a highly respected University and persons who have been and will be involved with this project come with solid credentials. Mr Dennis P. Forcese - Vice President of Administration, Carleton University has had considerable input into this program and will remain an active advisor with our proposed project. Mr. David G. Horne will be the coordinator of this project. Mr Horne has 7 years experience with the Calgary Police Service in Planning and Research, Information systems area, and in Crime Analysis for Homicide, Robbery and Sex Crimes. Mr. Horne is currently a PH.D. (sic) student in Sociology at Carleton University who lectures at the Canadian Police College... The Carleton University group has just completed a Public Needs survey for the Gloucester Police Force (1989), which is receiving good reviews (Levere, 1990).

The Sergeant involved with the project compared the two bids in great detail. He compared the two methods for accomplishing the survey; Carleton bid a mail-out survey, while the private company suggested a telephone survey. In recommending Carleton's proposal (as identify previously), he stated:

I feel that Carleton University has the edge however for a number of reasons:

- 1) Their experience with the Gloucester Survey
- 2) The background Mr. Horne has with analyzing Police related subjects.
- 3) The personal interest Mr. Horne has shown for this survey appears to go

beyond a mere business deal.

- 4) The Mail Out survey appears to be the least expensive way to go.

The interview with the Chief confirms point number 3 (above) as being influential in the selection of the consultants. However, the Chief also identified costs concerns as the primary consideration:

Price. You were lower and you also had a better working relationship. They seem to treat you more like a client, the private company lacked the personal commitment or whatever, the relationship was not as positive as one would like....Most if not everything today is dollar driven but to go beyond that then there has to be a deciding factor (Phillips, 1992).

Similar to Gloucester, the Nepean Police also considered performing the survey internally, but according to the Chief, "we did not have anybody here who could read it and interpret it" (Phillips, 1992). Interestingly enough, since the Carleton Survey, the Nepean Police have performed two further surveys using, for the most part, internal resources (see Erfle, 1992).

In Nepean, the use of organizational status theme of the "respected university based researchers" was expected. Also anticipated was "knowledge of police organizations theme" (the recognition of the researchers previous professional career and experience with Gloucester survey: see points 1 and 2 above of Sergeant's memo) as justification for awarding the contract to Carleton. These themes suggest there is support for proposition 8.

A number of factors were not anticipated. First, what was unexpected was the theme of "customer service" where the police personnel recognized a commitment to service on the part of the consultants (see Chief's comments and point 3 of the Sergeant's

memo above). Second, the influence of price considerations was not expected. The cost-efficiency of the mail-out survey was noted as a reason for awarding the contract to Carleton, and the Chief stated bluntly, that lower price of Carleton's bid was a significant factor in the decision. That the Nepean Police have completed two subsequent surveys without external assistance indicates further effects of cost. Third, the "efficiency of work" where the organization had no internal means of interpreting the results of the survey was unanticipated.

There was no mention of the "objectivity of the third party" theme in any of the interviews or documentation. This suggests there is little support for proposition 8.

In Ottawa, the option of using outside consultants was considered. As mentioned above, the internal proposal for completing a survey identifies the Gloucester and Nepean Police as participants with Carleton University researchers. The same proposal suggests that discussions were held between the researcher and members of the Planning and Research Section concerning a joint effort between Carleton and Ottawa Police. Concerning these discussions, the proposal notes: "owing to the resources available within this organization it was clearly stated that this is unnecessary for this force to employ the services of an outside agency". The internal resources referred to in the proposal was a recently hired research analyst who possessed a doctorate degree in education.

As mentioned above, the internally-administered survey did not come to fruition. The 1992 budget contained an allotment for an externally administered survey, which was justified to as necessary "in order to provide objectivity". The change in justification is linked to the Ottawa Police changing internal resources: at the time of the budget their

research analyst had left and the new justification was required to secure funding. Thus, although the action never materialized, the Ottawa Police used the "objectivity of the third party" theme to attempt to seal the idea of a survey, and as such, there appears to be support for proposition 8.

Summary: Propositions Concerning Choosing a Consultant

7. The organizational status of the supplier of research services was a consideration in the awarding decision.
8. The decision to choose an outside consultant will be justified in terms of the objectivity of the third party.

It was expected that the choice of the consultants would involve a number of themes in the justifying the selection. First, the organizational status of the consultants, insofar as the themes of "respected academics" and "knowledge of police organizations" would be important. This was found to be the case only in Nepean. Second, the "objectivity of the third party" theme was expected: this was found in Gloucester and in Ottawa (external survey).

It was expected that the non-selection of the consultant (Ottawa) would be justified in terms other than those mentioned above. The justification for the internal survey was directly linked to an "efficiency of work" theme. At the time, the Ottawa Police had a research analyst on staff and they believed that a survey could be accomplished in a more cost efficient manner using internal resources.

The "efficiency of work theme" was surprisingly common to all three organizations. In Gloucester and Nepean, this theme was used to dismiss an internally-administered survey, although subsequently in Nepean, such surveys have been completed.

As stated above, in Ottawa, the "efficiency of work" theme was used to justify an internal survey proposal.

3. Regionalization of Police Services

Propositions: Regionalization of Police Services

9. When asked about regionalization, Gloucester Police and Nepean Police will be resistant to an amalgamated police organization.
10. When asked about regionalization, Ottawa Police will be positive towards an amalgamated police organization.

The previous chapters discussed the wide-spread adoption of regional policing in Ontario in the 1970's and the relatively recent interest in amalgamated policing structures in British Columbia, New Brunswick and Ontario (specifically Ottawa-Carleton). Regional policing has been justified using themes which reflect traditionally rational approaches to organizational design, including, increased efficiency and effectiveness, increased economies of scale, regional forces are needed to upgrade the delivery of police services, elimination of jurisdictional disputes, specialization of tasks, and rational allocation of resources (Loreto, 1984:629-631). Additionally, themes of increased police professionalism have been used to justify regional policing: increased innovation, increased ability to provide training, more career paths with larger organization, less pressure on officers from citizens, and increased ability to foster good police community relations. Finally, financial themes are used to sell regional policing: decreased costs with regional policing regional policing and regional organizations are "financed more equitably than local forces" (Loreto, 1984:630).

In response, many proponents of local forces have simply refuted directly the arguments put forward by regional policing advocates. In response to traditional rational organizational arguments, local force proponents have argued that increased task specialization is not universally needed, no significant economies of scale exist (except for organizations over 4,000) and that interjurisdictional arrangements can and are made on an informal and formal basis to handle jurisdictional disputes (Loreto, 1984:629-631). Furthermore, in response to police professionalism arguments, local organization proponents suggest that the innovative technological emphasis of regional organizations does not "guarantee effective and responsive policing" (Loreto, 1984:630), the quality of training is adequate for local organizations, local organization membership is "not an impediment to career mobility", "local organizations are not subject to partisan political pressures from politicians", and regional forces are less personal and "less responsive to community preferences" (Loreto, 1984:631). Finally, local force proponents refute the financial arguments of the regional police advocates: "at the same level of service regional forces cost more than local forces" (Loreto, 1984:630).

The previous chapters documented the historical opposition to regionalization on the part of the Gloucester and Nepean police organizations. Based on this observation, asking questions about regionalization appeared to be a useful way to determine if the opposition to amalgamated police organization was a historical artefact or a current perspective. It was expected that some of the arguments described above, on both sides of the issue would be made by interviewees in the three organizations under study.

During the course of the interviews, however, it was discovered that one of the

organizations (Gloucester) had a written position paper on the topic. Documentation from the other two agencies concerning the issue of regionalization was also reviewed for this section. These documents confirmed the positions of the interviewees.

Almost all of this documentation came to light after the interviews were completed. Approximately 4 months after the interviews were completed, a Commissioner was appointed by the provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs to examine municipal governing structures in Ottawa-Carleton. This Commissioner met with many groups and elected officials across the region to determine:

should the type and number of municipal governments in Ottawa-Carleton be changed?

should members to regional council be elected independently from local councils for the 1994 municipal elections with no other structural changes to take place?

should the number of municipalities in the Ottawa-Carleton region be significantly reduced, but maintained within the framework of a two level regional government system?

should municipalities be amalgamated into two or three separate cities with the regional level eliminated?

should the regional and local municipalities be merged into a single government?

in the determination of wards, should electoral boundaries respect communities or interest, previously contained within, and served by, local municipalities? (Ontario, Ottawa-Carleton Consultation Commission, 1992a).

During the course of his discussions, the topic of regional policing was brought forward. Ottawa Police (Ottawa Police Planning and Research Section 1992) issued a position paper which supported regional policing⁵¹. In response, Nepean Police (Erfile, 1992)

⁵¹. Apparently the Regional Commissioner adopted many of the arguments put forward by the Ottawa Police. His interim report of September 1992 cited (almost verbatim) many of the arguments put forward in the Ottawa Police position paper. The Regional Commissioner concluded "the balance of opinion at this

generated a position paper that opposed regional policing, while Gloucester hired a group of university-based researchers (Lewis-Horne et al, 1992) to review published research: the research brief found no empirical support for regional police. All three police organizations attempted to muster support for their positions, through public meetings with community groups (Ottawa), full-page advertisements in local papers and flyers delivered to every house in the municipality (Nepean), and, "behind the scenes" discussions with interest groups aimed at increasing citizen turnout (and opposition) at meetings held by the Regional Commissioner (Gloucester).

The issue of regional policing sparked considerable debate before the Commissioner and in the media. Reports of shouting matches between representatives of the various police organizations in public meetings came from various sources (e.g., Kanellakos, 1992). The media (e.g., Lewis, 1992) picked up the topic and interviewed all police agencies in the region and the dissertation supervisor who, having recently published a book on policing, is recognized as an expert.

The interviews and documentation provide support for the propositions, with some interesting exceptions. When asked for his opinion on regional policing, the Gloucester Chief simply handed the researcher a copy of the position paper mentioned above and said "this explains it all". Concerning regionalization, the Chief elaborated:

No, it (regionalization) would not do anything to enhance the policing in Gloucester. There are a number of reasons for that, and I guess I am looking at

time from both the public and other meetings seems to favour the regionalization of police forces" (Ottawa-Carleton Regional Review Commission, 1992:20). Leaked reports to the press concerning the Regional Commissioner's final report suggest that he has recommended the implementation of a regional police organization to replace existing municipal and Ontario Provincial Police operating as a provincial agency and under municipal contract (Dare and Rogers, 1992).

that from the perspective of a tax payer. When you look at the cost at the present time, when you look at the crimes per 100000 and the solution rate, the cost is less in Gloucester than any other municipality of comparable size, the crime rate is lower, it is a lot lower than Ottawa's and the solution rate is higher. So what happens if this became a region? Gloucester residents would have less policing, it would be moving down to the core of Ottawa, where they are having more crime, and their costs would be going up.....It would be a double loss. If you were to compare our response times for service, you would find it much better than Ottawa's and with the size of the two cities you wonder why that is, it is a known fact (Thompson, 1992).

The Chief went on to say that Gloucester Police cooperated on many different areas with the Ottawa Police, such as ordering of uniforms and police vehicles, and that transportation of prisoners arrested by the Gloucester Police to and from the Regional Detention Centre to the Court House was done under contract by the Ottawa Police. The Chief stated that such cooperation made a regional police organization unnecessary.

Interestingly enough, cooperation with other area police agencies was also mentioned in the Five Year Strategic Objectives of the Gloucester Police and the initial strategic planning session held in October, 1989. At this latter workshop, numerous areas (such as joint recruiting and management training) where cooperative efforts between area police organizations could be gained were identified. Cooperation with other area police agencies was not only for gains in operational efficiency, however. Inter-agency cooperation was viewed as a tactic which would neutralize a central justification for regional policing. The consultant (McGlashan, 1989:24) summarized the conclusion of the session:

although the regionalization of policing has not yet become a formalized issue within Ottawa-Carleton, the Gloucester Police Force should anticipate this possibility and prepare it own position accordingly. Ensuring good communications and increased cooperation between the Forces (particularly

Gloucester and Ottawa) in the interim will provide a proven track record for a decentralized policing system.

The Gloucester Police position paper referred to above was an 8 page letter from the Chief of Police (dated January 18, 1990) to the Board of Police Commissioners, City of Gloucester. The letter (Thompson, 1990:9) argues in opposition to the justifications for regionalization and summarizes the results of the public opinion survey: " Gloucester's citizens are satisfied with the police services as they are now...(a) recent survey from Carleton University supports this position." The letter concludes:

The concept of regional policing has a lot of merit when a major police force is surrounded by small disorganized, and ineffective police forces. This is not the case in Ottawa-Carleton. There are three major police forces in this region, and all are providing a service that meets the specific needs of the communities they serve. Regionalization, at this time, would create a situation where the citizens of Nepean and Gloucester would subsidize the high cost of policing in Ottawa which has a much greater crime rate per capita (Thompson, 1990:10).

Almost all other Gloucester respondents agreed with the Chief on the issue of regional policing. One respondent (Mackie, 1992) pointed out that no one has asked the community whether they favoured regional policing and if they were asked, the response would be that the community is happy with the way things are. Another interviewee suggested that regional policing would change police services in Gloucester:

Well, the first thing is when you look at the cost per capita, when you look at the cost per household, Gloucester is around \$95.00 per capita for policing, Ottawa is \$180.00, so the taxpayer is going to automatically pay a lot more for their services. The type of service we are presently providing is geared towards our community's demands, access to the chief is instant, if you want to talk to the chief or deputy chief, they are accessible people in authority...we make decisions, the direction the force is going can easily be changed. It is not like a big ship with 800 or 2000 people which regional policing would cause. The type of

service being provided to Gloucester would definitely change because when you have a regional force and if there is a major demonstration on Parliament Hill, where do you think they are going to get the people to control the crowd? They are going to call all the on duty staff from all the suburbs, they are going to say come on in. Right now they have to call on overtime to be able to deal with their major occurrences, so that the surrounding municipalities will suffer as far as policing is concerned (Renaud, 1992).

The only Gloucester interviewee who was not opposed to regional policing was the Executive Assistant to the Chief of Police. As a civilian formerly in charge of the records area, he saw the benefits of regional policing in sharing of information between areas:

I think you have some problems in terms of information systems. Nepean, Gloucester and Ottawa have three different types of communications systems.Nepean went on their own and Ottawa went on their own. So you have a problem there if you are going to integrate because what does it run on, I mean most police organizations run on information. I mean files, historical files are the heart of it in a large sense because you, sure OMPAC is ok, but in terms of access to your case history files and everything, that would be a problem, unless of course they knew it was a Gloucester file so they could call it in. I mean it can be resolved, but it is one problem. The other thing is that I don't think it would be a big problem, I think you could still have three major sectors or have four or five sectors in the region and you could have a superintendent run each sector or a deputy chief running each sector and you could keep the stations where they were....

The Executive Assistant mentioned potential stumbling blocks to regionalization such as "who will pay the start-up costs", differences in per capita expenditures on policing which would require adjustments, but, ended by suggesting regionalization could conceivably happen "if there was a political will" to do so.

As mentioned above, when the regional commissioner began hearings with members of the public and elected officials, the Gloucester Police were invited to the discussions. After the initial meeting focused on regionalization as a real possibility, the Gloucester Police contacted the researcher to determine if there was any empirical

research on the topic of regionalization. A meeting was subsequently held with the researcher and another research associate from Carleton and it was agreed that Carleton University would prepare a brief outlining previous research concerning regionalization. The research brief (Lewis-Horne et al, 1992) contained the following findings:

bureaucratic form influences the relationship between the police organization and the community.

large police bureaucratic organizations are associated with centralized control of policy; makes innovation such as team policing, problem oriented policing and community based policing difficult to implement because they challenge the formal power distribution

size of Police Organization and measures of effectiveness: medium size departments are rated higher than small and large departments on various indicators.

size of organization influences deployment of resources: larger departments, less people working on patrol at night.

no economies of scale for consolidation of local services

The research brief (Lewis-Horne et al, 1992:9) concludes: "(f)rom our review, there is not adequate research in Canada to formulate a conclusion concerning the merits of regionalization...(t)he available findings do, however, call into question the assumption that regionalization produces a net benefit". The research brief prepared by Carleton staff was presented by the chairperson of the Gloucester Police Services Board to the Regional Commissioner in a subsequent meeting.

Even though not all Gloucester respondents are adamantly opposed to regional policing, those in positions of power and control of the organization are clearly in opposition. The interviews clearly demonstrate the opposition. The position paper, the strategic planning session summary, and subsequent actions of senior management

(mobilizing community groups to speak against regionalization, engaging academic consultants to legitimize their position) clearly support the interview data.

Gloucester's opposition to regional policing draws upon some predictable themes. First, the cost of regional policing (both start-up and operating) was mentioned. Second, the potential for a decline in service due to reallocation of manpower to the core city is reminiscent of the big-organization-unresponsive-to-local-interests theme. Third, the Chief pointed out that they cooperate on an on-going basis with Ottawa, thus eliminating the jurisdictional fragmentation argument of regional advocates: the summary of the strategic planning session suggests these cooperative efforts were aimed specifically at neutralizing arguments for regionalization. Finally, the use of supportive public survey data to support Gloucester's independent status suggests "if it ain't broke, don't fix it", a variation of the local-police-forces-provide-an-appropriate-level-of-service-theme of local force advocates.

One interesting twist to the regional policing debate is the Gloucester Police use of academic consultants and research to legitimate their opposition. During initial discussions the Gloucester Police were unaware of the previous research concerning regionalization, and therefore, the research brief arguably gave them an advantage over other parties to the discussion. Also, the use of local university-based researchers produced a "blessing of the fleet function", where the academics' credibility as an objective third party was introduced.

In Nepean, for the most part, interviewees were opposed to regionalization. One respondent suggested that regionalization would make the service "less personal":

Right now they know they are getting good service. To give you an example of the individual service, we have a special policy now, if somebody calls in with a

special event....such as Computing Devices are having a big barbecue, they send us in notification that this barbecue is going to take place on a certain date.....and because I am the supervisor on the road that night, I called the coordinator of this big barbecue, told her who I was and said if you have anything special that you would like us to do, just call me, ask for me and I will come over and see if we can't help you. She was quite impressed that the police would take a minute, when they are having a big party with large numbers to call and say we are here. That is the type of thing I am not sure you will get with regional policing. We are still small and very individual (Levere, 1992).

Another interviewee (MacKay, 1992) suggested that regional policing would be a "negative thing" insofar as it would decrease the number of patrol cars in an area: "(y)ou wouldn't see the number of police officers, you wouldn't see the quality of Nepean police work exceeds some of the others force services." The Police Services Board interviewee (McGuire, 1992) echoed these sentiments suggesting it would have a negative impact on police services in Nepean.

The only Nepean respondent who was not adamantly opposed to regionalization was the Chief. The Chief suggested that regionalization would "depersonalize the service" now offered in Nepean and that regional policing would not be provided as cost efficiently as is the current structure (Phillips, 1992). On the other hand, regionalization could have some benefits:

Yes but I expect it (regional policing). It is not going to bother me that much, ...In some ways it might be better, for the rank and file it might be better career wise, I would stack my people up against anyone and I think they would do quite well and on that regard it might be good but it may be at the expense of the policing style people would get I do not know. I guess it would depend on the leadership of whoever was to command the whole thing (Phillips, 1992).

The Nepean Police position paper mentioned above which was presented to the regional Commissioner examining local government structures focused mainly on cost.

The author (Erfle, 1992) suggests that Gloucester and Nepean operating costs are 63% lower than that of Ottawa's and concludes both agencies "are operating very efficiently, given the size of their cities... why then, should their efforts be hampered and the residents have to bear the increased costs of policing Ottawa (Erfle, 1992:4). Other financial data were presented and the overall conclusion was that regional policing would increase costs.

The Nepean position paper also presented data drawn from a telephone survey of 151 respondents (completed in summer, 1992) randomly selected from the telephone directory. Respondents were asked two questions: "are you generally satisfied with the overall performance of the Nepean Police" and, "as a citizen of Nepean, do you prefer the policing structure, being Nepean Police Service or do you prefer a Regional Police Service for Ottawa-Carleton". Predictably, almost 96.7% of respondents answered "yes" to the first question. For the Nepean Police versus regional police question, 72.8% preferred Nepean Police, 8% preferred regional police, and 19.2% had no opinion (Erfle, 1992:15). The position paper also mentioned the two previous surveys (one by Carleton University and the other by the Nepean Police) as corroborating evidence for the present survey. The position paper concludes:

The results of this survey would therefore indicate without a doubt that the residents of the City of Nepean are presently satisfied with the service provided by the Nepean Police and do not want to become part of a Regional Police Service (Erfle, 1992:15).

In preparation for a public meeting with the regional Commissioner, the Nepean Police sponsored a full page notice in the Nepean Clarion encouraging citizens to attend the meeting or write to the regional Commissioner (Dare, 1992). The notice was

reproduced in a flyer delivered to every house in Nepean which asked "do you want a change in policing", and "why should you pay more and possibly receive less". The flyer cited "research" which identified the major disadvantages of regional policing:

- 1) Increased costs both for start-up and continued operations which would result in tax increases.
- 2) Loss of local identity
- 3) Loss of sensitivity to community values and priorities
- 4) A reduction of number of police assigned to your area (Nepean Police Service, 1992).

The flyer concluded "HELP SAVE NEPEAN POLICE SERVICE" (Nepean Police Service, 1992). In assessing support for proposition 9, (Nepean respondents will oppose regionalization) the interviews suggest that almost all respondents are opposed to regional policing. Like Gloucester, Nepean respondents based their opposition on familiar themes. First, Nepean respondents and documentation suggested that regionalization would bring a loss in personalized service, loss of local identity, and loss of sensitivity to community values, all of which reflect the local-organizations-are-more-responsive-to-the-community theme. Second, Nepean interviewees and documentation suggest that regionalization will bring about a decrease in the number of police assigned to an area. Third, the position paper's use of survey data to support their opposition is an attempt use the "if it ain't broke, don't fix it theme. The position paper's reference to the Carleton University survey as corroborating evidence for its own survey indicates a legitimization tactic aimed at increasing the perceived objectivity of the telephone survey. Finally, respondents and documentation describe increased costs (both start-up and operating)

associated with regional policing, a common theme amongst local force advocates.

In Ottawa, support for regionalization was clearly evident. All those interviewed supported regionalization and a review of internal document produces arguments in support of regionalization. Thus, there is strong support for proposition 10 as described above.

Support for regionalization of police services is reflected in comments of Ottawa's Chief. He (Flanagan, 1992) describes himself as a "staunch advocator of regional policing" and suggests the current arrangements are dangerous to officer safety as common radio communications channels are not shared with Nepean, thus leaving open the following scenario:

I thought they would be all set to change and it was illustrated at Bayshore a few years ago, when a police officer was shot and the car was recovered in Ottawa and we all had to go out there, I went out myself, it was a Saturday morning..... there was no communication that the Ottawa Police and no one will ever know but that car might have been stopped by the Ottawa Police...

The Ottawa Police Services Board member suggested that regionalization would improve the service to the community by making available to suburban areas services that they currently do not have ready access to:

There is also the question of quality of policing. Gloucester does not have a S.W.A.T. team, Gloucester does not have a diving team. Gloucester does not have a K-9 unit, Gloucester does not have a mounted unit. If you need those things where are they, they do not have them. In fact, we sent our S.W.A.T. team into Gloucester for them to use when they have a crisis without charge and the real bottom line is that I don't believe the citizens of Gloucester are getting the policing to the same level as the citizens of Ottawa are and if the citizens of Ottawa are paying more than the citizens of Gloucester, they are getting more for their dollar.....the unsaid argument against regional policing is that it is a turf war and these other municipalities want to preserve their little fiefdom and I think that is wrong. I think the citizens get less policing for it and the quality of policing

suffers and I don't know how the cost works out and regional policing would be better policing (Hill, 1992).

Another interviewee echoed these comments in terms of increased diversity of service with regional policing and suggested that the inhabitants of the region will be the beneficiaries of such a system. Furthermore, economies of scale for the purchase of technology could be gained with a regional police structure:

I think the people who would benefit from a regionalized police force are the people who live in the region. It is like 911. 911 really doesn't help the police per se but it sure helps the public. When they need somebody fast like the police or ambulance they dial 911 and we send units. We have looked over the last number of years, we are looking right now at a, in fact we have now a matrix system, an automatic finger print identification system. We tried to get Nepean and Gloucester to come in with us on it, but they wanted to do it on their own. So we are spending 600,000 dollars on this system 200 (000) last year, 400 (000) this year and we will have direct access to the RCMP. This could be done... The criminals that are in Ottawa are in Nepean, Gloucester, Rockland, wherever if Ottawa-Carleton was a regional police force, everyone would have access to that. The identification area is another one. Gloucester has one, Nepean has one. Communication systems that we are putting in. We are going to put in a voice system, and it is going to cost over 6 million dollars this year. We have asked Nepean and Gloucester if they would like to join us on this, and they are not too fussy on it. ...Technically if we all got together we could save ourselves a lot of money. And there would be better service (Lyon, 1992).

As mentioned above, the Ottawa Police presented a position paper concerning regionalization to the regional Commissioner. Among other things, the position paper drew upon other Canadian jurisdictions' approaches to regionalization as support for Ottawa's position. However, the position paper (Ottawa Police, 1992:5) noted that a previous task force mentioned the lack of "scientific evaluation" of Ontario's experience with regional policing, but pointed to the abundance of subjective comments which supported regional policing. The paper goes on to justify regional policing as providing

the following benefits:

Operational considerations: increased ability to control and monitor illicit drug use (Ottawa Police, 1992:10-11)

increased coordination of police investigations (Ottawa Police, 1992:12)

increased ability to take advantage of specialist police units (Ottawa Police, 1992:14)

community based policing; a regional approach to this form of policing would be "far superior to any of the autonomous projects currently underway in isolated pockets of Ottawa-Carleton" (Ottawa Police, 1992:17).

Economies of Scale:

centralized communication, records, and computer system (Ottawa Police, 1992:18)

elimination of duplicate fingerprint identification systems: (Ottawa Police, 1992:19)

purchase of equipment through bulk purchasing powers (Ottawa Police, 1992:19)

current personnel being freed-up for re-deployment (Ottawa Police, 1992:20)

administrative costs and requests for additional physical space reduced (Ottawa Police, 1992:20)

elimination of an inefficient court liaison system (Ottawa Police, 1992:20)

elimination of the debate over which municipality(s) should pay for security at the regional court facility (Ottawa Police, 1992:21)

potential for increase in provincial grant monies for a regional police agency (Ottawa Police, 1992:21)

potential for hiring more members of target groups as many OPP officers would not join the regional police agency, and thus, there would be many vacant positions available

(Ottawa Police, 1992:22)

implementation of a standard reporting technique (Ottawa Police, 1992:23)

elimination of many police services boards (Ottawa Police, 1992:23)

provision of more expert, objective research and planning services leading to "improved efficiency and heightened police effectiveness" (Ottawa Police, 1992:24)

increased career incentives through a larger and more specialized police organization (Ottawa Police, 1992:25)

increased training and specialization: due to a larger police agency with more flexibility to cover for staff shortages (Ottawa Police, 1992:25)

The position paper concludes that a regional police organization is justified on the basis that such a structure would provide a more "economic avenue of providing a service and... a more efficient and effective police service...at the same cost, if not for less" (Ottawa Police, 1992:33).

Ottawa respondents and documentation present similar, if not the same, arguments as advocates of regionalization. First, the use of rational organizational arguments of regional policing advocates such as economies of scale (purchase of equipment in bulk), increased task specialization (producing increased quality of service), reduction in duplicated functions (court liaison functions and fingerprint identification systems and police service boards), and standardized procedures is apparent. The Chief uses the lack of a common radio system argument (a rational organizational approach), but adds a theme of increased officer safety as a result of regional policing. Second, the position paper trumpets financial themes, specifically, the increased cost efficiency of regional and

the potential for increased policing grants from the province. Finally, police professionalism themes are also used: expert and objective planning and research, increased career mobility, and enhanced training.

Summary: Propositions Concerning Regionalization of Police Services

9. When asked about regionalization, Gloucester Police and Nepean Police will be resistant to an amalgamated police organization.
10. When asked about regionalization, Ottawa Police will be positive towards an amalgamated police organization.

Based on the interviews and documentation, there is strong support for propositions 9 and 10. Gloucester Police and Nepean Police are clearly in opposition to regionalization. The arguments used to defend their autonomy are very similar to arguments put forward by local organization advocates. Furthermore, there is evidence that each organization actively attempted to mobilize community groups to support their positions. Finally, both Gloucester and Nepean attempted to introduce connections with Carleton University as a means to legitimize their positions. Nepean's attempt was a brief reference in their position paper to the survey conducted by Carleton University, while Gloucester was much more active engaging Carleton University-based researchers in the preparation of the research brief which found little evidence of support for regional policing.

On the other hand, Ottawa Police are clearly in favour of regional policing. Interviews with the Chief and other members of the Ottawa Police (including the Police Services Board Member) support this observation as does the position paper authored by

the Planning and Research Section (Ottawa Police, 1992). The interviewees and position paper use similar if not the same themes as previous advocates of regional policing.

4. Using the Survey Results⁵²

Propositions: Distributing the Results

11. Survey results will be distributed to recipients who may influence the status of the police organization.
12. Powerful organizational decision makers understanding of the community's expectations of their organizations will be, for the most part, congruent with results of the survey.
13. The academic consultant(s) will be a participant in the distribution of the results.

Chapter 3 identified the resource-dependence of the police, suggesting that the police must make efforts at budget time to "look good" in order to ensure the continued flow of resources to their organization. As such, it is expected that a major recipient of survey results would be budget decision makers and that only those results which contribute to the positive portrayal of the police would be distributed. Chapter 2 also discussed the potential for organizational mortality of each of the two organizations which participated in the public opinion surveys. Given this precarious position, and the

⁵² Survey results were prepared for both police organizations by the researcher and the dissertation supervisor. The Gloucester survey results were issued as a joint publication of the Gloucester Police and Carleton University, with the above mentioned credited as co-authors along with the Chief of Police. The addition of the Police Chief came just at the report was printed. In Nepean, the report was authored by the researcher and the dissertation supervisor.

potential benefits of the academic consultant "blessing the organization", it was expected the researcher would be a participant in the distribution of the results.

Also, it was expected that respondents' perceptions of the citizens' expectations of their police organizations and related issues would be largely the same. The similarity in respondents expectations of community support and survey results is largely due to their (the respondents) positions within the organization: they deal with the public and the members of local council, and thereby would have a relatively accurate assessment of public support. As such, when asked if there was any surprises yielded in the survey results, interviewees would answer initially in the negative. Also, since the "social relationship" (Weber, 1947) between individuals is partly constant and partly changing, it was expected that respondents would identify a few exceptions to their initial response (or surprises). Conversely, when asked what was confirmed in their minds from the survey, it was expected that interviewees would answer "almost everything".

In Gloucester, the survey results played a significant role in the budget acceptance process in the fall of 1989. The Executive Assistant (Kanellakos, 1992) described the budget situation in the City of Gloucester as a "budget crunch" with a projected tax increase of 29.5%. "Our budget was (up) 22% that year":

the budget, it was the same year as the survey, but the thing was... the budget increase though was the thing that forced the fact that we were going into that. I mean before the actual budget increase when it came out and we were involved in the process before we knew we were heading for trouble you see because we were involved in the new CAO had come in, the director of finance came in, a new budget manager came in, and the word was coming back, holy geez the house is not in order here, we have to get things in shape, so the word was coming back so we said we better get going on this and everything ended up happening simultaneously in terms of the time of the survey, but we knew at that stage that we were in trouble here.

The Executive Assistant (Kanellakos, 1992) confirmed that there was a "rush" to produce the survey results in order assist in the approval of the police budget:

O.K., you are correct there was a real rush to get the results to tie it into the budget but at that point remember we were not, we had not developed our first strategic planning document. I don't think the first one came in until 1990. We were in the process of doing that, we had had some meetings, we had a workshop. The first couple of years were very difficult to try and get this because it is a whole different way of thinking. The survey results were more important in a sense that they really supported our budget increase because of a number of factors and we won't get into all of them but we had a significant budget increase considering we only were going up by about 6% every other year and the survey results were very important to meet an end that particular year....And even though our budget went up 22%, we have community support, so we were in the trenches battling in the back room with everyone, that was important material because we gave a copy to every alderman, you know read this because this is where we are at.

In addition to the "back room" role which the survey results played, they also played a very public function. Faced with a very large tax increase (at one point 33%), the City of Gloucester held a series of "town hall" meetings. The Executive Assistant (Kanellakos, 1992) described the importance of the survey at this meeting:

the survey was support at one of the meetings because there was a lot of public reaction to the 29.5% increase but I think it was something like 33% at that time and it got dropped down and then we had a number of meetings at Gloucester high school in the auditorium and there were over a couple of thousand people there and we had to block people from coming in, they were jammed all over the school, but only a couple of thousand could actually get into the actual auditorium because of the fire marshall rules. It was unbelievable, so what they did they had, the way they orchestrated, they had each commissioner, department head, fire chief and police chief, get up and do a basic overview as to why they need the budget increase to the public and chief Thompson, I mean everyone was getting up, every department and the majority of them were booed off the stage. I mean it was outright cat calling booing and it was wild and that was my first year that I got into it, I had just got into the job and that was my first budget with this organization and I thought holy jeeps, but we were in there up at the front and they were booing and they were wild. So everyone gets up, the Commissioner of finance and treasurer who was at that stage 6 or 7 months pregnant, got up there

and they booed her and cat calling and swearing at her. So then she sits down and Chief Thompson gets up and he starts his presentation and he says and I think, I can't recall specifically, I should look up his presentation, but he said something like, we know that the citizens of Gloucester love the police service and they went wild, they started cheering and clapping. He almost got a standing ovation, they loved us, they were cheering and clapping and all the other department heads were looking at each other. The rest of us, just went whew, I mean we are o.k. So it was a very positive feedback right there and he gave his talk and they cheered him and people said that was great. They were very happy, they had no problem paying for more protective services.

The text of the Chief's presentation to the town hall meeting suggests the Chief did indeed use the positive results of the survey. The presentation notes highlight the Chief's approach:

we have embarked on the development of a five year strategic plan. This plan is based on an analysis of our external environment as well as our organizations strengths and weaknesses. A key component of this process was a public needs survey which was conducted in association with Carleton University. One thousand questionnaires were mailed to households in Gloucester selected by random sampling from the enumeration lists. A copy of the first report has been made available to his worship and aldermen; additional copies are made available tonight for the public and copies will be forwarded to all public libraries.

The results confirm our belief that the residents of Gloucester are receiving an excellent policing service; the majority of residents stated that they were more than satisfied with the Gloucester Police Force. On the other hand, the residents surveyed indicated that they want more services and some changes to the delivery of services. These are specified in the report and are currently being addressed. We plan to meet with the community associations and discuss the issues relevant to their community and work together to resolve them.

The Chief went on to outline other strategic objectives of his organization, such as inter-force cooperation, monitoring of public need, revenue sourcing and, management and administration. He concluded his speech on a comparative note:

I would like to conclude by reminding council that the Gloucester Police Force still has the lowest per capita cost and the lowest crime rate per 100,000 population of any comparably sized force in Ontario.... The residents of Gloucester

pay less for police service than Ottawa and Nepean residents, yet the effectiveness of the force is excellent....Your Police force does not take a back seat to any police organization in Ontario; I can assure you that within the framework of our strategic plan we will continue to improve our effectiveness and address the issues important to the residents of Gloucester."

While the survey results (and the Carleton involvement) were prominently displayed in the "back room" budget discussion and the town hall meeting, it first confirmed the police administrations' opinions of their organization. According to the Executive Assistant (Kanellakos, 1992),

"the survey at the time, gave us the confidence, when we were writing the presentation to be able to say that...would you have said that if you did not have that survey?...so would you have taken a chance and said you love us without the survey, do you know what I mean.

Thus, the survey served first, to support the police administration initial opinions and, second, in an instrumental role vis a vis the back room discussions and town hall meeting.

The survey results were also used in subsequent strategic planning workshops. At a two-day meeting of Gloucester senior administrative personnel (October 27-28, 1989), the researcher gave a summarized presentation of the survey results⁵³. The summary document of the planning workshop described the first of the seminar as hearing "from a number of experts in the areas which currently affect or could affect the future provision of policing services in the City of Gloucester⁵⁴" (McGlashin, 1989). The

⁵³. The same presentation was given in the spring of 1990 to Gloucester Police Sergeants and Staff Sergeants.

⁵⁴. Another "expert" who gave a presentation at this meeting was David Bartlett, a former mayor of one of the municipalities in the region. Bartlett had just finished a study concerning regionalization of services in Ottawa- Carleton. He is reported to have said that policing was "clearly of a scale to be

summary document of the planning workshop recounted the "key findings" of the survey (McGlashin, 1989:6-7):

- in terms of issues of importance to Gloucester residents, drugs and stealing from homes were considered to be on average to be between somewhat serious and very serious; an appropriate question to be asked us whether the drugs issue is possibly a result of the recent awareness and media attention toward drugs.
- the average feeling of safety during daylight hours was between somewhat safe and very safe.
- the average feeling of safety at night was also between somewhat safe and very safe, except for in park situations.
- 72.3% of the residents had had contact with the GPF, the majority of which had occurred in the last 12 months.
- the level of satisfaction with the contact of respondents with the GPF was between somewhat satisfied and very satisfied.
- the highest average satisfaction scores were for casual conversation with an on-duty officer and requesting information; the lowest average score related to traffic enforcement and traffic accident situations.
- in response to "what kind of job" the GPF are doing in response to various items, the average scores were all between adequate and very good⁵⁵.
- in terms of what programs were of most importance to the respondents the highest score was received for drug enforcement closely followed by impaired driving and drug education.
- 75.9% of the respondents believed that there needed to be changes in the

regional...would appear to be sufficient coordination, may not necessarily need centralized direction...(the) thrust towards neighbourhood policing would tend to support police services remaining at the local level...(the) question of regional versus local policing should dwell upon what it is you want from a police service as opposed to only the issue of potential dollar savings" (McGlashin, 1989).

⁵⁵. This "highlight" is not accurate: respondents actually rated Gloucester Police response to drug abuse and animal control as being between "very poor" and "adequate" (see Horne et al, 1989:41)

services of the Gloucester Police Force; some of the most frequently mentioned suggested changes included:

- increased patrol
- increased traffic enforcement
- increased visibility of police
- new or enhanced services
- changes in attitudes of police officers

Indeed, the above "highlights" reflect the balance of the report which shows, by and large, very strong citizen support for the Gloucester Police. For example, respondents were asked to provide comments concerning the Gloucester Police: 38% of those who responded suggested comments which indicated they were "very satisfied" with the Gloucester Police, 26% offered program suggestions and 9% recounted positive situations involving the police. In contrast, only 8% of those who responded told of negative situations involving the Gloucester Police.

According to the Deputy Chief (Renaud, 1992), this involvement of outside "experts" to deliver messages to senior Gloucester administrative personnel was a significant change in the way the police organization operated:

When we evaluated our internal and external environments, we brought our senior managers and divisional managers into the process, whereby they knew what in fact were going to be the factors we would have to deal with in the years to come. So they got a presentation for themselves on what you had discovered from the public needs survey, then they heard experts from the region outlining what development you could expect from Gloucester. They heard the financial restraints or the fiscal restraints that Gloucester had to experience from our Finance Commissioner. They heard from the man in charge of our economic development, so all our staff could not just say the reason we are doing this is because the Chief wants to go that way or that way. They had the same information that the Chief had in determining our budget requirements.....instead of just the Chief and I taking all these things into account and coming up with a strategy for the force, we exposed all of our staff to that information and let them come to their own conclusions. So after the strategic objectives are developed, our staff realized why and how we came about our decision. The same for

instance, we had someone present the impact of the employment equity plans legislated by the Police Services Act. They got a clear message that we needed to hire more females and more people from the visible minorities and aboriginal groups. So it wasn't the Chief's decision to hire more females, it was legislated upon us. See, we wanted them to know why we are doing the things we are doing. By sharing information with them, then it does not become the Chief's strategic plan, it becomes their strategic plan.

The survey and the outside consultant was similarly employed to demonstrate that the Gloucester Police have been doing a good job:

Well, the results from the survey, indicated that the service we were presently providing to the community appeared to be satisfactory. The survey certainly identified some of the areas where we could improve and we zeroed in on those...(Renaud, 1992).

The second day of the strategic planning workshop focused on solutions to some of the problems identified in the first day. The survey was used instrumentally to promote the discussion of some of these problems, including break and entering of homes:

what the survey identified was the areas that our service needed to improve. It wasn't again the Chief's direction, that we should create a B & E squad. We simply told them how do we increase our ability to satisfy our public as it pertains to break and enters. They came back with the suggestion of the B & E squad should be handled by patrol operations, should not be detectives because when break and enter files were assigned to the detectives, there was a lapse of time between the initial call and the following investigation. That lack of continuity created enough time that the crime scene became cold and the chances of resolving it were limited....So when you are looking at the overall organization, the survey was available to them, the survey was read by most because we provided copies for everyone and it gave them a feeling of what the community had a concern for and why don't we look at ways of resolving these conflicts.

The survey results were also distributed in final report format, and in summary form from the Chief, to all members of the Gloucester Police. The Executive Assistant and the Sergeant involved with the project also gave presentations of the survey results to "parades" as operational members started their patrol shifts. Reaction to these

presentations was reportedly (Kanellakos, 1992b) limited to interest:

Most people when we did the presentation were interested in it and I think there is a pride that goes with it but from what I could tell, you can't get a reaction out of these guys, I mean it is hard out of these people. If you do not get a rise out of them. At 5:30 in the morning you are there and they are anxious to get on the road and do their thing....

The survey results were also used as a screening device in recent internal promotional decisions for all ranks up to Inspector. Since each member had received a copy of the final report, they were asked during promotional interviews about their opinions concerning the problems in Gloucester (Renaud, 1992). The Deputy Chief (Renaud, 1992) explained the process:

I sat on the promotions board, I did last year and this year and part of the process this year was to have each candidate identify a problem within Gloucester and offer a suggestion as to how it should be solved and the preamble to that was a definition of community based policing where we were looking for a partnership in problem identification and problem solving. Most of them made reference to the survey, saying that the survey indicated that a) that was a problem or this was a problem and then they went on to identifying solutions to the problem. So out of 27 people that were part of the promotion board, most of them made reference to the survey, so it is obviously an instrument that is still being looked at.... All ranks were required to identify a problem and I was questioning them. Part of my board was to question each on the problem they had identified, was it real? was it fictitious? how did they research it? how did they find the information and how would they implement their solution. So some of them were prepared and some were not. The ones that were not, learned a lesson.

The final report was also distributed to various government departments at the federal, provincial and municipal levels. Many other police agencies also received copies of the survey results, often after the survey was discussed at Chiefs of Police meetings, or police planners meetings (Thompson, 1992; Kanellakos, 1992). Concerning the requests for the survey results from other organizations, the Gloucester Chief remarked:

I talked about it at different functions I went to and then I got requests for it as well. It really generated a lot of interest. In fact some of them, when you were doing it and I was telling Chiefs, are you not afraid of getting knocked, you may really get hammered. I said if I do I am going to correct it, that is one of the reasons why I am doing this. Are people satisfied with our service or not? and if they are not then we will correct it. But that was a fear among a lot of the chiefs that I talked to, when I told them that I was doing this. They were a little sceptical of doing it. But we have had some people come here and sit and talk to our people about it....I think the last ones that were here were last fall was Guelph and they were looking at strategic planning and that sort of thing... I think Thunder Bay asked me about it, Peterborough, North Bay was one, and I talked to Rick Zanibbi in Sudbury.

The results were also distributed to the media. According to the Chief, little attention was paid to the survey results by the press because they (the findings) were not negative. Concerning the very small newspaper item regarding the survey, the Chief stated:

I was not happy with that at all. In fact I told the Citizen about that. I said you know if it had of been a negative report, it was just shortly after that, that the area police were meeting with the Citizen, and I brought it up then. The answer was that we are not here to promote any police organization....

The researcher also had a similar experience with the media. Shortly after the report was distributed, a local radio reporter interviewed the researcher by telephone for a current affairs program. The interviewer was interested generally in the survey, but focused most of his questions concerning the written comments of one survey respondent which were reproduced in the appendices of the report. This respondent offered negative comments about police in general, and the Gloucester Police, specifically. The radio show interviewer was interested in how the researcher could explain such negative comments.

The researcher also prepared a breakdown of responses to selected survey

questions for major community areas in Gloucester. These breakdowns were used by the Deputy Chief when in discussions with community groups in Gloucester (Renaud, 1992). He cited an example: "last week I went to speak to senior citizens in Orleans, about 100 in attendance and I used the survey as a basis for speaking to them and I used statistics and crime stats and what we are doing and what is going on".

In Gloucester, interviews and documentation confirm that the survey confirm much of respondents' expectations of citizens' views. The initial letter requesting access to the police organization (from the researcher) identified two questions concerning the respondents expectations of the survey results:

1. Which results did you find surprising?
2. Which results confirmed your opinions?

The responses (written by the Executive Assistant) stated:

The results were interesting but not surprising. We were surprised with the high return rate from the mail out.

The fact that citizens were satisfied with police service confirmed our opinions.

During the interviews, some respondents (Mackie, 1992, Renaud, 1992) mentioned they were not at all surprised: one respondent (Mackie, 1992) stated: "there was no surprises,...I'm never surprised". The Chief mentioned he was surprised at the finding that citizen's were fearful of parks at night. Other surprises for the Chief included the demand for additional traffic enforcement and the lack of mention of fear of being victimized in the home (Thompson, 1992). For the Chairman of the Police Services Board, the number of persons who wrote in suggestions for change in police services was surprising:

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One surprise was, and we weren't quite sure how to take it, everyone that was interviewed, and did so gladly and willingly, had a suggestion to make, which makes you wonder in fact, was that suggestion made because whatever it was it was lacking in the service... (Heitshu, 1992)

The Chairman of the Police Services Board was also surprised at the lack of mention of problems with obtaining services in both official languages and the overall positive rating of the police by respondents (Heitshu, 1992).

In contrast, the overall positive rating was not a surprise to the Chief (Thompson, 1992), his Executive Assistant (Kanellakos, 1992) and the Deputy Chief:

We feel we were providing an excellent service and that just confirmed our suspicions.... all of the areas that the survey explored, whether it was the presentation of our officers, their way of dealing with the public over the telephone, the language issue, these were all things that we were already aware and we were monitoring on a regular basis (Renaud, 1992).

Other survey results which confirmed the Chief's opinions was the need to increase visibility of the police, and the prominence of drugs and break and enters as important problems requiring police attention (Thompson, 1992).

In Gloucester, interviews and documentation confirm that the survey results were, for the most part, not surprising. The surprises mentioned were exceptions to the "no surprises" response. Interestingly enough, the only person who was surprised at the overall very positive citizen response was the member of the Gloucester Police Services Board; all Gloucester Police respondents expected this result prior to engaging in the survey. Based on these findings, there is support for proposition 12.

In Gloucester, it was expected that, due to the resource-dependence of the police and the generally favourable review of the police produced by public opinion surveys, the budget decision makers would be the primary recipients of the survey results. As

expected, interviews and documentation have shown that the survey results played a very public and private role in ensuring the Gloucester Police budget of 1990 was approved in a year when the total tax increase was exorbitant. What was not expected was the multitude of other recipients of the survey report, the most prominent being the Gloucester Police personnel themselves. Interviews and documentation suggest that the survey results have been the subject of verbal presentations and delivered in writing in two formats to all levels of organization including, the rank and file. Knowledge of the survey results has also been a topic of the latest promotion procedures, which arguably is the strongest management "carrot" available. Interviews and documentation also have shown that the consultant was an active participant in the discussions of the survey results, addressing internal meetings and the media. Finally, the results were distributed in two ways: presentations, and written reports of city wide and community-based results. Presentations of the results dealt mostly with the "highlights", thus ensuring that since the vast majority of responses were only positive, that only positive aspects of the survey were presented. The final report did contain some negative comments concerning the Gloucester Police.

Based on the above, there appears to be strong support for proposition 11. The survey results were widely distributed to many different types of recipients, including those who had influence over budget (both directly: city council, and indirectly; town hall meeting), professional status (i.e., provincial and federal ministries of Solicitor General and other police organization), employee morale (i.e., the rank and file of the Gloucester Police), and citizen acceptance of the police (i.e., community groups). There is also

support for the proposition that the respondents expectations of community support were confirmed by the survey results (proposition 12). Concerning proposition 13, the evidence suggests the academic consultant was a participant in the distribution of the results, speaking to various groups about the survey. Therefore, in the Gloucester case, there is support for proposition 13.

In Nepean, the survey results were distributed far less extensively than in Gloucester. The Chief personally visited every platoon to discuss the results of the survey. He explained (Phillips, 1992):

a matter of fact I went personally to every platoon and I spoke to every platoon on the results of the survey. Cause really I saw it as a general report card of what we are doing. Very informal session, we shot the breeze in relation to the results of it...I think that it is important because if you do not feel that you are doing a good job at whatever level you are on, like I will be the first one to give them shit if they are doing a bad job and so it is nice to give them an accolade if they are doing a good job and I saw that as key.

The Chief intentionally visited the platoons on his own in order that there would be a honest discussion of the survey:

I did that purposely because I wanted to talk to them on an almost one on one basis and the one on one was me to the platoon and I did it in such a way that was a no holds bar and if you wanted to say something say it and I am not going to zing you for insubordination or anything of that nature provided you do not get carried away and we had some good discussion about it.

The survey results were also distributed to other police agencies whose personnel had attended a police community relations seminar at the Ontario Police College where the Chief spoke about the survey (Phillips, 1992):

I went to a seminar on police community relations and that is how it got started actually because someone made the comment of how do you know when you are doing a good job and how do you know this and how do you know that and I said

that we had done a sampling of the population and we had the results of it and of course people were interested in that, the questions asked, and the responses....Yes they were damned interested because they had never done anything along that line before. Quite frankly before we did it I had never even heard of it before...

The researcher presented the final report at an open Police Services Board meeting in the fall of 1990 and, at this meeting, the report was distributed to the press. Reaction from the press was minimal. When asked if he had participated in any media interviews concerning the survey, the Chief (Phillips, 1992) responded:

I would have but the reason that I did not was because they weren't interested because there was no negative and if there had of been something negative glaring in there they would have been there but who wants to write about good news. They told us one time they were interested in controversial and sex related and all those kind of things and it had none of those characteristics so I am not surprised.

Results from the Carleton survey reappeared almost 2 years after the study in the findings of an internally-administered survey of Nepean citizens. The Nepean Police administered survey was conducted by distributing short questionnaires which asked respondents questions concerning "how did we do". The questionnaires were handed to citizens who, during a two week period, had contact with a Nepean Police officer or employee. Questionnaires were also available at Nepean Police offices for visitors to complete.

The decision to administer the second survey using internal resources as opposed to external consultants was largely due to cost and the experience gained through the first survey:

I think it costs us the fee to pay the consultant and the mail stamped envelopes who bring them back and I think that what we learned from the first one we had the knowledge then to develop and get assistance to develop the second one. I

don't think the Chief wanted it as broad, I think he wanted more "bang" what does the public think. Much more focused... (MacKay, 1992).

Since the design of the Nepean Police-administered questionnaire included some items from the Carleton survey, comparative information was produced for internal report. The internal report was presented at a day-long strategic planning symposium attended by all ranks and members of the Police Services Board (Cuthbert, 1992). The Nepean Police-administered survey was part of a number of initiatives sponsored by the Chief:

The Chief planned a strategic planning conference for about a month or two months ago to set goals and objectives where the police service was going. Part of that was that he wanted an internal survey done by the members of the police service and how they felt the service was being operated, he wanted a survey done on the members of the public to see how they felt the police service was functioning and that was to be part of the goals and objectives of where we are going, what the community needs and I wanted to see if they would change at all from the Carleton University survey to today and I think that we found out that they haven't really changed (MacKay, 1992).

The thing that really had not changed was the public's assessment that the Nepean Police are doing a "good job", or as one interviewee pointed out, "it was another 3.5 out of 4... it confirms everything that we are doing here" (Cuthbert, 1992).

In Nepean, respondents also mentioned that, overall, they were not surprised at the findings. The Chief mentioned that problems in dealing with youths was not a surprise in and of itself (also Levere, 1992), but that young respondents mentioned that it was the most important problem in their minds (Phillips, 1992). The only other surprise as far as the Chief was concerned was the fear of crime in parks. As stated above, the survey confirmed for the Chief and others (Cuthbert, 1992, MacKay, 1992, Levere, 1992, McGuire, 1992) that the Nepean Police were doing a good job (Phillips, 1992).

The citizen support for increased traffic enforcement was a surprise for a number of respondents (Cuthbert, 1992, Levere, 1992, McGuire, 1992). The member of the Police Services Board stated:

So we do this survey and the result comes back that number one the citizens want traffic enforcement. I was totally surprised, I thought they would come back saying that we were too damn tough but the number one item was traffic control enforcement, not armed robberies, not prevention of rapes not.... but traffic control so that tells us what our citizens want and we better listen to them...

In contrast to Gloucester, the external consultant's role in the distribution of the Nepean results was very limited. When asked to present the report to the Police Services Board, the researcher prepared overheads which described the results from all three samples. However, just before the presentation, the Chief told the researcher that the Police Services Board only had a few minutes to deal with the survey. Thus, the appearance before the Board involved the researcher answering a few minor questions. Other than the appearance before the Police Services Board, there was no other involvement by the consultant in the distribution of the results.

A partial explanation for this limited involvement might be the results revealed that there were no significant problems concerning the police as far as the respondents were concerned. Indeed, concerning the results the Chief stated: "basically we were doing a good job and that was really what I wanted to hear...(n)othing really disturbed me, nothing that could not be fixed". Other Nepean respondents (Levere, 1992, McGuire, 1992, MacKay, 1992, Cuthbert, 1992) also mentioned the very positive survey results which ran throughout the survey report.

The report included some results which cast the Nepean in a negative light. Specifically, when asked if they had any suggestions for change, 6.7% of respondents suggested that changing police attitudes was necessary (Horne and Forcese, 1990:30). Some respondents mentioned the "robotic attitude" some police officers, while others suggested some male officers were "Rambo -specials" and were very judgemental (Horne and Forcese, 1990:148).

One respondent included a letter with her survey response which alleged police collusion in a specific incident. Since the letter made significant allegations concerning the Nepean Police, it was forwarded directly to the Chief of Police. The text of the letter was also included in the appendix of the draft final report. After initial review, the Chief requested the substance of the letter be removed from the report. Other than this request, all other responses (positive and negative) were included in the final report.

In Nepean, it was expected that the survey results would be distributed to the decision makers concerned with financial resources. This did not occur; however, as in Gloucester, the survey was distributed to those recipients who had influence over professional status (i.e., other police organizations), employee morale (i.e., rank and file), and public image (i.e., the mass media). Based on this, there appears to be support for proposition 11.

In Nepean, interviewees suggested that, for the most part, they were not surprised with the findings of the survey. The only surprises which were mentioned (problems with youth and traffic, fear of crime in parks and demand for increased traffic enforcement) were essentially exceptions to the expected result. Overall, respondents expected citizens

to rate their police organization favourably and the survey results did just that. Based on this, there is support for proposition 12.

Proposition 13 suggested the academic consultant would be part of the results distribution process. Except for an obligatory appearance at the Police Services Board, the consultant did not participate in the distribution of results. Therefore, there is little support for proposition 13.

Summary: Propositions Concerning Distributing the Results

11. Survey results will be distributed to recipients who may influence the status of the police organization.
12. Powerful organizational decision makers understanding of the community's expectations of their organizations will be, for the most part, congruent with results of the survey.
13. The academic consultant(s) will be a participant in the distribution of the results.

In both cases, the survey results were distributed to recipients who may have influence the status of the police organization. These included: other police organizations (both cases) and police related government departments (Gloucester only), the rank and file of each police agency, the media (both cases) and city council (Gloucester only). In both Gloucester and Nepean, almost all respondents expected that their police organizations would be rated very positively by their citizens: the survey results confirmed this. Respondents identified a few findings which were a surprise to them, but

these surprises were minor exceptions to expected results. Based on the above, there is support for proposition 12. Both surveys confirmed powerful actors' previous opinions of positive public support. The academic consultant played a different role in the release of the second survey than the first. In the second case, the consultant was not significantly involved in survey results while in the first, he was instrumentally involved.

Propositions: Change in the Police Organization

14. There will be little change within the police organizations as a result of the survey.
15. The survey results will be used to justify the current organizational structure, including the formal structural arrangements of the organization.

Chapter 2 and the first part of this chapter described the use of the survey during the recent regionalization of police services debate as a legitimation technique for the organization as a whole. Essentially, the message which was conveyed to the Regional Commissioner concerning amalgamation was "the survey shows that citizens are satisfied with police services, therefore there is no need for regional policing". Based on this, it was expected that the survey would similarly be used in justifying the current operations internally and, as a result, there would be little change in the formal methods of operation.

It was expected that the current organizational structure would be supported using the survey. The conception of organizational structure adopted here is not a functional explanation, where some theorists (e.g., Blau, 1974, Mintzberg, 1979) see structure as a variable (i.e., the formal distribution of power) which can be manipulated for optimum

organizational performance. Rather organization structure, following social action theorists (Weber, 1947, 1968, Silverman, 1970, Giddens, 1976) is seen as an outcome or a product of human initiated action, which includes formal and informal structural arrangements. Given this, it is expected that the way in which the police organizations formally operate, (that is, operations which are officially recognized by management) would not change as a result of the survey.

In Gloucester, the survey results were used in a indirect way to support the strategic planning process. The initial letter requesting access to the police organization (from the researcher) identified two questions involving change and the public opinion survey:

1. What changes, if any, were made as a result of information yielded by the survey?
2. For organizational changes that did occur as a result of the survey, what were the reasons for those changes?

The response (written by the Executive Assistant) to question 1 above stated:

The public survey was one component of the environmental scan. The changes made were not directly as a result of the survey responses. The survey assisted in the identification of key issues that formed the strategic objectives. It was used as a basis for discussion.

The response to question 2 followed a similar theme:

The reasons for change were not specific to the survey. Management looked at a number of other issues, i.e., crime trends, economic development, municipal finances, community based policing trends, etc.

The survey, then, served the purpose of "homework" or demonstrating to middle management and lower ranks that senior management had done their research concerning

what the "public wants from the police". Indeed, the previous section on distribution of results suggests that the use of "experts" brought in to advise senior and middle management during the strategic planning sessions served much the same purpose.

The survey (along with the strategic planning process) also was deliberately used to promote increased involvement of officers at the middle management ranks in the operations of the police organization:

we were kind of steering in that direction, trying to get them more involved, but between that and of course the strategic planning has brought them more into the overall management of the police service (Thompson, 1992).

The involvement not only included participation in the strategic planning process but also in the development of solutions to "community problems" identified by the survey:

Some of the key issues (from the survey) were, safety in the parks in the daytime and nighttime. We reacted by providing a bicycle patrol to give the police more visibility in the parks to deal with kids that were drinking beer in parks at night because we were more accessible. The concern about the access to drugs, so we increased our complement of men in our drug squad, we increased the number of drug investigations. They had a concern for the number of break and enters that were taking place in the city, so we created a break and enter squad providing a better service to the community when it came to investigating house break and enters (Renaud, 1992).

The survey also played a significant role in changing the promotion process. As described above, all candidates for promotion were quizzed by the Deputy Chief concerning their thoughts on community problems. Since every member of the police organization received a copy of the survey results, the survey was used as a screening device to ensure that candidates proceeding to the next stage had "done their homework". In addition to encouraging co-operation at the middle management level, the linking of the survey to the promotion process, thereby "encouraged" many members of the

organization to read the survey results.

The survey, according to the Chief, also changed the way police officers interact with the public. He (Thompson, 1992) stated:

I guess you wouldn't want to lose sight of the fact that all the members here know that we have done this, they all know that there was one section on the politeness of the officer, the attitude of the officer and I think that before they get involved in a confrontation with a member of the public a little light will flash and it might prevent some incidences from occurring, because they don't know when we are going to do another one and I like to keep that fresh in their minds and that's part of it, it will leave that message. Actually, our complaints were down by seven in 1991 over 1990...27 in 1990 and 20 in 1991.

The "message" referred to by the Chief is arguably related to control: "be polite to the public or we will become aware of it through our next survey".

In Gloucester, little organizational change was expected to be found as a result of the survey. However, interviews suggest that organizational change did occur. The survey was part of a larger change strategy (formal strategic planning) which was aimed at increasing co-operation of middle and lower ranks in the management of the organization. The survey demonstrated to the lower ranks that management had "done its homework". The linking of the survey to the promotion process buttressed this "do your homework" theme and signalled to participants that they are expected to do likewise. Also, the fact that survey has been done and likely will be done again, was linked by the Chief to the change in citizen complaint levels. While the difference between 1991 and 1990 levels is small, the Chief nonetheless believes there is a change in police officer behaviour. Given the above, in Gloucester, there is little support for proposition 14.

Concerning proposition 15, it was assumed that during the period of the survey,

the organization would be fairly stable and the survey results would be used to justify the current structural arrangements. Interestingly enough, the survey was just one of a number of changes occurring in Gloucester, the other major change being the involvement of middle management in the formal strategic planning process. The interviews and documentation suggested the organization itself was undergoing change and the survey was used to justify the "new" structural arrangements. Given this finding, there is support for proposition 15.

In Nepean, the survey was used to justify a number of minor organizational changes. For example, the Chief (Phillips, 1992) stated he visited the "training day" (a weekly gathering of line personnel used to provide participants with information concerning new policies, regulations and other current developments) on a number of occasions to speak about two problems which were brought forward from the survey results. At these training sessions, the Chief spoke about the "minor problems": dealing with youth and police attitudes towards members of the public, or "the sensitivity of our people" (Phillips, 1992). The Chief (Phillips, 1992) explained:

You can become awful callous on this job and get into a ..situation and I guess it's, if we are to do the police job effectively we have to do it in concert with the community we serve and you have got to do it with the proper attitude, you can't do it with you know, I am the police, this is my road and you cannot speed on it, it has got to be done in such a manner that you are treated both ways....

Beyond these interventions, there was no other changes in the way organization operated due to the survey results (other than the brief mention of the survey in the regionalization debate). As the Chief (1992) mentioned, the survey identified "just minor things we fixed up and ... were) ready to go again".

In Nepean, it was expected that there would be little change as a result of the survey. In the Chief's words, the survey identified "just minor things", and therefore minimal intervention (a few visits to the training days) was warranted. Given this, there appears to be support for proposition 14.

Concerning proposition 15, it was expected the survey would be used to justify current formal organization structures. As stated above, the survey produced overall positive results which the Chief took back (in person) to his platoons to give "accolades" to the rank and file. The Chief also brought forward at a number of "training days" two minor problems identified by the survey. As described above, some two years later the Carleton survey results surfaced to validate a Nepean Police-administered survey at a strategic planning session. Except for these actions, it appears the survey results were not used for any other reason. Therefore, while there was not a great amount of action associated with the survey results, the action which did occur served to support the current formal structures of the Nepean Police. Based on this, there is support for proposition 15.

Summary: Propositions Concerning Change in the Police Organization

14. There will be little change within the police organizations as a result of the survey.
15. The survey results will be used to justify the current organizational structure, including the formal structural arrangements of the organization.

It was expected that there would be little change in police organizations associated with the survey. In Nepean, this was the case while in Gloucester, the opposite was found. Gloucester used the survey results as part of a larger change strategy which was

aimed at increasing middle management involvement in (and likely commitment to) the organization. The survey results were used to justify the larger change strategy. In Nepean, there was little organizational change associated with the survey and the survey results were used to justify minor changes to "minor problems", as well as the current formal structures.

Chapter 6: Theoretical Interpretation of the Results

Introduction

Chapter 5 reviewed the evidence gathered from the research project for each of the propositions developed in Chapter 4. This chapter assesses the evidence gathered in light of Weber's theory concerning social action and bureaucracy. Bureaucratic police officials' purposively rational action occurs in the context of a legitimate social order for police. Surveys are undertaken so as to ensure bureaucratic autonomy and organizational survival, and are a form of social action which occurs within the legitimate social order for local police organizations.

The chapter also assesses the results of the research project from a social policy perspective. Specifically, the results will be examined to determine what they yield in terms of understanding how police organizations are managed. This question is relevant since there is a lack in empirical research dealing with the actual management of police organizations, although there a great deal of literature dealing with normative prescriptions of how police organizations should be managed.

Theoretical Explanation of the Evidence

In chapter 3, the components of the legitimate social order in which municipal police organizations exist today included the ideology of community based policing, increased use of technology, limited growth in expenditures, and regional police agencies as the preferred organizational form for the delivery of police services to urban-suburban areas. It is in this context the use of surveys occurs. Senior bureaucratic officials are

aware of the legitimate social order and act in a manner which will increase their legitimacy and the acceptance of the police organization.

In addition to these components of the legitimate social order, this project identified relevant parties who influence the legitimacy of the senior bureaucratic officials and the police organization including, internal audiences, (such as middle management and the rank and file), other police organizations, members of the governing authority and the local state, and the representatives of the central state. Survey results act as a resource for senior bureaucratic officials in efforts to persuade these audiences of the legitimacy of the municipal police organization. In this manner, the survey results are used to demonstrate the police have strong support from the public, so that the organization and its senior bureaucratic officials are seen to be progressive and, therefore, not subject to further scrutiny. Bureaucratic autonomy is, thereby, enhanced by the use of survey results.

Chapter 3 documented the influence of the community policing ideology as part of the legitimate order within policing. The impact of community based policing ideology on senior police bureaucratic officials was demonstrated by the findings in Chapter 4. One suburban police organization (Gloucester) embraces the community based policing ideology in very demonstrative ways, through adoption of the term in mission statements to the recounting of community-based policing ideology in interviews for this study. The second suburban organization views community based policing as a program, largely linked to the introduction of community police stations. The third organization only mentioned community-based policing in passing, again in relation to the introduction of

community police offices.

Theoretically, the varying influence of community based policing on local police organizations can be interpreted as in a number of ways. First, that the dominant progressive ideology of community based policing is adopted by only two of three organizations suggests that the trend towards community based policing is not as effective as the theoretical basis suggests. Alternatively, it suggests that the dominant ideology is not the only ideology influencing police organizations; the traditional crime control ideology is, to some extent, still influential. Second, that two of three organizations have adopted community based policing ideology could also indicate the ideology of policing is in a state of flux, with some agencies ahead of others in adopting the progressive ideology. In this vein, the difference between agencies' (and their respective powerful actors) definition of their social relationship with the community can be viewed as Weber advises, as "partly constant, and partly changing". The Ottawa Police definition of their relationship with the community is "constant" insofar as their mission statement reflects a traditional "crime control" philosophy. The Gloucester Police and Nepean Police agencies definitions of their relationship with the community reflects a change to the progressive ideology of "community-based policing".

There is support for the "partly constant, partly changing" conception of the social relationship between the police and their public. Chapter 5 demonstrated that, while one agency was characterized as being primarily "crime control" oriented, its documentation revealed brief mentions of community policing rhetoric, such as "community police stations". As such, while the predominant conception of mission is one of crime control

in this agency, there is an indication that the progressive ideology (community based policing) is at least part of the organizational vocabulary. Therefore, the organization and its bureaucratic officials appear to be in a state of transition from traditional ideology (i.e. crime control) to the new ideology, (i.e. community based policing).

The decisions (either positive or negative) concerning surveys were rationalized by respondents in all three organizations in the context of public acceptance themes which are reflective of community based policing ideology. Bureaucratic officials and political masters in both Nepean and Gloucester justified the decision to adopt the survey in terms such as "we must be aware of what the public thinks about our services and organization". The public acceptance theme was also used in the Ottawa case to rationalize the decision not to adopt the survey by the member of the police services board when he downplayed the utility of knowing that the public strongly supports the police, which in his opinion, would be the basic outcome of a survey. That the survey was not adopted in Ottawa could, arguably, be a product of the transitory state in which the organization appears to be, where the traditional ideology of crime control is still prominent.

The use of the survey as means to an end, or as an example of purposive rationality reflects the broader concern for the use of technology as part of the legitimate order. Technology offers the bureaucratic official legitimacy insofar as it is "universal, uniform, general, and neutral" (Ericson and Shearing, n.d.). The public opinion survey offers the bureaucratic official many of the same advantages since surveys produce knowledge about the public's opinion (universality), through the administration of uniform

and apparently "neutral" questions to respondents who are randomly selected. As such, the use of such an apparently impartial instrument offers the bureaucratic official with legitimacy.

The evidence gathered for this project suggests that the survey indeed offered the bureaucratic officials objective information on the basis of which purposive rational action could be taken. In Nepean, the survey was viewed as a "yard-stick" by which the public's relationship with the police could be monitored. Later on, when public support for the local police was a topic at a strategic planning session and a subject of discussion at parades, the survey became a device which provided objective and authoritative evidence of public support and served to legitimize the senior bureaucratic officials presenting it. During parades, the chief in Nepean used the information gathered through the survey to broach the subject of inappropriate ways in which to deal with members of the public.

In Gloucester, the purposive-rational action related to the survey was different. In Gloucester, the survey was not mentioned as a evaluation technique since the survey was used for many other ends, including defending the police budget request, "persuading" applicants for promotion to adopt community policing ideology, presentation of the public support for the police to internal police and community audiences, and, demonstrating progressive management techniques to other government agencies. Thus, the survey demonstrated to many audiences that senior bureaucratic officials had "done their homework" and thereby, promoted the acceptance of those officials and, arguably,

increased their status within the bureaucratic and police communities⁵⁶.

Support for the survey as a purposive rational form of social action is illustrated in the comments of the chairman of the Ottawa Police Services Board. In comparing the public opinion survey with the communications audit, the chairman justified the latter choice as being more valuable insofar as the audit provided more useful information to him in determining the direction of the police agency in the area of communication. As such, in the Ottawa case, the two means available (the audit versus the survey) to assist the political masters in supervising the bureaucratic official were compared, and the "best" method, (i.e., the one which would provide the most useful information) was chosen.

The use of the survey as a form of neutral knowledge was buttressed by the employment of external academic consultants. In Nepean, the organizational status of the "respected university staff" was used as partial justification for awarding the contract to Carleton.

In Gloucester, no apparent mention was made concerning the organizational status of the suppliers of survey services. However, in Gloucester, reference to the employment of the "respected academic experts" was made on a number of occasions to display the results of the survey. The researcher participated in the release of the results, making presentations to the Gloucester Police officers on two separate occasions and dealing with the media in a follow-up interview concerning the survey. Indeed, the Deputy Chief justified the use of the researcher to present information to his personnel based on the

⁵⁶ Mention of the survey as part of the strategic planning process was made in an article written by the Sergeant involved in the project and the Executive Assistant to the Chief. This article was published in The Police Governor, the journal of the Ontario Association of Police Services Boards (see Mackie and Kanellakos, 1991).

researcher's organizational status as an expert! While speculative, it appears that the selection of the university research personnel was indeed related to their organizational third party status.

The theme of objectivity of the third party was evident in two of three sites. In Gloucester, it was clear from interviews that the agency wanted to have a third party involved so as to remove any appearance of self-interest. In Nepean, no mention was made of the objectivity of the third party theme. Nepean has subsequently administered two public opinion surveys using mostly internal research personnel, which suggests that conducting surveys has now be institutionalized within the Nepean Police and objectivity of the third party was not a consideration in those decisions. In Ottawa, after the proposal for an internal survey was not acted upon, the proposal for an externally administered survey with the external contractor was justified on the basis of the consultants' "objectivity".

Based on the above, it appears that bureaucratic officials are concerned with a "blessing of the fleet function" offered by an objective third party academic consultant. From a Weberian perspective there are two relevant aspects here. First, there is the apparent interest in increasing the status honour of the bureaucratic officials by having the respected academic participate in the survey. The lending of the academics' reputation to the project, "blesses the fleet", or in this case, the organization(s). Using a respected academic to engage in the survey, in effect, admits the participating organizations into a new circle of belonging, the academic community.

Also, the emphasis on the objectivity of the third party suggests, in Weberian

terms (1947:332), a concern with preserving the independence and objectivity of the bureaucratic office. In Weber's terms this is explainable as control via the production of knowledge which, in this case, includes not only what information is being imparted, but also who is delivering it. Using a third party to gather, process and present the information creates an "impersonal order", where the bureaucratic official has no self interest in the process.

In summary, surveys (as a form of technology) provide an objective and authoritative measure of the community's support for the police, and as such, are congruent with the legitimate order which recognizes that technology provides knowledge which is "universal, uniform, general, and neutral" (Ericson and Shearing, n.d.). Coupled with the use of a third party to conduct the survey, the legitimacy of the survey (and all participants) is further increased since the party (i.e, the academic consultants) has no vested interest in the project and the bureaucratic officials are protected from charges of self interest in the process.

The fiscal crisis in the local state is also part of the legitimate social order. As such, the bureaucratic police officials and their governing bodies orient their action to the prospects of doing more with less. Decisions concerning the surveys and actions taken with the results are made in the context of financial restraint.

The evidence to link the fiscal considerations with public opinion surveys lies in the financial resources themes which were used in decisions concerning the survey in two of the three sites. In Nepean, the survey was adopted in order to ensure "value for money" concerns of those in bureaucratic and political positions. In Ottawa, the "better

value for money" theme ("efficiency of work") was used to justify not engaging an outside consultant, but rather having the survey accomplished using internal resources. When incremental resources became unavailable, one Ottawa respondent suggested the internal survey was not completed because "there was no money".

It is interesting that, in Gloucester, no apparent linkage between the reasons for the survey and financial resources was found. No respondents mentioned that the survey was completed to ensure police resources were being deployed with regard to "value for money", yet, the survey played a powerful role in supporting a request for a budget increase at a time when the City of Gloucester was in a fiscal crisis. As the Executive Assistant suggested, in the spring prior to the budget crisis there was a concern in the Gloucester Police to "get our house in order". Also, that planned release of the survey results coincided with the Gloucester Police budget approval process suggests that the two were not unrelated. While it is somewhat speculative, it appears that financial considerations were indeed one of the main justifications for completing the survey in Gloucester.

Certainly, the actions of the Gloucester Police at the "town hall" budget meeting suggests a linking of the survey results to the fiscal crisis. At this meeting, the Chief used the survey as part of a "progressive policing" organization theme (strategic planning) to tell the crowd, in effect, that his "house was in order" and that their police "take a back-seat to know other police agencies in Ontario. Citing at the beginning the (objective) participation of Carleton University researchers in the public opinion survey, the chief finished his speech by citing the cost per capita for area police agencies, which

indicated the relative cost-efficiency of the Gloucester Police. This legitimation tactic was particularly important since the Gloucester Police were asking for additional financial and human resources at the time. Acceptance of the police presentation by the chief at the town hall meeting where other city departments' budgets were soundly rejected was, arguably, an influential event during the crisis. The effectiveness of such a legitimation effort can be measured in material terms: the Gloucester Police received that year an increase in financial and human resources at a time when other city departments were cut back.

The influence of the "conventional wisdom" (Loreto, 1984) of regional policing as part of the legitimate order is also pertinent for bureaucratic officials. Bureaucratic officials orient themselves to the push for regionalization, with some officials lining up in favour of such a proposal while others are clearly against. Their respective positions are linked clearly to the impact which a regional policing structure will have on the bureaucratic autonomy of each organization. The use of survey results in debates concerning regionalization occurs in the context of the legitimate order, which favours regional policing.

The evidence discussed in chapter 5 confirms the theoretical perspective that bureaucratic officials desire autonomous organizations and will attempt to influence the decisions concerning their autonomy through the control of knowledge concerning regional policing. In all cases, bureaucratic officials in all three organizations acted in a manner which would preserve their organizational autonomy. Officials in Gloucester and Nepean were, almost without exception, against the concept of regional policing,

while bureaucratic officials in Ottawa were in favour of amalgamation. Amalgamation would preserve the autonomy of senior police officials in Ottawa since such an organization would situate the Ottawa-Carleton Police as the only voice of independent municipal policing in the region. Since members of the current Ottawa Police Services Board meet regularly their counterparts in Gloucester and Nepean to discuss policing policy, these alternative information sources likely serve to promote scrutiny of the Ottawa Police since they (the Ottawa Police officials) are compared to other area senior police officials. Ottawa Police Service Board members have alternative sources of information, other than the Ottawa Police, and therefore, the actions of Ottawa Police senior officials are compared to "what Gloucester and Nepean are doing".

During the interviews, Gloucester and Nepean officials articulated many anti-regionalization arguments (e.g. decreased service, increased cost), while their Ottawa-based counterparts voiced pro-regionalization justifications (e.g., rationalized and efficient service, greater safety). Many of the same arguments put forward by the respective agencies mirrored similar arguments put forward by those in favour or against regional policing in other jurisdictions. Members of police services boards were also in agreement with their bureaucratic counterparts in all three sites.

Interestingly enough, the initial propositions identified that respondents would be either in favour or against regionalization. After the interviews, an intervening series of events (the meetings held by the regional commissioner) made each of these perspectives public. Bureaucratic officials and their political masters engaged in a very public debate, with each agency issuing a position paper on the subject, or in Weber's terms, attempting

to control on the basis of knowledge. The pro-regionalization Ottawa Police "kicked off" of the debate before the regional commissioner issuing a position paper which quoted, among other things, the positive public support that other jurisdictions had with regional police organizations. This use of positive results and other tenuously argued "facts" about the current state of policing in Ottawa-Carleton was used to promote regional police as the answer to many inter-jurisdictional "problems" in the region. In response, one of these anti-regionalization organizations (Gloucester) secured the services of academic consultants to review the research literature on the topic to further legitimate their position. The second anti-regional police organization also attempted to legitimate their position by comparing the results of an internally-administered public survey to those previously drawn by the same academics.

The Gloucester and Nepean Police positions can be interpreted theoretically as a predisposition to maintain autonomy and survival of their organizations. Part of their resistance to amalgamation could involve a fear of loss in status honour since there can be only one Chief (as opposed to three currently) in a regional organization, and hence, regionalization will likely see a decline in status honour for at least two current chiefs and possibly many of their immediate subordinates. In effect, regionalization will produce "one winner" and "more losers" in terms of status honour.

The pro-regionalization stance of the Ottawa police can also be understood using Weber's status honour. Amalgamation will not only remove competition for status honour in the region by eliminating members of the police chief (and possibly deputy police chief) circle of similar status, but also admit the area's largest police organization

into the circle of "conventional wisdom" (Loreto, 1984) policing, regional policing. The proposed Ottawa-Carleton police will be the sole agency in the area speaking on behalf of all police officers, but will also be the second largest regional police organization in the province, next to Metro Toronto. As such, the Ottawa-Carleton Police will not only join the circle of regional policing, but also be vaulted into "second place", in terms of number of police officers.

The groups which influence the legitimacy of the police organization and its senior bureaucratic officials include the rank and file, other police organizations, members of police services boards and local councils and representatives of the central state. Concerning the representatives of the local and central state, the above discussion suggests that the bureaucratic action concerning surveys was driven by a desire to maintain bureaucratic autonomy. In the Gloucester fiscal crisis, the survey was used to demonstrate to other city departments, the public and city council that the police "had their house in order". As such, when city councillors were looking for areas where financial resources could be withdrawn, the police service was not one of these areas. In the regional policing debate, various legitimation techniques, including reference to positive survey results, were used by both anti-regional agencies to demonstrate to the regional commissioner (and in the case of Gloucester, the police services board) that citizens in each suburban area were satisfied with the services provided by the local police, and therefore, the structure of police services "ain't broke so don't fix it".

Concerning the influence of the internal audiences concerning the legitimacy of senior bureaucratic officials and the organization, it appears that internal organizational

order is considered to be part of the wider legitimate social order. Police officials in both suburban organizations presented the results of the survey to internal audiences at parades, and during strategic planning sessions. The obvious message was to relate that the "public thinks you are doing a good job, so keep up the good work". Action related to internal groups and organizational order, therefore, occurs in relation to the wider legitimate social order.

The use of the survey in relation to the internal employee groups is an example of the power of bureaucratic officials to control on the basis of knowledge in order to solidify the domination of their subordinates. For Weber (1947:152), power is "the probability that one actor in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance", while domination is the "possibility of imposing one's own will on the behaviour of other persons" (Weber, 1968:942). Bureaucratic officials in both organizations exercised their power to dominate subordinates on the basis of knowledge in obvious and subtle ways. In Gloucester, the survey was used to demonstrate to middle management "what the experts think", (and therefore, what middle management should think), as well as a gate-keeping mechanism for those who wanted to be promoted to positions of higher rank (that is, increased status honour). In Nepean, the survey was used to bring forward to the rank and file a reminder that management can now measure their behaviour toward the public (i.e., are they being courteous to persons they encounter). As such, personnel in each organization were "encouraged" to alter their behaviour.

For Weber (1968:954) domination over subordinates is most effectively

accomplished when the authority exercised by superiors is viewed as legitimate (i.e., socially acceptable). The survey served to increase the legitimacy of the superior officials. One form of legitimacy, rational-legal, typifies the belief in order based on impersonal rules. The public survey is inherently rational insofar as it is based on rules such as representativeness of the sample, and anonymity of the respondents (or as Ericson and Shearing describe "universal, uniform, general, and neutral"), and thus provides an impersonal and objective measure of community response to the police. The bureaucratic official, therefore, appears to the subordinate as using legitimately collected information about the organization (and subordinates behaviour). Domination of subordinates, through the use of survey information collected through rational legal authority, is therefore, achieved.

The evidence presented in Chapter 5 suggests that individuals also orient themselves in terms concerning "progressive policing organizations", and thus, progressive police organizations are part of the legitimate social order. The initial source for the idea of surveys came from a legitimate professional police organization, and after the success of the first project, rival agencies considered engaging in similar projects. Thus, both bureaucratic officials and their political masters orient their action to the standard of progressive police organizations as part of legitimate social order.

In Gloucester, the progressive police organization themes of strategic planning and "inter-agency competition were used to justify the request for financial assistance to the provincial and federal governments. Gloucester pointed out in their letter that the survey was part of a strategic planning process and that they were the first Ottawa-Carleton

police agency to participate in such a project. Senior police officials and members of police services boards in the other two area police were aware of the Gloucester experience, and the proposals for surveys were justified on the basis that "the first agency had done a survey, therefore so should we".

These inter-agency competition and progressive policing themes appear to be somewhat related. Since determining the characteristics of a "progressive police organization" logically requires comparison to agencies that are known as progressive, the end result would likely be inter-agency competition. Since, none of the area agencies wants to appear to be less progressive than their regional counterparts, they will compete to prove that each is as progressive as the other.

The evidence of this inter-organizational competition was also presented in the distribution of the results to other police agencies and city departments. Both police chiefs stated that they spoke about their respective surveys at professional meetings and conferences. Also, copies of the survey results were distributed to other city departments and libraries (Gloucester only) and other police organizations (Gloucester and Nepean).

Such competition suggests a concern for what Weber (1958:187) describes as status honour, where individuals orient themselves so that they "belong to the circle". In this case, the circle consists of those police organizations which are seen to be progressive amongst their peers in the police and non-police fields. Certainly, the last minute addition of the Chief of Police to the list of authors for the Gloucester report suggests an interest in increasing the status honour of the chief: in this case, the chief joined the circle of academia.

The acceptance of the police as institution is also part of the legitimate social order. Senior bureaucratic officials and police service board members are aware of this strong public acceptance and oriented their action to maximize their legitimacy. When interviewed, respondents suggested that there were few surprises in the public survey findings and those that were surprising were not directly related to the police and their public support. Police participation in public opinion surveys, therefore occurs in the context that the police are viewed as a part of the legitimate social order.

Evidence presented in Chapter 5 suggested that, for the most part, bureaucratic officials' expectations of the response from the community were confirmed by the survey results. Officials in both organizations stated that there were few surprises yielded in the survey responses. Bureaucratic officials expected to receive strong support from the community and the survey demonstrated this support. When asked if there were any surprises, for the most part, bureaucratic officials stated "there were no surprises". A few did mention surprises such the items involving fear of crime (e.g., in parks) and the high return rate of the questionnaire (above 40% of those delivered).

Weber (1947) focused on the "definition of the situation" insofar as individuals have understandings of each others behaviour. It follows that bureaucratic officials by virtue of their experience in dealing with the public will have an understanding of how members of the public view the local police organization. The basic result of the interviews, that the surveys produced no surprises for bureaucratic officials, can be understood theoretically as Weber's definition of the situation. Bureaucratic officials, by virtue of their experience in dealing with members of the public understand what is

expected of their police organizations (i.e., the definition of the social relationship between the police and the community).

The few surprises from the survey results offered by bureaucratic officials can also be explained theoretically. Weber (1947:120) notes that the subjective meaning of the social relationship between the police and the community is "partly constant, partly changing". The few surprises offered by the bureaucratic officials can be understood as the "partly changing" component of the police-community relationship. The few surprises offered included items such as fear of crime in certain locations, and which, arguably, were not directly relevant to the relationship between the police and the community.

That the survey confirmed bureaucratic officials' understanding of their organization's relationship with the community and also offered few surprises is also explainable by the behaviour of the bureaucratic officials. One senior official suggested they were not surprised by the public support for the police or any other survey results because prior to, and after, the survey "they had been monitoring" public support, and other relevant factors all along. As such, the survey confirmed what the bureaucratic official knew to be true because of prior information. While only one official mentioned that prior to the survey his organization had been monitoring their relationship with the public, it seems logical that others had been doing likewise. This would explain why there were no surprises in the survey since as a matter of course, bureaucratic officials gather information concerning their organization's relationship with the public.

The acceptance of the police as an institution within society is therefore a component of the legitimate social order. Senior police bureaucratic officials are aware

of this strong public support and orient their action, (e.g., surveys and monitoring of public support) in order to maximize their organizational legitimacy. The interest and activity in public opinion surveys, therefore, occurs in the context of the acceptance of the police as an institution.

The acceptance of police service boards as part of the legitimate social order is also relevant for police organizations. Currently, the police service board is the accepted mechanism by which police organizations are governed. Senior police officials orient their action towards the police services board, and thereby increase their legitimacy. Police involvement in surveys, therefore, occurs in the context of police service board governance as part of the legitimate social order.

Weber suggested the attempt to control by bureaucrats is largely done on the basis of knowledge and that bureaucrats' expertise and access to organizational information could put the political master in the position of a "dilettante facing the expert" (Weber, 1968:991). The forays of the political masters (police service board members) into the acquisition of information concerning the bureaucratic organization are, however, similar exercises in control on the basis of knowledge. Police service board participation is also an example of what Weber (1968:1417) called an effective form of "supervision of the administration". For political supervision of bureaucratic officials to be effective, those supervising must have access to organizational information "independently of the officials good will" (Weber, 1968:1418).

While Weber (1968:1418) suggested access would take the form of independent inspection of documents or "on the spot inquiry", the use of the public opinion survey (or

its counterpart, the communications audit) could also be arguably termed political supervision of the bureaucratic apparatus. In both cases, there are no indications that the bureaucratic officials offered anything but cooperation in the survey/communications audit discussions, however, such cooperation likely was not required for the respective projects. Clearly, the political masters accessed organizational information somewhat independently of the bureaucratic officials.

The case where the bureaucratic officials (senior police officers) participated extensively in the survey could likewise be termed ineffective political supervision. In this case, senior bureaucratic officials were the active agents in the control of knowledge. Bureaucratic officials initiated the survey, participated in design of the questionnaire and the release of the results, and were successful in thwarting a city wide trend to reduce departmental budgets due to a proposed massive tax increase. The major immediate benefit of the survey was to give the chief the confidence to make authoritative statements about policing to city councillors and public meetings called to discuss the budget crisis. The result of the survey and the bureaucrats' use of the results was not a decrease in their operating budget, but rather an increase. Such evidence supports the de facto power of the bureaucracy in terms of their access to information to enhance their technical expertise and ensure their insularity from political control.

The exercise in the control of knowledge occurred, however, differently in the two organizations which participated in the public opinion survey. In Gloucester, the initial audience for the survey results was the external city council and town hall meeting related to budget deliberations. After the successful negotiation of the budget, the internal

strategic planning participants and applicants for promotion received the public survey results.

In Nepean, the reverse process occurred. The initial audience was the police services board members, officers "on parade" and the strategic planning session. The survey results were however, used in the external discussions to demonstrate to the Regional Review Commissioner that policing in Nepean "ain't broke, so don't fix it" with regional policing.

From a theoretical perspective, the varying processes for the control of knowledge by bureaucratic officials suggest that they desire to control those groups which at the time, appear to be of most importance, but also use the survey as a residual resource in the control of knowledge. In Gloucester, initially, the most important group was city council, while in Nepean, it was internal audiences. As circumstances change, the use of the survey results to control other groups is accomplished. The survey, then, becomes a re-useable "arrow" in the bureaucratic official's quiver which can be employed as needed.

The control of knowledge by both the police services boards and the bureaucratic police officials occurred, however, in the context of the police organization as part of the legitimate social order. That the police are an accepted institution within society is recognized by both bureaucratic officials and police services board members. As such, their respective interests in participating in public opinion surveys suggests that they are aware of the positive support for the police and their action is aimed at increasing their legitimacy. For police services boards, their legitimacy has been questioned recently by

advocates of municipal council control of the police. On the other hand, police have traditionally sought to maximize their legitimacy in order to maintain or enhance their bureaucratic autonomy.

Summary: Theoretical Interpretation of the Evidence

The evidence found in this study suggest that individuals action is purposive rational action in that such action is a "means to an end". In this case, the "end" is actually two related ends, bureaucratic autonomy and organizational survival. Bureaucratic action does occur, however, in the context of the legitimate social order. For police organizations, the legitimate social order includes the ideology of community based policing, the increased use of technology, the fiscal crisis in the local state, and the "conventional wisdom" of police organizational structures, regional policing. Also included in the legitimate social order are audiences which influence the legitimacy of the local bureaucratic police officials, including members of their own organizations, members of city council and police services boards, other police organizations, and, members of the central state (e.g., ministries of provincial solicitor general and provincial municipal affairs).

Policy Implications of the Research

In terms of what the research reveals concerning the management of police organizations the following can be said. First, the research clearly demonstrates that senior police officials will attempt to be influential vis a vis their organizations and

linkages with the community. The evidence suggests that police officials, who are fully aware of their strong community support, will use information and knowledge which objectively reflects this support to demonstrate that their organizations "are not broken, so don't fix them". The audiences for this support include police services boards, city councils, and those concerned with the potential organizational mortality of suburban police organizations.

Concerning the last two audiences, the research suggests that these external groups are very important to the local suburban police managers. In Gloucester, the survey was scheduled such that its predicted positive results would be available (and objective) at a time when the legitimacy of all city departments was under scrutiny due to the fiscal crisis. Since city councils are increasingly more concerned with the tax burden of municipal services (see Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1992), it seems natural that the local police would want to display to the city council that their organization "ain't broke" during a fiscal crisis. As the Nepean Chief remarked "everything today is dollar-driven", thus indirectly underscoring the influence of accountability structures on the police.

The issue of regionalized police services most clearly demonstrated the importance of producing a legitimate police organization. When the regional commissioner began hearings into local government which included all local services in addition to the police, he called into question the existence of suburban organizations. There was evidence that the police response was in concert with other local government departments, but unlike other city departments the legitimacy of the suburban police was also directly questioned

by their neighbouring urban counterparts. That their existence as a bona fide police organization was under fire from an unlikely source (the urban police community) arguably heightened the risk of organizational mortality. Amidst these attacks, the local police organizations used many resources (including survey information, academic consultants, and most recently, proposing to use a ex-judge) in order to demonstrate their legitimacy.

One other audience which was not expected to be receiving the public survey-based knowledge was the rank and file. In both cases, the public survey information was distributed in written and presentation form to these groups and used, in one case, in a gate-keeping function for applicants for promotion. In the case of the internal audience, public survey information was used as a "resource" (Ericson, 1982, 1989) for senior police administrators to persuade subordinates to alter their behaviour. Thus, the research demonstrates that senior police officials not only recognize the importance of subordinates' acceptance of their (the senior officers) role but also, the power to "influence the circumstances of reproduction", or in this case, subordinates' behaviour.

Second, the research demonstrates strong public support for the local police, which arguably is not revealing, since the legitimacy of the public police has long been documented. That the research demonstrates strong public support, in effect, deflects interest from other substantive police issues such as deployment of police resources in morality crime, and police response to certain interest groups such as women and visible minorities. By constructing the initial research question in arguably "safe" terms (i.e.,

knowing of strong public support, then devising a project demonstrate this), senior bureaucratic officials, in effect, structured the agenda. As Appendix A has shown, senior police officials in Gloucester approached Carleton personnel initially and actively participated in control of the project, from the framing of the survey parameters, to the construction of the questionnaire and presentation of results. The survey quickly found currency in neighbouring Nepean since, based on the success in Gloucester, it arguably, posed no threat to the legitimacy of the local police. In fact, it could be argued that it presented the Nepean Police with an opportunity to demonstrate its legitimacy.

Police and bureaucratic organizations have an interest in maintaining secrecy concerning their operations (Weber, 1947, Manning, 1977, Ericson, 1982;1989). By demonstrating their interest in public input concerning police programs and public safety issues, the local police perform a symbolic function through the survey of focusing attention on the police-public interchange as opposed to police operations. As such, the research preserves the boundaries of the local police organization, from invasion of outsiders who would ask questions about "what is really going on". In effect, the research is interesting for "what it does not tell us, rather than what it does reveal" about police operations.

Third, the research demonstrates a symbolic use of survey based information, that of preserving the organizational integrity of suburban police organizations. This is in contrast to the historical trend to use survey information to evaluate various police innovations. In the 1970's, the problem of police effectiveness and productivity was a topic of concern in American academic and professional police communities (see

generally, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1975; Ostrom, 1973a, 1973b, 1978a; Brown and Butler, 1977). Ground breaking studies of funded by the American federal government on police patrol (e.g. Kelling et al, 1974) and investigative work (Greenwood and Petersilia, 1975) focused attention on the actual operations of the police. Largely based in the United States, the increased attention concerning police operations spilled over to Canada, with a conference concerning the subject held in 1978 in Ottawa (see Engstad and Liroy, 1980).

Many American studies (e.g. Kelling et al, 1974; Ostrom et al, 1973a, 1973b, 1978a, 1978b; Parks, 1982; Farmer, 1980; see also Hornick et al, 1990 for a Canadian example) used measures of citizen satisfaction drawn from surveys to assess the merit of various types of innovations within police agencies. Public opinion survey measures were used in response to the limitations of crime statistics as measures of outcome (Hough and Clarke, 1980; Bayley, 1983; Grabosky, 1989; Needle, 1980; O'Neill et al, 1980:256). In addition to the problems inherent in reporting crime (e.g., hidden crime and difference in recording techniques), some observers have suggested that using crime as the **only** measure of police effectiveness, in effect, casts the police as strictly crime-oriented, which is a somewhat narrow view of the police function.

Given that the progressive ideology of how the police should be organized has been transformed to "community based policing", the wider use of surveys as valid and objective measures of police effectiveness is possible. Using public survey information to measure the effectiveness of a community-oriented police department would provide bureaucratic officials with a purposive rational tool to accompany a value-rational mission

(i.e., the adoption of community based policing as a organizational approach because doing so, in of itself, is a desired end). Whether surveys are widely adopted as means-to-an-more-effective-deployment-of-police resources-end remains to be seen, however, there are some isolated instances (e.g., Hornick et al, 1990) where this is occurring.

Clearly, this research demonstrates the use of survey research to promote acceptance of senior bureaucratic management and mid-size police organizations. Part of the resistance to wider-spread usage of survey methods arguably is the secrecy of bureaucratic organizations and the inherent qualities of information and the process of research which produces such information. Ericson (1989:224) argues that information is problematic for police agencies since it may be "moved and interpreted so freely even while it remains in its place". Police organizations, according to Ericson (1989:224) spend "considerable resources in patrolling the facts about their operations". Research by its very nature can uncover "not so complimentary things about operations" (Farmer, 1980:132), and therefore, produces a commodity (which itself is hard to control) which may be potentially embarrassing to senior bureaucratic officials. With such loss of status at stake, senior bureaucratic officials have an interest, as we have seen here, in engaging in research concerning "safe" subjects or not engaging in research at all. As fiscal pressure on all public services, (including the police) continues to increase over the next decade, can the agenda for research be left up to the police? If there is no outside-the-police-community-involvement in setting the police research agenda, there will arguably be little incentive for change.

Fourth, the research shows considerable bureaucratic activity related to the prime

organizational goal of the police, that of survival. The above evidence demonstrates that senior police officials are most concerned with maintaining their bureaucratic autonomy and therefore, employ survey-based information to legitimate their organizations as acceptable bona fide progressive police agencies. Public survey information which promoted the acceptance of the police was used widely as a device to legitimate the local police organization as was the adoption of community based policing rhetoric, use of a third party consultant to lend his reputation to the organization, and the "persuasion" of internal audiences of the merits of strategic planning. Such activities suggest a concerted effort on the part of senior bureaucratic officials to control the circumstances of reproduction, that is, public and organizational support for the police.

The use of public survey information in relation to the social goal of the police, that of maintenance of order, did not, with one exception, occur. Except for one brief mention in one interview, public survey information was not relayed back to any members of the public (other than members of local police boards and city councils) to evoke discussion concerning the crime problems revealed in the findings. Such a strategy could see the public survey information used in discussions with community consultative committees, focus groups, or in store-front police offices, techniques which are increasing used by Canadian police organizations (see Walker and Walker, 1989, Ottawa Police, 1991, 1992, Inkster, 1990, 1991). These techniques emphasize regular meetings with local residents and police who are assigned to their area to discuss recent crime and social order problems. Survey results could inform such meetings as to other area residents' opinions' regarding crime problems so as to situate the current issues at hand.

If community policing is to be realized as a true partnership between the police and citizens, there must be a two-way exchange between the police and the community concerning crime and social problems. This research has shown that the senior police bureaucratic officials are very skilled and adept at putting forth information concerning the positive public support for their police organizations. Clearly, the positive public support was known prior to the survey, and the survey served to objectify such support. Surveys then, were used to persuade internal and external of the merits of the local police organizations. Police organizations must now move beyond the related goals of survival and bureaucratic autonomy to the social goal of maintaining order. As representative and objective measures of public opinion, surveys can assist in the pursuit of the maintenance of order. It remains to be seen if the police will use public opinion surveys in this manner.

Fifth, the research demonstrates that the ideology of senior bureaucratic police officials is in a state of transition. One organization uses community-based policing rhetoric liberally and views this new mission in philosophical terms, while the second organization see community based policing as a program within the current police organization. The third organization remains largely crime control oriented, with brief mentions of the community in relation to decentralized police offices.

Not surprisingly, the organizations which adopt the community based ideology also use it as a justification for maintaining separate and distinct police organizations. Correspondingly, the crime control organization argues for regional policing using many of the crime control justifications (.e.g. increased officer and public safety) as well as

mentioning community based policing through community police stations. This congruence between the bureaucratic officials opinions concerning their respective missions and their views concerning regional policing suggests the former is determinant of the latter.

Sixth, the research demonstrates the use of survey information for the promotion of acceptance of municipal police organizations and as such, illustrates the acceptance of survey technology. The use of survey information in the evaluation of the internal operations of police organizations remains a possibility. Should the use of regular periodic (i.e., every year or 2 years) surveys of public opinions concerning the police occur, those concerned with evaluation of police organizations (senior managers and program evaluators) will benefit. For senior managers concerned with evaluating overall performance, public opinion surveys provide non-traditional information to assess the various dimensions of police agency activity⁵⁷. For example, surveys in Toronto (Metro Toronto Police, 1991), British Columbia (Linguanti and McIntyre, 1991) and rural Nova Scotia (Murphy and Clairmont, 1990) asked respondents to rate the "type of job" the police are doing "enforcing laws", "promptly responding to calls", "being approachable and easy to talk to" and "supplying information to the public on ways to reduce crime"⁵⁸. While the police perform many and varied functions, these items arguably

⁵⁷. Interestingly enough, the use of public opinion surveys for evaluation of police agency performance has recently been recommended as complementary to the traditional crime indicator/ resources approach by Drebin and Bannon, 1990 and Woodcock, 1991.

⁵⁸. Respondents in Edmonton are asked similar questions with respect to "enforcing the law", "meeting the needs of crime victims", "keeping order in the streets", "preventing crime" and other dimensions of activity (see Don, 1991).

reflect critical dimensions of agency performance. Certainly use of these items in more than one site could be interpreted as the development of informal standards for dimensions of agency performance.

For program evaluation within police agencies, regular periodic public opinion surveys offer a number of advantages. It has been recognized that "data collection is the most time consuming and expensive part of social program evaluation" (Porter, 1989:27), and as such, using relevant available data sources increases the timeliness and efficiency of the program evaluation task. Reporting evaluation results to management in a timely manner has recently been identified in the program evaluation community as a critical factor and "fast-track" evaluation methods have been developed to respond to management's need for short turn-around of evaluation studies (Montague, 1991:3). In order to make the survey items relevant for the programs under evaluation, careful planning of survey questions is required. However, with coordination of the survey questionnaire content and the programs under consideration, using selected items from regular periodic public opinion surveys for evaluating a police agency program (e.g., Neighbourhood Watch) is an efficient use of resources.

Also, if the periodic survey is performed on a city-wide basis, the impact of police innovations which are implemented in a limited geographical area can be assessed. For example, if a foot patrol program was instituted in a downtown area, impact information (such as citizen satisfaction with individual police officer contact) can be compared for the foot patrol area ("treatment" area) and areas where there are regular patrols ("control"

areas)⁵⁹. Impact comparisons (treatment versus control) can also be made for time periods prior to the introduction of the foot patrol program. These latter comparisons would enable the evaluator to determine if there was any difference in perceptions between the treatment area and the control area before the introduction of the program. Together with post implementation comparisons of impact, these data would further determine the "true" consequences of the foot patrol program.

⁵⁹. See Hornick et al. (1990) for an evaluation of the Edmonton Foot Patrol program.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

The interest in public opinion surveys by municipal police organizations can be understood as purposive rational social action which occurs in the context of a legitimate social order. Surveys are inherently rational measures of public opinion, and as such, offer the senior police officials and members of police services boards objective and impersonal information concerning their constituents, and thus, are used in the context of community based policing ideology and increased use of technology. Prior to engaging in public opinion surveys, senior police officials are aware of strong public support, yet they engage in these surveys as a legitimation device to "prove" their beliefs. Their positions are further buttressed with the employment of an external academic consultant to further objectify their legitimacy and protect them from allegations of self-interest.

In participating in surveys, senior police officials consider other components of the legitimate order such as activities of other agencies, the fiscal crisis in the local state, the "conventional wisdom" of police organizations, i.e., regional policing, and the importance of the rank and file in evoking a positive response from the community. Public support for police as objectified by the survey becomes a powerful resource for bureaucratic police officials in discussions concerning operating budget levels, regional policing debates, strategic planning sessions, or patrol parades. At these venues, the survey results are used to convey to a wide range of audiences (both external and internal) the messages "it ain't broke so don't fix it" and "we, as senior officers in charge, have done our homework, now so should you." To both internal and external audiences, the survey

results help control the "circumstances of reproduction" (Giddens, 1984), or provide internal support for senior police officials and external acceptance of the municipal police organization as a bona fide and effectively managed police agency.

The use of surveys as a form of knowledge control also serves to maintain the current bureaucratic autonomy of the senior police official, whereby the positions of these officials appear to be substantiated by objectively collected evidence. The police traditionally have sought to insulate themselves from political control, the positive survey results demonstrates that increased scrutiny of the police by the political sphere is not necessary. The use of the survey, therefore, is in relation to the organizational goals of bureaucratic autonomy and organizational survival, as opposed to their social goal of maintenance of order.

In summary, senior police officials orient their action (use of surveys) based on the knowledge that:

- 1) the public will show strong support for them,
- 2) the local state (in one case) is under fiscal pressure, and therefore, needs to be convinced the police are doing a good job (which the survey will do),
- 3) the central state poses a threat to their independence through a policy of amalgamation of police agencies
- 4) other police organizations confer status honour upon "progressive police agencies"
- 5) the rank and file of the organization are critical to the public's perception

of the agency and therefore, need to be either convinced that they are doing a good job, or co-opted in doing a different job (i.e., being progressive through strategic planning).

Suggestions for Future Research

This research project has demonstrated the power and influence of senior police officials and members of their governing bodies. Clearly, the relevance of these actors for further research has been established. Given this, it is suggested that those wishing to examine various facets of police organizations and their activities should "build-in" to their research design the potential influence of senior police officials and members of their governing bodies.

The research also touched upon the senior officers' and members' of police services boards responses to the debate concerning regional police structures. As stated in the foregoing, many of these activities were aimed at preserving the local police organization, or the take-over of same. During the course of the project, it became clear that there was a lacunae of empirical information which is relevant to Canadian policing concerning alternative formal structures of policing and the impact that such structure have on the actual operations of a police organization (the exception being Murphy's (1986) excellent work on comparative police organizations.) Much of the work that is available is dated and based on American studies which may not be of relevance to Canadian policing systems.

In Canada, there are an ample number of sites which could be used in a

comparative analysis of the effects of larger versus smaller, or regional versus independent police organizations. Such multi-site, multi-indicator, multi-method-based research could provide evidence upon which to assess the "conventional wisdom" (Loreto, 1984) of regional policing. As it stands now, debates concerning this topic are largely based on opinion and strictly subjective evidence, and are, therefore, limited.

For example, in terms of policy questions there is no empirical evidence to suggest that agencies such as those studied in Ottawa-Carleton would derive incremental benefits from regionalization. Further, it is not known if there are any probable unintended impacts from regionalization, such as intra-organizational clashes between members from former organization "A", versus former organization "B". We do know that there are multiple cultures within existing police organizations, such as "street cops versus management cops" (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 1983) and patrol officers versus detectives (Ericson, 1982). Therefore, if two or more organizations are consolidated, the potential for intra-organizational clashes along former organizational lines could be significant. Since policing is essentially a human business, as 85-90% of all police expenditures are related to salaries and benefits, unintended impacts of consolidations could have serious consequences for the delivery of police services.

Policing in Ottawa-Carleton is unique insofar as it is the only large Ontario metropolitan area where more than one police organization provides police services. This research suggests that Ottawa-Carleton police organizations are aware of each other's activities and, to some extent mirror each other to appear to be progressive. Being seen to be progressive is particularly important for the suburban area police organizations as

they are not only competing with each other, but are also, to some extent, competing with a police structure that does not exist the region: regional policing. There is incentive for the suburban police organizations to be innovative, for failure to do so, would probably result in organizational mortality. For Ottawa, being progressive is similarly important, although probably less so than their conservative counterparts, since such an approach could be used to persuade their contractual partners, the City of Vanier, that the contractual agreement for policing that city should be continued.

These structural arrangements of fragmented jurisdictions in the same metropolitan area arguably provide fertile ground upon which seeds of innovative programs could grow. The use of surveys is an example of where an innovation was picked up by one of the area agencies, quickly adopted by another and, considered by the third organization. With such a pro-innovation environment, research could in the future focus on innovations which are common to each of the three agencies, or confined to one or two of the local organizations to determine the conditions under which ideas or projects were or were not adopted.

Comparative study need not be limited to the adoption of innovations, however. Between organization analysis could be accomplished concerning the ongoing functions and activities of Ottawa-Carleton police organizations. For example, investigation concerning the impact of organizational culture could be undertaken to determine the nature and extent of culture on the policing services delivered. Since organizational culture has been recently recognized as critical component of policing organization (Durivage et al. 1992), this could be an interesting comparative inquiry. During the

course of this study, each of the three organizations appeared to have a somewhat different operating philosophy and manner in which bureaucratic business was carried out. Further, members of each organization recognized that their respective agencies were different from the neighbouring organizations. Examining the differences between organizational culture and their linkages (if any) to operational effectiveness could provide useful and relevant information for the management of police organizations.

The research project also touched upon the influence of senior police officials in effecting change within organizations. Further investigation of this topic is suggested since police organizations have either been traditionally designated as resistant to change (e.g., Germann, 1971), or more recently, receptive to change initiated by senior police officers (e.g., Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). Such research could determine (amongst other things), the nature and conditions under which change can be effected and, the activities, and their impacts of senior police officials. The influence of senior police officers within police organizations has been recently been examined in Great Britain (Reiner, 1991). Future research, arguably, could focus on the ability, or inability of senior police officers to influence organizational culture.

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Appendix A: Chronological Summary of The Use of Public Opinion Surveys by Ottawa/Carleton Police Agencies

Gloucester Police

In December, 1988, Gloucester Police Deputy Chief Raymond Renaud telephoned Dr. Dennis Forcese of Carleton University to discuss the possibility of Forcese's involvement with a public opinion survey in Gloucester. In January, 1989, Deputy Chief Renaud and Dr. Forcese subsequently had lunch with Chief Lester Thompson of Gloucester Police to discuss this topic. Both Thompson and Renaud were keenly interested in the project but had very little funds available to support such a survey.

Later that same month, Dennis Forcese telephoned David Horne to inquire about his interest in a public opinion survey. Based on this conversation, Horne and Forcese agreed to meet with representatives of Gloucester Police in February. Forcese also contacted Dr. Charles Gordon of the Sociology Department and Gordon agreed to attend the meeting with the Gloucester Police.

The February meeting dealt with the general nature of the project. Issues such as funding (i.e., who was going to pay for the project), scope (all citizens to be surveyed and/or high school students or seniors) and method of administration (telephone, versus mail-out, or door to door interview) were discussed. The participants also discussed in general terms the nature of the questions which were to be asked of the citizens. Gloucester police representatives were interested in knowing, in general terms "how we are doing in providing services to the community" and "should we be doing things that we are not now currently doing". At the conclusion of the meeting, participants agreed

to form a working group which would meet on a regular basis to discuss survey related issues. Members of this working group were Dennis Forcese, David Horne (from Carleton University) and, Deputy Chief Raymond Renaud, Constable Alex Mackie, and Steve Kannelakos (from Gloucester Police). Cst. Mackie worked in Planning and Research, while Kannelakos was the Executive Assistant to the Chief of Police.

The Work group met regularly over the next five months and considered a number of issues. First, it was agreed upon that due to the shortage of financial resources that a mail-out survey would be administered, and further, there would be a pilot test of the questionnaire. For both the pilot and main mail-out, recipients were selected at random from the recently compiled (fall, 1988) voters list. Second, the work group sponsored a proposal for funding the administration of the survey, which was sent to the federal and provincial Ministries of the Solicitor General in March and April. Horne and Forcese agreed to write the research proposal and the Gloucester Police representatives agreed to sponsor the request. Third, the administration of the survey was undertaken jointly by Carleton and Gloucester police staff: Carleton was responsible for designing the questionnaire, selecting the sample and processing the returns, while Gloucester Police were responsible for obtaining the voters list, translation and printing of the instrument, cover letter and final report, and the administration of the mail-out. Finally, the group spent much of its time reviewing sample questions which would ultimately be used in the survey.

A number of sources of sample questions were used in constructing the questionnaire. First, questionnaires previously used in attitudes towards the police research

(i.e., Lewis, 1988; Klein et al., 1978) were reviewed and items were adapted for the Gloucester survey. Second, where specific informational needs were not satisfied by the previous questionnaires, Horne and Forcese developed sample questions which were reviewed by the work group.

In late April, 1989, 50 pilot questionnaires were sent to persons selected manually from the voters list. Based on these responses, a number of minor format modifications were made. In late May, 1,000 questionnaires were sent out. Approximately 10 days after the main mail-out, telephone calls were made to those recipients for whom a telephone number could be located in the telephone directory white pages. These calls undoubtedly yielded an increased return although it is not possible to accurately determine the number of returns which were the result of the call. Telephone respondents did, however, indicate very positive opinions concerning the survey, with some recipients expressing satisfaction that their opinion was being solicited.

Within a few days of the mail-out, completed questionnaires and "return to senders" were coming back to Carleton. This latter group eventually totalled 100 questionnaires, including those intended recipients who had moved, or died, or were unknown at the address given on the voters list. Over July and August, 390 questionnaires were returned to Carleton University and processed using a statistical package (SPSS-PC) for closed ended questions and a word processing program (Wordperfect) for the open-ended questions.

During September, 1989, the Gloucester Police began discussions concerning funding with representatives from the federal Solicitor General and their provincial

counterpart. For various reasons, the federal Solicitor General did not contribute to the project, while the provincial Solicitor General did. Approximately \$10,000 was given to the Gloucester Police with the provision that the questionnaire could be used by other police organizations in the province.

Processing of survey results and preparation of the final report took place in September, 1989. In the first two weeks of October, the report was printed and released to the media, the Gloucester Police Services Board and Gloucester city council. David Horne made a presentation concerning the survey results to the Gloucester Police Services in late October. Also, in late October and early November, two presentations concerning the survey were made by David Horne. The first presentation was as part of a two day strategic planning seminar for senior Gloucester Police officers. The second presentation was part of a one day seminar for Gloucester Police officers at the Sergeant and Staff Sergeant level.

Nepean Police

In February, 1990, Sergeant Wayne Levere of the Nepean Police telephoned Dennis Forcese of at Carleton to inquire about a public opinion survey for his agency. Acting at the request of the Chief (Wayne Phillips), Levere met Forcese and Horne at Carleton. Levere wanted to know what benefits such a project could provide for police administrators. Based on his meeting, Levere reported back to the Chief later that week and suggested that surveys allowed the Gloucester police to "assess their service to determine strengths and weaknesses" and gave them information to "use at public

meetings" (Levere, 1990).

Later that same month, Levere telephoned Horne to request he meet with Chief Phillips. At this meeting, Phillips was interested in the process of doing a survey and the cost of the project. During this discussion alternative sources of funding for the project were discussed, specifically, the Bayshore Shopping Centre. The Nepean Police have a close working relationship with Bayshore and they considered adding a few survey questions which would have interest for the retail location in exchange for funds. A few days after the meeting, Levere called Horne to request a presentation concerning the survey to the Nepean Police Services Board monthly meeting. At this meeting, Horne presented an overview of the survey process and a cost breakdown, which assumed a survey questionnaire distributed in both official languages. The Police Services Board was interested in the questions which would be asked, the target samples, the cost of the survey and rejected out of hand, the bilingual survey format. When Horne pointed out that a bilingual survey was done in neighbouring Gloucester and that a such a questionnaire would ensure both languages would be represented to the public, Dan McGuire of the Nepean Police Services Board suggested "you don't understand the voters here in Nepean". Thus, the bilingual questionnaire format was dropped.

A few days after the meeting, Levere telephoned Horne to inform him that the Police Services Board requested the administration obtain bids from other sources. Horne was asked to put forward an english-only survey method which would tap the opinions of Nepean high school students, adults in Nepean, and, within this last category, persons with visible ethnic backgrounds were of particular interest. Horne prepared the Carleton

University bid based on a mail-out survey to be above-mentioned target groups.

Levere contacted a number of polling firms in the Ottawa-Carleton areas to obtain bids for the project. The firms which expressed an initial interest were Angus Reid and Decima Research. Of these two, only Angus Reid submitted a written proposal to the Nepean Police.

At the March, 1990, based on a recommendation from the Chief of Police (Phillips, 1992), the Nepean Police Services Board voted unanimously to award the contract to Carleton University. The Chief based his recommendation on advice received in a internal memo from Sergeant Wayne Levere (see Summary of Documents, Nepean Police Service, 1992). The Chief also named Inspector Peter Cuthbert to oversee the project.

Shortly thereafter, Levere and Horne met to discuss the project. At this meeting, Horne requested that Nepean obtain a computer tape of all names and addresses of Nepean residents in order to expedite the selection of the sample. Also, Nepean Police agreed to contact community groups representing visible minorities in order to get access to membership lists: such lists were necessary for selection of the visible minority sample. As a result of the efforts of the Nepean Police, a computer tape of the Municipal Tax Assessment Data Base was obtained from the City of Nepean and membership lists were obtained from seven community groups (see Horne and Forcese, 1990:125).

Much of Horne and Levere's efforts were aimed at modifying the questionnaire used in the Gloucester study to suit the needs of the Nepean Police. For example, Nepean Police operate a program called "Teen Talk", where young persons can telephone Nepean

Police trained peer counsellors: this program was added to the "how important are the following programs to you question. The modifications also involved the elimination of many victimization questions. In Gloucester, questions concerning specific types of victimization and victim reporting behaviour were asked, while in Nepean respondents were asked "have you ever been a victim of a crime in Nepean" and, if yes, "please indicate the nature of the crime". In addition, Horne and Levere modified a previously used instrument (Lewis, 1980) which measured high school students attitudes towards the police.

In May, 1990 fifteen hundred questions were sent to residents of Nepean. One thousand of those questionnaires were sent to persons over the age of 19, while three hundred questionnaires were sent to persons between the age of 13 and 18. These names were randomly chosen by a statistical package against the computerized Municipal Tax Assessment Data Base. A further 200 questionnaires were sent to persons manually selected at random from visible ethnic minority association membership lists. As with the Gloucester project, follow-up telephone calls were made to increase the response rate and similarly positive responses were received.

Within a few days of the mail-out, completed questionnaires and "return to senders" were coming back to Carleton. This latter group eventually totalled 170 questionnaires (110 main sample, 48 ethnic minority sample, 12 youth sample). Over May and June, 575 completed questionnaires were returned to Carleton and processed.

In mid-August, the final report was delivered to the Nepean Police. In mid-October, David Horne attended the open meeting of the Nepean Police Services Board.

At this meeting, Horne briefly spoke about the survey and answered a few questions. In contrast to the Gloucester study, Horne did not present any findings from the survey. Although the contract for service between Nepean and Carleton provided for four presentations of research findings by Carleton staff, no presentations were given.

Ottawa Police

In January, 1990, Chairman David Hill brought forward at an Ottawa Police Services Board meeting the topic of a public needs survey for Ottawa. In the minutes of the meeting, Hill is noted as mentioning that a similar survey was done in Gloucester and a copy of the Gloucester study was circulated. According to the minutes "Chief Flanagan said he was very open should the Board wish to conduct a survey... as Chief of Police he would like to find out how people want to be policed." Some discussion ensued and one member of the Board agreed to read the Gloucester study and discuss the project with the members of the joint police services board meeting (Gloucester, Nepean and Ottawa Police Services Boards meet on an "as needed basis" to discuss items of mutual concern).

Informal discussions concerning public opinion surveys between Ottawa Police and Carleton University began at an open house hosted by the Gloucester Police in the winter of 1990 on the occasion of the opening of the new Blair Road Police facility. At this function, Ottawa Deputy Chief Don Lyon and Mr. David Hill discussed the Gloucester Survey with David Horne. Don Lyon mentioned that the Ottawa Police had done a "mall survey" using students to ask shoppers their impressions of the Ottawa Police in 1979. Lyon suggested that the feedback they received at that time was positive.

In November of 1990, Chief Flanagan indicated in a Police Services Board meeting his desire to complete a public opinion survey to determine "citizen satisfaction or dissatisfaction with regards to the Force" (Ottawa Police Service Board Minutes, November 18, 1990). The Board agreed in principle and asked the Chief to "bring back a proposal on how it is to be conducted" (Ottawa Police Service Board Minutes, November 18, 1990).

In the fall of 1990, David Horne discussed the possibility Carleton being involved in a survey with Ottawa Police with the Inspector in charge of the Planning and Research Section, Richard Brzozowski. He indicated an interest to meet to discuss the project. In January, 1991, Brzozowski and Gail Johnson (newly hired research analyst) met with Horne at Carleton University. At that meeting, Brzozowski stated that the Ottawa Police would engage in a public opinion survey on their own and not as a joint project with Carleton.

In February, 1991, the Planning and Research Section authored a proposal for a "Public Attitude and Needs Survey of the Citizens of Ottawa and Vanier Relative to the Ottawa Police". This document (Ottawa Police, 1991:1) notes the need for a public survey: "the police exist so that they may provide service to the public... (a)s a result it may be necessary from time to time to probe the public in order to ascertain their perceptions". The proposal also notes that Gloucester and Nepean have each conducted a public opinion survey with the assistance of Carleton University and described briefly the process used in these projects. The January meeting with David Horne of Carleton University was also mentioned (Ottawa Police, 1991:4) and summarized in the following

manner:

On January 7, 1991 Planning and Research Section was contacted by David Horne of Carleton University who oversaw the Gloucester and Nepean surveys. Meeting was subsequently held and our intention to conduct such a survey was discussed and experiences shared. However, owing to the resources available within this organization it was clearly stated that this is unnecessary for this force to employ the services of an outside agency. (Mr. Horne expressed his intention to write a letter offering the services of the Carleton University group, regardless).

At the February 18, 1991 meeting of the Ottawa Police Service Board, David Hill introduced the idea of a communications audit, which included among other things, the holding of focus groups with members of the community at large to determine how the Ottawa Police are communicating with their public. Mr. Hill turned over control of the meeting to the vice chairman of the Police Services Board and sponsored a motion to pay a local communications consulting company to conduct the communications audit. In an interview for this research project Hill was asked why the communications audit was chosen as opposed to the public opinion survey. Concerning the use of surveys, Hill replied:

I think the concern was that it might produce some information but it might not be extensive enough in terms of developing a long term strategy and that there is a risk that the way questions are asked or the people asking them would generate an overly good response. So you get over 85% of the people saying the Police are wonderful, I'm not sure how helpful that is when you are patting yourself on the back. So what we felt would be more, at this stage anyway, for the Ottawa Police would be more helpful if we had a professional do an in depth thing with not 85% of the people thinking the police are wonderful but how much do some of the people in the community know about policing. Do they know about our crime prevention, do they know about our publications, is the message getting out to them?

In May, 1991 Superintendent Paul Page (Secretary to Ottawa Police Services Board) discussed the public needs survey with Chief Flanagan. At this discussion, Page

learned that the survey was to be "put on hold" for two reasons. First, there were a numerous changes taking place which may impact on results (e.g., Community Police Centres). Second, there was seen to be a need for the "objectivity of (an) outside agency" (Brzozowski, 1992).

In the fall of 1991, Ottawa Police included in their budget request funds for the employment of an outside firm to assist in the community survey. In the budget work sheet dated October 21, 1991, the item description is as follows:

It is proposed that, in order to provide objectivity in conducting a public attitude and needs survey we contract out to an external organization specializing in such work. One such estimate is attached. There are two options: (1) to have the entire study conducted by contracted firm. The total cost would be approximately \$20,000. If we print the survey, assemble it and mail it, the outside company prepares the analyses and reports the results, cost \$12,000, mailing cost \$1,000.

In the budget work sheet of November 1991, the public survey item was deleted. When asked why the change, Paul Page replied that all discretionary spending that year was cut by the administration at the request of the Police Services Board. Page explained that individual items in the budget were not reviewed: "the idea is still a good idea" (Personal Communication, June 4, 1992).

Appendix B: Obtaining Access to The Research Sites

The Problem of Access

Prior to engaging in the interviews and data collection for this study, members of the thesis committee and the candidate discussed the problem of access. One committee member was concerned with access to police personnel for interviews and the availability of internal police documents, suggesting that traditionally, police and other bureaucratic organizations have not been very open to granting permission to academics. Other members of the committee were less concerned about the problem of access since the candidate's supervisor knew senior members of the police organizations on a personal basis.

Overall, the three agencies could not have been more cooperative. All requests for interviews were granted as were all requests for copies of internal police correspondence. Each police organization regarded the documents under discussion as "public domain" information. In one case, the researcher was quietly given access to the personal files of the agency representative for the public opinion survey project. The initial cooperation extended to answering follow-up questions on points of clarification.

The Researcher

The researcher was in a fortunate position because he and his supervisor had completed the surveys for Gloucester and Nepean in the very recent past. As such, he had a history of involvement with senior personnel in these organizations. This involvement was known to senior personnel in the Ottawa Police and it was through the surveys in Gloucester and Nepean that contact was made with senior Ottawa personnel.

The researcher also had other advantages when gaining access. First, he had a history of teaching police officers at the Canadian Police College in Ottawa and the Ontario Police College in Aylmer, Ontario. Police officers at junior ranks (Sergeant and Staff Sergeant) from all three Ottawa-area police organizations had attended training sessions offered by the researcher, and as such, the researcher was "known" to these agencies. Second, prior to coming to Ottawa, the researcher had been employed with a progressive major western Canadian municipal police agency for an number of years as a planning and research analyst. Since experience (as opposed to formal education) is valued very highly in police culture (see Reiner, 1985), the researcher had prima facie legitimacy.

This last advantage is underscored by an aspect of police culture, suspicion. Police officers have traditionally been suspicious of persons from outside their organizations (Reiner, 1985). An example of this involved the researcher indirectly. When the Gloucester survey was getting underway (winter 1989), the researcher was introduced to Gloucester Police officials as a "Ph.D. student in sociology who has worked for the Calgary Police for a number of years in planning and research". Shortly after this meeting, a representative of the Gloucester Police telephoned the Planning and Research Section of the Calgary Police to confirm the background of the researcher and to inquire if there had been "any problems" with the researcher's employment in Calgary.

Gaining Access

In order to gain access to the police organizations for the study, the researcher first made informal inquiries of persons inside Gloucester and Nepean Police organizations to

"test the waters" in terms of organizational receptivity to the project. Having received a positive response to these inquiries, the researcher wrote to the respective Chiefs of Police in Gloucester and Nepean (see Appendix C). The letter clearly stated that the project was comparative in scope and outlined the questions to be used in the interviews. Also, the letter asked for access to internal documents, correspondence and other internal material related to the survey. This request for access was delivered prior to the formal defence of the dissertation proposal (early December, 1991).

At the dissertation proposal defence (December 1991), the option of including the Ottawa Police in the study was explored. One member of the committee suggested this inclusion in order to "complete the picture" in Ottawa-Carleton. Another member of the committee believed the addition to be beyond the scope of the original research proposal. In the instructions to the candidate, the committee directed the candidate to "examine the feasibility" of including the Ottawa Police as a research site.

In order to include the Ottawa Police in the study, the dissertation supervisor contacted Deputy Chief Brian Ford of the Ottawa Police. Mr. Ford indicated an interest in the project and agreed to meet the researcher. At this first meeting (February, 1992), the researcher gave Mr. Ford a letter (addressed to the Chief of Police) similar to that given to the Gloucester and Nepean Police outlining the scope of the project, questions for the interview and request for access to internal police documentation. Some 6 weeks after the initial meeting with Mr. Ford, Chief Flanagan was interviewed.

While the initial contact with the Ottawa Police was fairly informal, initial contact with Gloucester was very formal. In response to the introductory letter, the senior

Gloucester Police officials met with members of the Gloucester Police Services Board. Since the request for interviews included members of the Police Services Board, the Board opted to answer in writing the questions identified in the introductory letter. The written answers were compiled by Steve Kannelakos, Executive Assistant to the Chief of Police, and mailed to the researcher in February, 1992. While the official response to the interview questions was in writing, relevant members beginning with the Chief of the Gloucester Police were also personally and individually interviewed.

Receiving permission for including the Nepean Police in the study was accomplished only after many attempts at scheduling a meeting with the Chief of Police. After the initial letter of December, 1991, some five months passed before the researcher could meet with the Chief. The Nepean Chief apparently had a busy schedule, one additional responsibility being a hearing officer for charges laid under the Police Services Act for a number of officers in an outside the region municipal police organization. Once the initial meeting was completed, other interviews were scheduled within a short period of time and all requests promptly fulfilled.

Summary

Obtaining access to the research sites was a far less complicated exercise than was originally thought. Although the methods of communicating with the researcher differed, all three police agencies cooperated fully with any and all requests. This may have been due to bona fide interests in all three police organizations for cooperation with a local academic (the researcher) or his supervisor. Another explanation may involve the previous involvement of the researcher with 2 of the 3 agencies in public opinion surveys,

or the researcher's current involvement with police training facilities. A third explanation for the enhanced cooperation might be the comparative nature of the project itself. Since all three organizations occupy the same region, no agency would want to be left out of the research project, as such an exclusion would possibly imply the excluded organization is less cooperative than the other two. Choosing one or a combination of these explanations is, however, entirely speculative since no conclusive evidence is available to support one versus the others.

Appendix C: Sample Letter to Chiefs of Police

2840 Tompkins Road
Kemptville, Ontario
K0G 1J0

November 13, 1991

Mr. Tom Flanagan
Chief of Police
Ottawa Police
474 Elgin Street
Ottawa, Ontario

Dear Mr. Flanagan:

I am writing a doctoral thesis in sociology at Carleton University concerning the use of public attitudes towards the police surveys by the Nepean and Gloucester police organizations. As you know, these surveys were completed in 1989 and 1990 by the Centre for Research in Community-Based Policing at Carleton.

It is my understanding that your organization, at one time, was considering engaging in a similar project. For comparative purposes, I would like to include your organization as part of the study, so as to "complete the picture" in Ottawa-Carleton.

I would like to interview yourself, your deputy chiefs, and, if possible, members of your Police Services Board concerning this topic. Attached are a list of topics the interviews would cover.

The study will focus on two major areas: the decision to participate in the public needs survey, and, the use of the survey results. For Ottawa, I will obviously only be interested in the decision to engage in a public needs survey. In the first part, questions concerning why the survey was adopted will be addressed (e.g., who originally proposed the survey and who approves the survey). The attached Executive Summary provides a list of proposed questions.

If the results of the research project are of interest, I would be pleased to provide you with a copy of the dissertation upon completion.

I have written to the Gloucester Police and Nepean Police to ask for their permission and assistance in this project.

If approved, I hope to complete the interviews in the next few weeks. Should you have any questions about the proposed research project, please do not hesitate to call me at 993-3627 (work) or 258-1935 (home).

Sincerely,

David G. Horne

attachment.

ABSTRACT:

Using Survey Information to Reproduce the Municipal Police Organization

It is proposed that two municipal police organizations, Gloucester Police and Nepean Police, which have recently participated in a public opinion survey, and for comparative purposes, the Ottawa Police who have considered a public needs survey be studied. Understanding the context in which the first two agencies participated in the public opinion survey, and the reasons why the third agency has yet to engage in a similar project, is the goal of the research project.

It is proposed that two major areas be dealt with: participation in the survey, (Nepean, Gloucester and Ottawa) and, using the survey results (Nepean, Gloucester). Interviews will be conducted with Police Chiefs, Deputy Police Chiefs, and, members of Police Services Boards. Also, in order to determine the impact of survey information on the police organization, it is proposed that official documents be reviewed.

The following questions are proposed for interviewees.

Participating in a Survey (Nepean, Gloucester and Ottawa)

1. Who originally offered the idea of performing the public opinion survey.
2. Who participated in the design of the questionnaire?
3. Who recommended the public opinion survey be completed?

4. Who gave the approval for the survey to be performed.
5. Who was consulted during the discussions concerning the public opinion survey?
6. What activities did you perform in relation to the public opinion survey.
7. What were the reasons for the survey?
8. In your opinion, what were the survey objectives?
9. Were any other suppliers of survey services considered in the awarding decision?
10. Was an internally-administered survey an option that was considered?
11. What benefits were believed to be gained through using the chosen supplier of survey services?

Using the Results (Nepean and Gloucester)

12. To whom were the results of the survey distributed?
13. What format(s) were used to distribute the results?
14. Were all results distributed? Some results, and if so, which results?
15. Who participated in the release of the results?
16. What changes, if any, were made as a result of information yielded by the survey?
17. For organizational changes that did occur as a result of the survey, what were the reasons for those changes?
18. Which results did you find surprising?
19. Which results confirmed your opinions?

Appendix D: Summary of Documents Obtained from Gloucester Police Service

Sources: Chief Lester Thompson and

Steve Kaneillakos

1. Horne Questionnaire- Answers (undated): this is a typed response to the letter of introduction (of November 13, 1991) written by the candidate to the Chief of Police in Gloucester. The letter of introduction listed the questions to be addressed in an interview setting with members of the Police Services Board, the Chief of Police and other members of the Gloucester Police. The Executive Assistant to the Chief prepared written responses to these questions at the direction of the Police Services Board and the Chief.
2. Letter to the Board of Commissioners of Police, The Corporation of the City of Gloucester, from Chief Lester Thompson (dated January 18, 1990): this is an 8 page letter outlining arguments for and against regional policing, based on the 1976 Mayo report, the ad hoc committee on Police Service (Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton committee) of 1976 and the "Hale Report" (of 1974). The letter outlines the Gloucester Police response to a 1988 presentation by the Ottawa Police Force Senior Management, the latter supporting regional policing. The letter also includes a summary of results of a survey of Gloucester Senior Police officers which did not support regionalization: point number 9 of the summary states:
 9. Gloucester's citizens are satisfied with the police services as they are now. (A recent survey from Carleton University supports this position)

The letter concludes:

"The concept of Regional Policing has a lot of merit when a major police force is surrounded by small disorganized, and ineffective police forces. This is not the case in Ottawa-Carleton. There are three major police forces in this region, and all are providing a service that meets the specific needs of the communities they serve.

Regionalization, at this time, would create a situation where the citizens of Nepean and Gloucester would subsidize the high cost of policing in Ottawa which has a much greater crime rate per capita."

3. **Part I - Results Related to Strategic Objectives:** this is a part of the strategic plan for the Gloucester Police. This document identifies the major steps required to accomplish a community needs survey, including a projected budget and dates for

4 of/de 4

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

a second public survey in 1993.

4. **Gloucester Police Service: Five Year Strategic Objectives (1992 -1996);** this document describes the major objectives including:

"to continue to provide quality policing services to the Gloucester community in the areas of traffic enforcement; property damage and safety"

"interservice cooperation; to explore and support with other area police services within the region of Ottawa-Carleton, areas of mutual cooperation...",

"monitoring of community need : to regularly monitor the growth and development of the city of Gloucester.... to establish a community relations strategy which would serve to regularly monitor public opinion towards the Gloucester Police Service"

"revenue sourcing": "To anticipate the increasing financial restraints being placed on government services and to identify the potential future impact on policing services"

"management and administration": To up-grade in the short term, the managerial and administrative functions and systems within the Gloucester Police Service..... (focusing upon)

Employment Equity Plan.... to increase the proportion of members who are members of four target groups...

an Organization Structure Review which will include a service/program evaluation component

an Employee Wellness Plan

A Career Planning and Training Strategy

An accommodations strategy

5. **The Gloucester Police Service: Our Mission** (undated 1 page document) outlines three responsibilities

first responsibility "to the public who requires policing services as protection to themselves and/or their property"

second responsibility "to its members as its key resource. Each member must be considered as an individual; there must be mutual respect for and between

members and there will be a recognition of merit and excellent performance"

third responsibility "to maintain a strategic planning process which will keep the Gloucester Police Service at the leading edge of policing across the Province and the country.

The Gloucester Police Service sees these responsibilities as its guiding principles for NOW and the FUTURE.

6. 1990 Presentation to City Council (undated; budget presentation speech by chief of police)

begins with discussion of technological and organizational change "we recognize that policing, like most aspects of society, is experiencing rapid change both at the municipal and provincial levels (page 2). The changing social, economic and demographic forces in society are producing increasing demands for all levels of police services. That policing will continue to change seems beyond question; how it will change and who will manage that change are questions that will be answered by the success or failure of police efforts to deliver cost effective and efficient police services in accordance with public expectations."

page 3: "In response to this we have embarked on the development of a five year strategic plan. This plan is based on an analysis of our external environment as well as our organizations strengths and weaknesses. A key component of this process was a public needs survey which was conducted in association with Carleton University. One thousand questionnaires were mailed to households in Gloucester selected by random sampling from the enumeration lists. A copy of the first report has been made available to his worship and aldermen; additional copies are made available tonight for the public and copies will be forwarded to all public libraries".

page 4: "The results confirm our belief that the residents of Gloucester are receiving an excellent policing service; the majority of residents stated that they were more than satisfied with the Gloucester Police Force. On the other hand, the residents surveyed indicated that they want more services and some changes to the delivery of services. These are specified in the report and are currently being addressed. We plan to meet with the community associations and discuss the issues relevant to their community and work together to resolve them"

the presentation discusses the major strategic objectives of the Gloucester Police... services... interforce cooperation... monitoring of public need...revenue sourcing... management and administration....

page 14: "I would like to conclude by reminding council that the Gloucester

Police Force still has the lowest per capita cost and the lowest crime rate per 100,000 population of any comparably sized force in Ontario.... The residents of Gloucester pay less for police service than Ottawa and Nepean residents, yet the effectiveness of the force is excellent....

page 16: "Your Police force does not take a back seat to any police organization in Ontario; I can assure you that within the framework of our strategic plan we will continue to improve our effectiveness and address the issues important to the residents of Gloucester."

7. **Memorandum to all members of the Gloucester Police Force from the Chief of Police (December 1, 1989).**

"As you are aware, the Force is in the process of developing a Five Year Strategic Plan. Two important parts of this process are a planning workshop and the development of a Public Needs Survey.

The Planning Workshop....

"The Public Needs Survey was developed in association with the Sociology and Anthropology Department at Carleton University. One thousand questionnaires were mailed to households in Gloucester to measure public perceptions of crime and satisfaction with our police service. The results of the survey were released this date and copies are available in the Force libraries and have been distributed to all Staff Sergeants and MBO teams.

"Some of the major findings of the Survey with respect to safety and crime are:

1. Crimes which Gloucester residents are most concerned about are drugs and break and enters.
2. Gloucester residents voiced a lack of safety concerns with respect to night driving and traffic and City parks.

"The second part of the findings, which addresses quality of programs and service offered to residents by our Force, is overwhelmingly positive. Some of the findings are:

1. In situations of face to face contact with a police officer the majority of citizens were satisfied.
2. The respondents were very satisfied with the politeness of our telephone responses.
3. Forty per cent of the respondents who voluntarily commented about the

quality of our service made positive or very positive comments.

"The survey also indicated that the residents would like to see some changes to our programs. These concerns will be addressed through the MBO teams, where all members will have an opportunity to provide input."

"This survey clearly indicates to me that the Gloucester Police Force has a very positive image in the community which is attributable to every members's professional conduct in dealing with the public. This is particularly reassuring to me considering the administrative and operational problems encountered with the rapid growth of the City and our organization."

"The results of the survey relating to residents' perceptions of the quality of service provided confirms my long held belief that the Gloucester Police Force members' commitment to the policing needs of the community is second to none".

signed by the chief of police

8. letter to Suzanne L. McGlashan from Steve Kanellakos, dated September 13, 1989, listing a number of documents sent in preparation for a strategic planning seminar for Gloucester Police. Two survey related documents were included: Attitudes towards the Police in Gloucester, Ontario; a Research Proposal, and Gloucester Police Force Public Needs Survey - Questionnaire. Suzanne McGlashan was the consultant to the Gloucester Police strategic planning seminar
9. Letter to Scott Burbidge, Acting Director, Police Research, Police and Security Branch, Ministry of the Solicitor General, Ottawa, from Deputy Chief Raymond Renaud. This is a request for financial assistance from Gloucester Police to the federal solicitor general:

"The Gloucester Police Force with the support of the Board of Commissioners of Police has embarked on a Five Year Strategic Plan. A critical component of this initiative is a survey directed to the residents of Gloucester which measures attitudes towards this Force. All police organizations are highly dependent on the citizens to whom they deliver services; this research will assist us greatly in our continuing function of understanding our community.

Please find attached, a research proposal prepared with the assistance of Dr. Dennis Forcese and Mr. David Horne of Carleton University. The proposal is part of a larger planning process which will assist the Force to meet the needs of a growing and evolving community.

The survey will assist in measuring public attitudes towards a variety of police

programs.

This initiative, which is unique to Ottawa - Carleton area, requires additional funding. In view of your ongoing interest in this area, we are requesting financial assistance from your Branch.

10. Letter from Ian Scott, Solicitor General, Province of Ontario to Chief Lester Thompson, Gloucester Police, Dated July 13, 1989. response to chief Thompson's request for financial assistance dated April 17.

"I think your survey has considerable merit not only in Gloucester, but in wider application in municipalities across Ontario. Indeed, one of the emerging themes for the Ontario government and my Ministry, "Safe and Secure Communities", is very much related to the same objective.

It is my understanding that we may use the survey instrument at our discretion. This being so, I am pleased to be able to approve your request for assistance in the amount of \$9,200. I would be interested in the outcome of your survey.

Please extend my appreciation to your colleagues, Dr. Dennis Forcese and Mr. David Horne of Carleton University for their participation."

11. cover letter for survey questionnaire, signed by chief of police, Lester Thompson.

"Dear Gloucester Resident

As Chief of Police, I am constantly aware of the need to provide progressive and effective police services in our community.

With the support of the Board of Commissioners of Police for the City of Gloucester, we have embarked on a Five Year Strategic Plan.

One part of this process is to receive public input. With the assistance of Professor D. Forcese and his staff at Carleton University, a Public Needs Survey has been developed. By random sampling, your household has been selected to receive this survey.

As a service to your community, we would appreciate your completing the questionnaire and returning it without delay in the addressed, pre-paid envelope.

The results of this study will be prepared at Carleton University for the Gloucester Police Force and will be available in the Fall, 1989. We expect, at that time to share the results with you.

Should you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact.....

Thank you for your assistance in this matter."

Yours truly,

(signed by Chief of Police)

- 12. The Gloucester Police Force Strategic Planning Session Summary Report October 27-28, 1989 (document prepared by Suzanne McGlashan, a self-described consultant in strategic management to Gloucester Police)**

day 1 of the seminar was described as hearing "from a number of experts in the areas which currently affect or could affect the future provision of policing services in the City of Gloucester" (page 2)

summary of each presentation was provided in point form

Regional Government Review - D. Bartlett (page 5: note; Bartlett was a former mayor of one of the municipalities in the region and had just finished a study concerning regionalization of services in Ottawa- Carleton)

- "• the Region of Ottawa Carleton was the functioning economic unit for the purposes of this review.**
- in the Regional Government Review, the criteria for functional division between the Region and local municipalities included:**
 - scale of the matter**
 - externalities - ability for good coordination**
 - consistency differences**
- in relation to policing services**
 - clearly of a scale to be regional**
 - would appear to be sufficient co-ordination, may not necessarily need centralized direction**

(page 6)

- thrust towards neighbourhood policing would tend to support police services remaining at the local level.
- question of regional versus local policing should dwell upon what it is you want from a police service as opposed to only the issue of potential dollar savings.
- for the future, some of the issues which will affect the provision of police services will include; increasing polarization between the haves and the have nots; the abuse of high technology/communication systems, and increasing social strain within society.

Gloucester Police Public Needs Survey - Carleton University

- the survey was conducted during the early-mid summer of 1989 and the analysis was undertaken in the Fall of 1989; a very high response rate was received to the survey.
- a full report on the questionnaire design; selection of the sample; mail-out and telephone follow-up approach and the results will be available by year end 1989.
- some of the key findings of the survey were as follows:
 - in terms of issues of importance to Gloucester residents, drugs and stealing from homes were considered on average to be between somewhat serious and very serious; an appropriate question to be asked is whether the drugs issue is possibly a result of the recent awareness and media attention toward drugs.
 - the average feeling of safety during daylight hours was between somewhat safe and very safe.
 - the average feeling of safety at night was also between somewhat safe and very safe, except park situations.
 - 72.3% of the residents had had contact with the GPF, the majority of which had occurred in the last 12 months.

(page 7)

- the level of satisfaction with the contact of respondents with the GPF was between somewhat satisfied and very satisfied.

- the highest average satisfaction scores were for casual conversation with an on-duty officer and requesting information; the lowest average score related to traffic enforcement and traffic accident situations.
- in response to "what kind of job" the GPF is doing in response to various items, the average scores were all between adequate and very good.
- in terms of what programs were of most importance to the respondents the highest score was received for drug enforcement closely followed by impaired driving and drug education.
- 75.9% of the respondents believed that there needed to be changes in the services of the Gloucester Police Force; some of the most frequently mentioned suggested changes included:
 - increased patrol
 - increased traffic enforcement
 - increased visibility of police
 - new or enhanced services
 - changes in attitudes of police officers

(page 8)

Conclusion

The first day of the Gloucester Police Force Two-Day Strategic Planning Session was successful in that it provided a context within which the matter of future policing services could be discussed....Knowledge of what the current policing related concerns of Gloucester residents was gained....

(page 10)

The Gloucester Police Force - Current Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths

The strengths as identified by each of the Divisional Commanders can be best summarized by some of the direct quotes contained in the responses:

"Dedication of Personnel"

"Excellent Middle Managers"

"Enthusiastic Officers that serve the public well"

"Our Force's Image is high and our reputation is good - we need not take a back seat to anyone"

(page 15)

The Development of Each Strategic Issue:

1. Strategic Issue #1 - Policing Services: Future Role of the Gloucester Police Force

Traffic Enforcement

- **concerns identified from the survey:**
 - vehicle accidents- education**
 - enforcement**
- **impaired driving - is this a result of an increased awareness and media attention**
- **safety - traffic and driving**
- **impact of increased traffic in and through Gloucester**
- **need to isolate out from the survey, what the real concern is re: traffic enforcement; is the concern "real" or just "perceived as a result of an increased awareness on the public's part.**

(page 23)

2. Strategic Issue #2 - Interforce cooperation

- **strategic issues**
 - **exchange of information technology**
 - **identify additional areas of cooperation**
 - **increased regional government influence**
 - **mechanisms for improved communication**
- **9-1-1 has been a successful joint venture**
- **the issue of differing technology systems from Ottawa or other Forces is not a serious concern; ultimately; a link up with Ottawa**

is likely.

- there are a number of areas in which GPF would want to see co-operation with other Forces:
 - a) transportation of prisoners
 - b) Court Security costs
 - c) Full regionalization of Court Functions
 - d) In-service training of Police Officers (likelihood of less support at the provincial level)
 - e) Management Development/Personal Training
 - f) Possibility of One region-wide Surveillance/ Criminal Intelligence Unit
 - g) recruitment - visible minorities/women; total recruitment in the long run
 - h) Joint Task Force Investigations
- currently there is good communication at the operational and senior officer level; a number of regional committees are working on issues
- GPF needs a strategy relating to regional policing including an offer to provide policing services to Cumberland

(page 24)

- for the present, continue on and proactively promote cooperation with other forces in the Region; continue to show that it is possible to provide policing services efficiently while maintaining local force autonomy.
- also address the issue of a regional police force at community association meetings to determine what the residents of Gloucester think and feel about the possible future regionalization of policing in Ottawa-Carleton.

Conclusion

- although the regionalization of policing has not yet become a formalized issue within Ottawa-Carleton, the Gloucester Police Force should anticipate this possibility and prepare its own position accordingly. Ensuring good communications and increased cooperation between the Forces (particularly Gloucester and Ottawa) in the interim will provide a proven track record for a decentralized policing system. The GPF should also plan now for the possible intergration of the Gloucester and Cumberland policing service area.

(Page 25)

3. Strategic Issue #3 - Monitoring of Community Needs

- regular monitoring of the City of Gloucester's and the Regions' growth and development is essential to anticipating the future impact on policing services on Gloucester.
- Gloucester's fragmented and diverse urban and rural development (Leitrem; City Centre; Orleans makes providing policing services particularly difficult.
- need to prepare alternative development scenarios and assess how they will impact on the provision of police services? Should Gloucester try to influence the pattern of development. In the past the Force, has always been in the position of only reacting.
- monitor and respond to public needs through regular public attitude surveys upon which comparative analysis can be done. The findings will represent a key input into the GPF annual strategic planning process.
- are follow-ups to service complaints needed?
- meetings with community/business groups should be regularized.
- need for a community relations strategy to ensure a proper plan for on-going relations with the community is in place.

Conclusion

- a critical component of any on-going strategic planning process is the identification and monitoring of the changing environment around us - in particular the shifting needs of the group to which the service is being provided, this case both the resident and

business population of the City of Gloucester. The GPF needs to undertake this monitoring process on an annual basis and ensure it has an on-going communications plan with the public which also supports this process.

13. Gloucester Police Service Strategic Planning Process, article by Alex Mackie and Steve Kanellakos in the Police Governor official publication of the Ontario Association of Police Services Boards, Fall 1991.

this is a two page summary of the GPS (note the name change) planning process

the survey was mentioned briefly

page 19 "An internal and external environmental scan was conducted which included a Public Needs Survey conducted by Carleton University. The information gathered from the environmental scan was used by senior management to identify our strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Senior managers also attended a Strategic Planning workshop which was facilitated by an external consultant. During this exercise, strategic issues, whose resolution was critical, were identified.

Appendix D (continued): Summary of Documents Obtained from Nepean Police Service

Sources: Inspector Peter Cuthburt and

Sergeant Wayne Levere

Sergeant Wayne Levere was the main contact person for the Nepean Police Survey (1990). Levere made the initial contact with the researcher and handled many administrative duties pertaining to the survey. Inspector Peter Cuthburt was the self-described "go-between: my job was to make everyone happy". Cuthburt reviewed the questionnaire drafts and was the Chief's contact person for the project.

1. Nepean Police Service Strategic Plan, Draft #2, May 11, 1992. This document contains a list of Strategic Issues along with performance indicators, designation of accountability centres (i.e., who is going to do what) and deadlines for dealing with strategic issues. The plan also includes a number of options to "name the plan". The strategic issues in order of priority are:
 1. Community Based Policing
 2. Communications (internal/external)
 3. Operational Planning (Programming)
 4. Development of Human Resources (Training)
 5. Race Relations
 6. Employment Equity
 7. Development of Standards and Audit
 8. Management of Technology
 9. Management of Financial Resources
 10. Police Image

Two of these strategic issues provide relevant information:

- under "Management of Financial Resources", there are a number of action plans: Action plan 5 states "provide cost estimates for providing Police Services to

neighbouring communities", with a corresponding performance indicator of "written estimate and proposal". Accountability for this is "Nepean Police Services Board and Chief of Police". Deadline is "1993". (note the timing of this action plan is coincident with the renewal of the OPP contract for municipal policing in neighbouring Kanata and since, at the last renewal date, it is believed the Nepean Police bid on the Kanata contract, it seems reasonable they are preparing to bid again. This assumption to be confirmed with Inspector Cuthbert).

- under "Police Image", the objective is "To maintain and review opportunities to further enhance the positive image of the Nepean Police Service". The single action plan states: "to monitor the public image of the Police Service by a public survey". Performance indicator identified "results of survey", with accountability designated as "Nepean Police Services Board and Chief of Police". Deadline is December, 1994.
2. memo from Sergeant Wayne Levere to Chief Wayne Phillips, dated March 12, 1990; subject: Public Needs Survey. (this is a six page summary of the bidders for the Nepean Police survey contract)

"This report is being submitted in order to provide the Nepean Police Commission and yourself with sufficient information with which to make a number of decisions concerning the feasibility of conducting a public needs survey.

Questions which must be addressed are:

- A) Why should such a study be conducted?
- B) What will we gain from such a study?
- C) When should this survey be conducted?
- D) To whom should this questionnaire be addressed?
- E) How should such a study be conducted?
- F) Who should conduct this survey?
- G) What will such a study cost?

Question A: Why should such a study be conducted?

A Public Needs Survey, conducted by the Nepean Police Service, would provide the Service with an accurate indicator, as to the public's perception of the Nepean Police Service in general and our efficiency in particular. It will also

provide us with some insight as to identifying areas within Nepean that the public feel the police should direct more attention to.

Question B: What will be gained from such a study?

This study will:

- 1) Provide the Nepean Police Commission and the Administration with current information with which they can assess our strengths and weaknesses. (note there were handwritten note in the margin to indicate such a study "can give us an outsiders look at our ...strengths and weaknesses".**
- 2) Provide the Administration with statistics with which they can base future decisions concerning a) Organizational structure and b) Program changes -additions or deletions.**
- 3) Provide the Service with a reasonably accurate indicator, showing how well we are relating to target groups such as our youths (14-17) and Visible Minorities.**
- 4) Provide us with a yardstick with which we can measure our successes and failures concerning any changes we make after the survey has been completed and acted upon.**
- 5) Provide an excellent public relations tool for two reasons: a) A personal letter from Chief Phillips going into more than 1000 homes plus being distributed to 300 youths will add to the credibility of our request and (b) the survey itself allows the public to feel that they are being given an opportunity to influence the way they are being policed in the future.**
- 6) The Carleton Survey will give our service exposure to other police groups such as C.P.C. (SPAC lectures), Ontario Police Planners Conference and published results in the C.P.C. journal (Integrity of the force protected).**

Questions C D E

- C) When should this survey be conducted?**
- D) To whom should this questionnaire be addressed?**

E) How should such a study be conducted?

Levere compares different bids from Carleton and Angus Reid . In question E, how should this study be done, he compares the telephone bid (Angus Reid) versus the mail bid (Carleton)

In question E, Levere identifies in the Public relations factor of the two methods

Telephone	-no personal contact with police service-could call at innopportune time-intrusive-too long on the phonecould upset some people when questioned as to their academic background
Mailout	-personal letter from the chief-allows people to complete at their own convenience-allows other members of family to have input into answers-follow-up phone calls re-inforce the fact that the Police want the person s input (Levere denotes that the advantage goes to the mailout method.

Question F: Who should conduct this study

Carleton and Angus Reid

Levere identifies the background of the principals connected with each firm. and the services offered by each firm.

notes that Carleton University is a highly respected University. Dennis P Forcese is vice president of the University...Mr. David G. Horne is coordinator... and has

7 years experience in Planning and research with Calgary Police Service, information systems area and in Crime analysis for Homicide, Robbery and Sex Crimes. Mr. Horne is currently a Ph.D. student in sociology at Carleton .

Page 6:

It is very difficult to pick one company over the other or one survey instrument over the other. Both Companies (sic) are very professional in their approach to this survey proposal. Both instruments being looked at, have good and bad points, however I feel that either one are (sic) capable of obtaining the desired results.

I feel that Carleton University has the edge however for a number of reasons:

- 1) Their experience with the Gloucester Survey
- 2) The background Mr. Horne has with analyzing Police related subjects.
- 3) The personal interest Mr. Horne has shown for this survey appears to go beyond a mere business deal.
- 4) The Mail Out survey appears to be the least expensive way to go.

Question G: What will such a study cost

levere details the costs associated with the telephone and mail out options

3. Nepean Police Services Board Minutes: February 20, 1990:

"Police Survey presented by David Horne of Carleton University

Mr. David Horne of Carleton University reviewed the results of a bilingual "public needs" survey, for which they had a 43% response. This survey and the analysed results were prepared by his group for the Gloucester Police Force.

Deputy Chief Lamont stated that the estimated \$39,000 cost for a survey of this type would be well worth the benefits, when considering the move to community based policing.

The Commissioners concurred that staff should study this proposal , investigate possible grants for a study of this type and bring back cost to the Board for their consideration.

Minutes: March 20, 1990

At the meeting of February 20, 1990, David Horne of Carleton University

presented the results of "public needs" survey prepared by his group for the Gloucester Police Force. In response to the Board's request that staff investigate the need and costs of such a study, Chief Phillips introduced Sgt. Wayne Levere who reviewed some of the reasoning as to why a survey of this type would be beneficial to the Service. In comparing a telephone vs. mail out survey, Sgt. Levere stated that quality responses are provided when people can sit down and take time with their answers.

Sgt. Levere advised the Board that he made initial contact with the Carleton Boards of Education, in order that permission be granted to enter the schools with the questionnaire. This would ensure a good response from the students.

Because the Nepean Police Service should reflect the multicultural aspect of the citizens, Sgt. Levere had approached several visible minority groups requesting that they participate in the survey.

MOTION NO.25-90

Moved by Janette Berry
Seconded by Dan McGuire

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Nepean Police Service authorize the execution an agreement with Carleton University for a Public Needs Survey at an upset cost of \$32,000.

Chairman Loney requested that Sgt. Levere send the questionnaire to the Commissioners for their input before completion. In addition, Commissioner Berry felt that Departments within the Police Service should be approached for their contribution.

Minutes: May 15, 1990

Public Needs Survey

The Commissioners reviewed the questionnaire presented by staff for the Carleton Public and Separate School Boards. They accepted the format and instructed staff to proceed with this portion of the survey.

4. **Strategic Planning documents:** these are a series of supporting documents for a strategic planning seminar held by the Nepean Police senior officers , members of the police services board and constabulary members of the Nepean Police

Service, March 28, 1992. Topics included on the agenda:

Organizational Structure, Performance assessment, assessment of competitors

Services offered and evaluation

employee survey

assessment of technical needs and changes

crime trends

employment equity and demographics

visible minority needs - expectations of Police and vision (guest speaker: Barry Thomas from Canadian Centre for Police and race relations)

Political, Economical and Social Trends

City Planning and Future Growth

Budget resources

Carleton University Analysis, External Survey Analysis and Future Training Direction

Business leaders concerns

Ontario Police Association and Nepean Police Association

*******Note: the Carleton University Survey item documentation was prepared by the author with results from the 1992 survey compared to the results in the 1990 university-based survey. The essential conclusions from this document is that "nothing has changed: we have been and are continuing to do a good job as far as the public is concerned": see interview with Wayne Phillips.**

- 5. Memo from Sgt. Wayne Levere to Chief of Police, January 13, 1990. Levere recounts his initial meeting with Horne and Forcese at Carleton.**

Appendix D (Continued): Summary of Documents Obtained from Ottawa Police

Sources: Inspector Richard Brzozowski and

Deputy Chief Brian Ford

1. **Ottawa Police Enviroscan - Contact List, dated 23-10-91: identifies interest and community groups approached for Enviroscan.**
2. **List of "Contributors" (not dated) to environmental scanning project ("Enviroscan"): list of interest and community groups which participated in strategic planning project.**
3. **Focus on the Future: Strategic Plan of the Ottawa Police, 1991. (Richard Brzozowski, author)**
4. **handwritten notes (from Richard Brzozowski) dated 9th May, 1991: "Paul Page held discussion with Chief re Public Attitudes/Needs Survey - project put on hold because of (1) numerous changes taking place which may impact on results -e.g., Community Police Centres (2) objectivity of outside agency"**
5. **Police Services Board Minutes:**

January 9, 1990: Chairman advised there had been previous discussion concerning the Public attitudes survey in Gloucester... distributed internal survey done in 1979 and Gloucester Police study... "Chief Flanagan said he was very open should the Board wish to conduct a survey". As chief of Police he would like to find out how people want to be policed."

After discussion the Board agreed to think about a survey and Mrs. Hegan will read the Gloucester report and bring it as a topic of conversation at the joint commission meeting.

November 19, 1990: Chief Flanagan informed the Board that he would like to do a survey on citizen satisfaction or dissatisfaction with regards to the Force and would like the Boards agreement in principle. He will then decide exactly how it should be done.

agreed in principle that a public attitude towards

police service be conducted and that the chief bring back a proposal on how it is to be conducted.

February 18, 1991: chair introduced Ms. Gail Flitton, Continental PIR Communications. prepared a communication proposal... starting with an audit..."in order to find out where the force is and where it wants to go"

Mr. Hill turned chair over to Mrs. Hegan for this portion of meeting... moved by Mr. Hill and seconded by Mr. Ling that the Ottawa Police Services Board provide \$15,000 from its bank account to do Phase 1, Number 1 and Number two of Continental PIR Communications proposal (attached).

Vice chair turned over meeting to the chair..

June 10, 1991: communications audit report presented:

Continental Communications indicated that this was not a consumer's survey as she did not contact everyone who has dealt with the Ottawa Police.

report discussed, board to await recommendations and strategy at next board meeting.

September 3, 1991: report tabled, discussed, turned over to staff for response to board at next meeting.

October 21, 1991: D/C Ford advised he met with Gail Flitton and she made some recommendations.. including hiring staff public relations firm, or dedicated person to do the PR job.

Mrs. Hegan inquired if she could have support from the Board to have the advisory committees look at the report: board agreed that copies of report be forwarded to joint advisory committee meeting

November 28, 1991: advice from Ling concerning joint committee response to communications audit

March 9, 1992: Mrs. Hegan presents: lengthy discussion concerning joint advisory committee response: felt generally

that the PR approach in the report was not needed "because they thought the force was doing a very good job"... joint committee also "wanted to see more public involvement in the strategic planning exercise"... no need for a communication coordinator

6. **Proposal Outline for "Public Attitude and Needs Survey of the Citizens of Ottawa and Vanier Relative to the Ottawa Police", Ottawa Police, Planning and Research Section, February, 1991.**

documents need for public survey "the police exist so that they may provide service to the public. As a result it may be necessary from time to time to probe the public in order to ascertain their perceptions." (page 1)

p3: "Gloucester and Nepean have each conducted a survey regarding the public's attitudes and needs. Both employed Carleton University's Centre for Research in Community based Policing. Described the process by which each police agency participated with Carleton

page 4: On January 7, 1991 Planning and Research Section was contacted by David Horne of Carleton University who oversaw the Gloucester and Nepean surveys. Meeting was subsequently held and our intention to conduct such a survey was discussed and experiences shared. However, owing to the resources available within this organization it was clearly stated that this is unnecessary for this force to employ the services of an outside agency. (Mr. Horne expressed his intention to write a letter offering the services of the Carleton University group, regardless).

7. **Ottawa Police - Budget Work Sheet: 21, Oct 91; this is budget for upcoming year (1992)**

Item description: "Public Attitude and Needs Survey": It is proposed that, in order to provide objectivity in conducting a public attitude and needs survey we contract out to an external organization specializing in such work. One such estimate is attached. There are two options: (1) to have the entire study conducted by contracted firm. The total cost would be approximately \$20,000. If we print the survey, assemble it and mail it, the outside company prepares the analyses and reports the results, cost \$12,000, mailing cost \$1,000.

Budgeted item: \$13,000.

Budget work sheet for Ottawa Police Public Attitudes and Needs Study: dated 29-Nov-1991; budgeted item of \$13,000 deleted apparently cut by the board during budget discussions (interview with Richard Brzozowski April 24, 1992), actually item cut by senior police officials at direction of board for "no-increase budget": see conversation with Paul Pagé notes, item 9 in this summary.

8. Strategic Plan of the Ottawa Police, Report to the Police Services Board, March, 1992 (R. Brzozowski, author): generally describes the things done to date concerning strategic planning; deals with envirosan on page 5, puts mail out survey of interest groups in perspective and justified as:

"The most common model involves demonstrating openness by explaining what is being done and inviting the public to present their ideas. This is not a greatly time consuming approach and certainly demonstrates a willingness to listen to the service users on the part of the organization."

documents involvement of outside organizations: "Thus far more than eighty organizations, interest groups and individuals have been approached...the response has been overwhelmingly positive - not only in terms of valuable information we are receiving that will serve as a sound base for future decision making - but also towards the efforts of the force to reach out and tell people that we want to know what they think - and then to listen. Groups of people who were not included in the original scan are now expressing their desire to come in and talk with us - people whom it is important to listen to."

9. Notes taken from telephone conversation with Paul Pagé, June 4, 1992:

two advisory committees of Ottawa Police Services Board: women in police services advisory committee (chaired by Mary Hegan, Member of the board); visible minority advisory committee, chaired by Frank Ling, now chair of police services board)

budget item for public needs survey cut by chief and senior officers following direction from the Board of Police Services to present a "no growth" budget for the next year,

individual items not reviewed: "the idea is still a good idea".

10. A Report to the Ottawa Police on the Results of a Communications Audit, conducted by Continental PIR Communications, June 10, 1991.

documents different strategies for assessing communications methods: internal and external:

used two focus groups to assess communications to the "general public, or those individuals who are rarely in need of contact with the police" (page 1) page 7 to 10 key findings of 17 participants in focus groups.

Appendix E: Selected Demographic Characteristics of Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester

Gloucester, Nepean and Ottawa are the three largest municipalities in the Ottawa-Carleton region, the other 8 being separate independent cities, townships or villages. In order to situate the research sites within the region, Table 12⁶⁰, shows the 1990 distribution of population throughout Ottawa-Carleton.

Table 12: Distribution of Population in Ottawa-Carleton: 1990

Municipality	Population	Percentage of Total
Ottawa	303,747	48.8
Vanier	18,190	2.9
Kanata	30,295	4.9
Nepean	97,883	15.6
Gloucester	93,121	14.9
Rockcliffe Park	2,295	0.4
Cumberland	30,164	4.8
Goulbourn	13,099	2.1
Osgoode	11,670	1.8
Rideau	10,370	1.6
West Carleton	12,301	2.0
Total	623,135	100.0

From Table 12, it can be seen that Ottawa accounts for almost half of the population in

⁶⁰. Information for Table 1 was drawn from the press release announcing the appointment by the Government of Ontario of the regional commissioner assigned to review the multi-tier structure of local government in Ottawa-Carleton (see Ontario, Ottawa-Carleton Consultation Commission, 1992a).

the region, while Nepean and Gloucester each have approximately 15% of the population. The other remaining 20% of the population is distributed across the other 8 municipalities.

In order to describe the population served by each of the police agencies, Tables 13, 14, and 15 respectively, show the gender, age and mother tongue for the three research sites for the year 1986⁶¹.

Table 13: Gender Breakdown, Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester (1986 Census)

	Ottawa		Nepean		Gloucester	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Male	141,640	47.09	47,385	49.62	44,945	50.04
Female	159,125	52.91	48,105	50.38	44,865	49.96
Total	300,765	100.00	95,490	100.00	89,810	100.00

From Table 13, the following can be seen:

- Ottawa has the highest proportion of females (52.91%), followed by Nepean (50.38% and Gloucester (49.96%).
- only in Gloucester did the proportion of males exceed that of females, although the difference is very small.

⁶¹. Information for Tables 2, 3 and 4 was drawn from Canadian Markets 1991 (Financial Post, 1990).

Table 14: Age Breakdown, Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester (1986 Census)

	Ottawa		Nepean		Gloucester	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
19 and under	62,355	22.73	27,645	28.95	29,515	32.86
20 to 29	65,675	21.84	18,610	19.49	16,305	18.15
30 to 39	50,585	16.82	16,525	17.30	17,580	19.57
40 to 49	32,465	10.79	13,445	14.08	13,405	14.92
50 to 59	31,015	10.31	9,985	10.46	7,200	8.02
60 and above	58,660	19.50	9,290	9.73	5,815	6.47
Total	300,765	100.00	95,490	100.00	89,810	100.00

From Table 14, the following can be seen:

- in age categories between 20 and 59 years of age, the proportion of population is fairly comparable between Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester. In these age categories, the largest difference is approximately 3.3% (40 to 49 year-olds: 10.79% in Ottawa, 14.08% in Nepean).
- in the 19 and under age category, the difference in percentage between Nepean and Ottawa is 6.22% (28.95 - 22.73). In this same category, the difference between Gloucester and Ottawa is 10.13% (32.85 - 22.73). For the 19 and under category, Gloucester and Nepean are fairly comparable: 32.86% and 22.73%, respectively
- for the 60 and above age category, the difference in percentage between Ottawa and Nepean is 9.77% (19.5 - 9.73). In this same category, the difference between Ottawa and Gloucester is 13.03% (19.5 - 6.47). For the 60 and over category, Gloucester and Nepean are fairly comparable: 6.47% and 9.73%, respectively.

Table 15: Breakdown of Mother Tongue, Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester (1986 Census)

	Ottawa		Nepean		Gloucester	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
English	200,440	66.6	75,850	79.4	54,255	60.7
French	50,110	16.7	5,355	5.6	24,240	27.0
Chinese	4,085	1.4	1,395	1.5	870	1.0
German	nr ⁴²	-	1,130	1.2	885	1.0
Italian	6,305	2.1	2,230	2.3	720	0.8
Other	36,615	12.2	9,350	10.0	8,570	9.5
Total	300,765	100.0	95,490	100.0	101,810	100.0

From Table 15, the following can be seen:

- Nepean has the highest proportion of residents who report English as their mother tongue (79.4%), while Gloucester has the lowest 60.7%. The greatest difference in percentage of residents who report English as their mother tongue is between Nepean and Gloucester: 18.7% (79.4 - 60.7). The percentage difference of residents who report English as their mother tongue between Nepean and Ottawa is 12.8% (79.4 - 66.6). The percentage difference of residents who report English as their mother tongue between Ottawa and Gloucester is 5.9% (66.6 - 60.7).
- Gloucester has the highest proportion of residents who report French as their mother tongue (27.0%), while Nepean has the lowest (5.6%). The greatest difference in percentage of residents who report French as their mother tongue is between Gloucester and Nepean: 21.4% (27.0 - 5.6). The percentage difference of residents who report French as their mother tongue between Ottawa and Nepean is 11.1% (16.7 - 5.6). The percentage difference of residents who report French as their mother tongue between Gloucester and Ottawa is 10.3% (27.0 - 16.7).
- for all other mother tongue categories all three cities appear to have fairly similar proportions of respondents.

⁴². Not reported

END

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