1

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

AVIS

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

WORK CULTURES: A CASE STUDY OF THE OTTAWA POLICE FORCE

by

Lori Schnittker

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

December 13, 1990

copyright

1990, Lori Schnittker

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-68843-2

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research acceptance of the thesis

WORK CULTURES: A CASE STUDY OF THE OTTAWA POLICE FORCE

submitted by Lori Schnittker, B.A.
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

December 13, 1990

ABSTRACT

This thesis will examine the factors which contribute to the formation of an occupational work culture in the Ottawa City Police Department, and investigate how changes in the wider community affect the experiences of the participants of this culture. The purpose of this investigation is to develop a theory which can account for the behaviour of the subjects under study rather than forcing the data into preconceived theoretical concepts of some existing theory. The most appropriate methods to use for this investigation are of a qualitative nature. Thirty police officers from a variety of backgrounds and a cross-section of the department were interviewed.

The data generated tend to be fairly consistent with the findings of many, mostly American, research studies on police subcultures. However, this study has identified that the work culture will be significantly altered by the structural and organizational changes taking place in the police organization as a result of the feminization of the labour force and the change in policing philosophy. The work culture, therefore, mediates between the design and nature of police work and the experience of the participants in that occupation.

In the future, many police organizations will be adopting community policing strategies and hiring more women and visible minorities in their efforts to better reflect the changing communities they serve.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper could not have been written without the constant support and encouragement of faculty members and friends. I wish to offer my thanks to my advisor, John Harp, who offered his input and advice every step of the way. To my second advisor, Flo Andrews, I would like to offer my appreciation for her help in refining my qualitative methodological skills, and for her opinions about this paper. Thank you both for your enduring patience and support.

I would also like to thank Sgt. Terry Friday of the Ottawa Police Force for his help in arranging the interview schedule, the thirty police officers for their openness and candour, and the administration for approving my request. Acknowledgement must also be made to Max Keeping of CJOH T.V. for his permission to quote from his interview with Chief Flanagan.

Finally, I must thank my friends and family for their support and advice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter I	Introduction 1
Chapter II	Historical Development of Policing 8
	Introduction of Policing Principles 8
	Municipal Policing 11
	Policing: The Ottawa Experience 20
	Summary 29
Chapter III	Qualitative Methodology 32
	The Research Setting 38
	Getting In 43
	The Fieldwork 46
Chapter IV	The Role of the Police 53
	Summary 73
Chapter V	The Occupational Subculture 77
	Summary 112
Chapter VI	Women in the Labour Force 119
	History of Women in the Police Force 125
	Barriers to Women 128
	Summary 141
Chapter VII	Community-Based Policing 149
	Summary 177
Chapter VII	Conclusions and Discussion 184
Appendices	A. The Interview Schedule
	B. The 1988 Organizational Chart
	C. The 1989 Organizational Chart
	D. Police Personnel by Gender, 1989

Chapter One:

Introduction

The police have been one of the most studied groups in our society. As agents of social control, they occupy a unique position in our community: they have the powers to revoke our civil liberties at their discretion. There is a relatively large body of literature which has identified a distinct "ethos" in this occupation, which has been awarded a variety of labels such as subculture, working personality and esprit de corps. While a great number of these studies have been undertaken in the United States, relatively few have been conducted in Canada.

This thesis will examine the factors which contribute to the formation of an occupational work culture in the Ottawa City Police Department, and investigate how changes in the community and the police role affect the experiences of the participants in this culture. The purpose of this research is to develop a theory which can account for the behaviour of the subjects under study, rather than forcing the data into preconceived theoretical concepts of some existing theory. The most appropriate methods to use for this investigation are of a qualitative nature: participant observation and interview techniques. However, due to departmental regulations, I was not permitted to observe the officers in their everyday environment. I was granted

permission to interview the officers concerning their perceptions and experiences of the police role. As the majority of the respondents were male, I have chosen to use the masculine pronoun throughout this discussion in reference to an individual police officer, except where it is obvious that the gender of the respondent needs to be identified such as in Chapter Six. This method proved to generate rich data and allowed me to develop a theory which could account for the observed behaviours and experiences of the members of this occupation, free from the constraints imposed by existing theoretical interpretations.

In order to understand modern policing, it is necessary to situate this discussion in its proper historical context and examine the social forces which created the police system we experience today. Police agencies were originally created in 1829, following Sir Robert Peel's nine basic police principles, to supplement the efforts of the public to police its own communities. A detailed discussion of these principles will be presented in Chapter Two. Similar issues were responsible for the creation of the British and the Canadian systems of policing. The elite classes demanded that the government do something to control the dangerous classes who were thought to be responsible for rising crime levels, public riots and public intoxication. A police system, accountable to governmental authorities, was established to restore social order.

The policing system was reformed in the mid-1900's in response to increasing crime levels. Technological innovations, such as automobiles and two-way radios, changed the internal organization of the police department and transformed the role of the police officer. The police reformers narrowed the focus of the original police mandate to law enforcement and crime fighting; community service functions were the domain of social work agencies and did not concern the police. However, the police find themselves in the role of first-line social workers called upon to deal with a number of civil matters, which have absolutely nothing to do with criminal matters. In some of these situations, the police feel powerless because there are no simple legal solutions. They also feel that it is not their role to provide social service functions, since this detracts from time spent on crime fighting and law enforcement activities. Nonetheless, this "social worker" role is the function that the police fulfill most frequently in their daily operations.

These technological advancements have the unfortunate side effect of isolating the police officer from members of the public. He becomes an "accountant" for the administration as he sits in his conspicuously marked car, aloof and judgmental, watching for public transgressions. The nature of his work restricts his contact with the community to those individuals who have somehow violated the

laws and are consequently bitter about being apprehended. Based on these experiences, he perceives the entire community to be hostile and apathetic. In an effort to maintain some sense of self-worth the members of the occupation turn inward to their collective power. Their frustration with bureaucratic controls, the pressures of the job and the conflict over their actual function in the community, manifests itself in an occupational culture. Specifically, members of the police occupation develop a special discourse among themselves which excludes all non-police personnel. These values and norms are reinforced through the informal socialization processes and are passed down from generation to generation of police officers.

Other social changes which have shaped today's police system are quite numerous and include the following issues: the expanding participation of women in the labour force; the escalating immigration of visible minority populations and diverse ethnic cultural groups; the increasing educational levels of the community in general, and of the pool of potential police officers in specific; the continuing technological advancements, such as on-board computers, and; the growing emphasis on community participation in policing their own communities. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to investigate, in detail, the effect of all these issues on the police system. Therefore, I have selected to focus upon the employment of

increasing numbers of women in previously male-dominated professions and the growing appreciation of community-based policing issues. I feel that these matters have far reaching consequences for the future development of the police organization and the formation of an occupational work culture.

The issue of women in non-traditional occupations assumed an importance and significance far beyond that which their small numbers in this sample would have anticipated. The gender variable is a somewhat neglected factor in the study of work and occupations. The social arrangements between the sexes in our culture are reflected in, and in turn reinforced by, the traditional arrangements between the sexes within work organizations. Conventionally, men are assigned to various occupations because of the physical capabilities, and women are placed in occupations which reflect their nurturing nature. The presence of women in non-traditional occupations challenges these traditional arrangements, questions the definitions of "manhood" and "womanhood" and shakes the very foundation of our social order. This has been identified as an area which requires further research.

The question of the community's role in the policing of their society has always been present. Many police-community relations programs have been developed over the past two or three decades. The community has to recognize

that the problems facing us today are social problems not police problems, and therefore the community has some responsibilities in solving them. While, contemporary police forces have recognized the need for cooperation in crime prevention efforts, the traditional, "hard-line" police officers do not support these attempts to induce closer police and community relations.

In summary, the members of the police occupation turn to their collective power in order to combat the feelings of isolation and alienation often caused by the discrepancy in the nature of the police role in society and the ambiguities of the relationships between the police and the public. This work culture will be subject to modification as the changes in the wider society compel the police force to modify both the police mandate and the selection criteria of personnel.

The purpose of this study, as aforementioned, will be to present an analysis of the occupational environment of the police respondents, identify the factors responsible for the emergence of an occupational culture, and provide a description of how the individual officers respond to it. The outline of this study will be as follows:

Chapter Two will delineate the historical development of the police system examining the social forces which gave rise to its perceived need.

Chapter Three will explain the rationale behind the methodology utilized to gather the research data and will describe the research setting.

In Chapter Four the role of the police shall be discussed as it pertains to ambiguities and contradictions faced by police officers in the performance of their daily duties.

Chapter Five will review the literature pertaining to the police occupational culture and examine the extent to which such a culture may exist in the Ottawa municipal police department.

Chapter Six will discuss the role of women in the labour force in general and the police force in specific, in order to demonstrate the possible future changes in the design of the police organization and nature of the police experience.

In Chapter Seven the role of the community in policing society will be examined and the concept of community based policing will be addressed as it applies to policing in the 1980's and 1990's.

Finally, Chapter Eight will review the findings of this research project, discuss the theories which emerged from the data and offer some speculations concerning the potential future developments.

Chapter Two:

Historical Development of Policing.

The police are one of the most visible agents of social control and as such are closely scrutinized by the public. In order to understand the present organization of the police department and the current functions and roles of police officers, it is vital to examine the roots of the police idea.

The Introduction of Policing Principles:

In 1822, Sir Robert Peel first suggested reforms to the police system in London, England. His initial efforts were largely unsuccessful due mainly to the fear of creating a police force with unlimited potential power. Peel persisted and eventually his reforms were approved and passed by Parliament in 1829. The London police force, created by the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829, consisted of 1000 full-time, unarmed, uniformed police officers. The mission of the police force was to prevent crime and maintain order (Griffiths et al, 1980; Cooper, 1981; Radelet, 1980). This modern police organization displayed four major characteristics: full time police responsibilities; continuity in office; continuity in procedure;

accountability to a central governmental authority (Lundman, 1980:17).

The police forces in the United States and in Canada were modelled on Peel's nine principles of law enforcement which are:

- 1) The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder as an alternative to the repression of crime by military force and severity of legal punishment.
- 2) The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police existence, actions, behaviour, and the ability of the police to secure and maintain public respect.
- 3) The police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain public respect.
- 4) The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity for the use of physical force and compulsion in achieving police objectives.
- 5) The police seek and preserve public favor, not by catering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to the laws, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws; by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the society without regard to their race or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.
- 6) The police should use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice, and warning is found to be insufficient to achieve police objectives; and police should use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.

- 7) The police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police are the only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of the community welfare.
- 8) The police should always direct their actions toward their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary by avenging individuals of the state, or authoritatively judging guilt or punishing the guilty.
- 9) The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them. (Radelet 1977:4)

There were five factors which tipped the balance in favour of establishing a full-time paid police force, despite the initial strong opposition to Peel's reforms. Crime rates were rising, the number of public riots was increasing as was the amount of public intoxication; segments of the community were being identified as dangerous classes by the elite who were concerned with protecting their own interests.

The concept of an organized system of policing still met with much public opposition because of the perceived threat to democracy and civil liberties. Many individuals preferred the informal system of community policing regardless of its inability to control crime and restore order. However, the public perceived crime to be on the rise and demanded a solution to this grave problem.

Citizens began to realize that crime was as great a threat to democracy as the creation of a professional police force (Lundman, 1980).

Municipal Policing:

The emergence of the municipal police system in Canada was attributed to many of the same factors which had precipitated the development of the policing system in England. At the time of Confederation the British colony of Canada had emerged as a predominantly rural agricultural nation, with 75% of its labour force involved in this pursuit. However, as the Canadian West and the coastal regions opened up to settlers vast resources of lumber, fish, fur and minerals were discovered, offering Canada a new basis for economic trade with Britain. These non-agricultural activities attracted a significantly large segment of the population to these newly settled territories; at this time the population of Canada was close to 3.5 million (Juliani et al., 1984). Canadian society was slowly transformed from a predominantly rural country to a highly industrialized nation. These newly established urban centres experienced several problems with crime and the criminal classes; however, local residents were opposed to establishing any form of law enforcement, and it would be

several years before the public would recognize the importance of maintaining social order.

Kelly and Kelly (1976) report that the first policemen in Canada appeared in Quebec City in 1651; their duties included watching for fires and ensuring the safety of the residents after dark. This system of policing was dramatically altered after the defeat of the French in 1759 by the British, who then imposed their own laws and legal systems in the new colony. The need for a permanent paid police force became obvious in the late 1700's when violence, caused by drunken brawls between sailors and racial riots between new immigrant ethnic groups and the original settlers, escalated beyond control (Juliani et al., 1984; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989).

The first constable in St. John's Newfoundland was appointed in 1729. Until the development of the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary in 1872, the government appointed unpaid volunteers to perform law enforcement duties as a response to the public outcry concerning, among many other things, drunken brawling. Several segments of the community, especially a small group of middle class businessmen who were prospering from the lucrative liquor trade, were opposed to the establishment of any policing structures because they feared that a system of taxation would be implemented to pay for these new provisions (Juliani et al., 1984).

In the early 1800's, the Canadian public began to seriously contemplate the need for a police force to restore social order to their communities. In 1858, the Municipals Institutions of Upper Canada Act authorized incorporated towns and cities to establish their own police forces and suggested that every city erect a Board of Commissioners of police to oversee these police functions. Urban centres across Canada were experiencing similar problems with drunken brawling, bootlegging, prostitution, gambling and roaming orphaned children. However, evidence suggests that the citizens of these communities were still reluctant to recognize that crime was a serious problem and community officials were unwilling to develop crime control structures such as a permanent and paid police force. Besides, local militias were available to dispel any disruption of social order within neighbouring communities (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989; Juliani et al., 1984).

Although Boards of Police were erected by most towns and cities when they received their charters upon incorporation, a truly "functional" police force was created only in the face of adversity. For example, the establishment of a police department force in Sudbury followed an increase in violent crimes associated with a local railway labourers' camp. In Brantford in 1847 the police force was created as a result of community intolerance of drunkenness and public nuisances. Finally,

an increasing amount of juvenile delinquency demanded the organization of a police department in the city of Hamilton (Julian et al, 1984; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989).

The population of Canada increased dramatically during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century; with this increase came a significant shift in the distribution of the population. By 1921, almost half of the population was located in urban settlements, as compared with the estimate of 37.5% in 1901. This flood of settlers transformed these centres from intimate communities which shared experiences and beliefs into impersonal conglomerations characterized by specialization, integration and diversity. The collective conscience was also destroyed by the increasing heterogeneity of society; the massive influx of immigrants brought new customs and traditions which threatened the "hegemony" of the Anglo-Saxon culture. To ensure the preservation of the British morality and the system of government, legislation was introduced to control the behaviours of these European and Asian immigrants in activities such as prostitution, drug trafficking and liquor consumption (Juliani et al., 1984).

New economic conditions, inter-ethnic disturbances and the widening gulf between the rich and the poor caused new patterns of crime to emerge; the previous problems caused by drinking, gambling and prostitution were being replaced by more serious crimes such as robbery and assault. Law

enforcement agencies were finding it more difficult to control crime because they were under-staffed and ill-equipped; furthermore, constables still encountered considerable amounts of both apathy from the community concerning breaches of law, and public sympathy for the accused individuals (Juliani et al., 1984; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989). Overall, evidence suggests that the towns and cities in the Canadian West were remarkably law-abiding in comparison with their southern American neighbours.

Aside from sex-and-whiskey-based enterprises, frontier Canada was almost unbelievably law-abiding. Nobody held up trains or stages, or robbed banks, or shot up towns or even saloons (Gray, 1971:2 cited in Giuliani et al., 1984:335).

The beginning of the nineteenth century was characterized by incredible industrial development, which not only changed the distribution of the population in the city but also intensified the already turbulent relationship between labour and management as workers fought for improved working and living conditions. Following the First World War, in 1919, labour strikes had become common-place and it was the responsibility of the municipal police forces to step in and break them up. However, municipal police officers were often quite sympathetic to these causes and refused to intervene, passing off this responsibility to the Federal Police (Juliani et al., 1984)

As the urban populations increased, the affluent middle classes moved out of the city to the surrounding suburbs and commuted by automobile into the city for work. With the advent of the automobile came new legislation controlling the physical state of the driver and the speeds at which the vehicles were driven. These new laws increased the net of police control and populations which had never before encountered the police were now under scrutiny and subject to the traffic laws; these groups had considered themselves law-abiding citizens and resented official police interference (Juliani et al., 1984).

Between 1921 and 1951, the Canadian public experienced more internal migration caused by the Great Depression and the Second World War; the urban population increased from 50% in 1921 to 63.5% in 1951. The final result was the development of Metropolitan regions created by a fusion of neighbouring suburban communities. For example, between 1941 and 1956 the population of the metropolitan of Toronto increased from 242,000 to 690,000 with no accompanying change in the population of the city proper. As these communities thrived, the traditional values and moral order were slowly eroded. Policing was now a full-time occupation and the community depended more and more upon the police officers to settle disputes and solve problems because they no longer had those informal family ties which had

previously enabled them to deal with deviant behaviour (Juliani et al., 1984).

Industrialization had also transformed the structure of the Canadian family. Cultural pressures for higher consumption, along with the development of household technology and a declining birth rate and the women's movement, pushed women into the labour force. As a result, more and more children were left to their own ingenuity and devices; gangs of juveniles roamed the streets, terrorizing neighbourhoods and engaging in criminal activities. Increased industrialism during the mid-1900's had also caused changes in the occupational structure of the labour force resulting in problem populations of displaced workers.

The 1960's created several problems for police departments because of the widespread peace movement demonstrations. The police forces were compelled to deal with these issues, as well as cope with an increase in more serious crimes such as robberies and assaults (Juliani et al., 1984).

Juliani et al. (1984:373) have identified three basic functions that the police have performed throughout the nineteenth century:

- (a) intervene in and prevent open conflict between groups, (b) establish a moral order, and (c) apprehend criminals to have them punished.

The nature of these three functions continued to guide police law enforcement efforts; however, the character of

the events which fell into these categories changed as time progressed. For example, open conflicts in the early 1900's were predominantly inter-ethnic ones, but as industrialization widened the gulf between the have and the have-nots, and the conflict shifted into the area of management-labour relations; and, eventually conflict erupted between the government and peace activists in the mid-1900's. Municipal police forces base their current philosophy of policing on these three basic functions, as identified by Juliani et al. (1984).

After the Second World War, Canada emerged as a multi-cultural nation and the police were forced to recognize that these new ethnic groups were a part of the community and deserved protection and service. It was recommended that the police force become more representative of the community they patrolled and proposals arguing for the recruitment of more minority members were presented. Furthermore, it was suggested that the police should not only represent the ethnic composition of the community but also reflect the culture of the community and its notion of order; this was the first push towards community policing (Juliani et al., 1984).

As presented by this discussion, it is obvious the emergence of a system of municipal policing in Canada was the result of a number of factors similar to those which precipitated the development in England of Sir Robert Peel's

"Bobbies". Industrial and urban development as well as increased immigration transformed the Canadian population from a homogeneous collectivity to a heterogeneous diversity. These transformations significantly altered community attitudes toward crime and the criminal classes. A change in the nature and volume of crime forced the public to recognize the need for an effective policing system. For example, public disorder and social unrest caused by the "criminal classes" provided the middle and upper classes with the motivation to develop some type of policing system to protect their property, values and way of life. As traditional forms of informal social control broke down, the people turned to an impartial third party -- a professional, full-time police force -- to solve their problems.

Today, policing in Canada is carried out at three levels: federal, provincial and municipal. Municipal police officers, however, comprise the majority of police officers in Canada and handle the bulk of the policing responsibilities. In 1986, according to Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:48) there were 54,604 full-time police officers in Canada and 59.6% of these performed municipal police duties. There are approximately 450 municipal police forces in Canada ranging in size from one man stations to 5000 member organizations; they are responsible for enforcing the provincial statutes and municipal by-laws

within designated urban areas (Kelly and Kelly, 1976; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989). The British North America Act gave the provinces the responsibility of establishing police forces, and the provinces, in turn, passed some of this on to the municipalities. Several municipalities have chosen to negotiate contracts with either the provincial or federal police forces (depending on the province) to assume the majority of municipal policing duties and responsibilities, because of the costs associated with implementing and maintaining a functional police force (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989).

Policing: The Ottawa Experience

The pattern of development of the municipal police force in the Ottawa region is typical of other Canadian cities and towns in that era, yet it is unique in several aspects because the city was declared the national capital. In 1826 the British government authorized the construction of the Rideau Canal at the junction of the Ottawa and Rideau Rivers; military strategists believed that this waterway from Lake Ontario to the interior of Upper Canada would prove invaluable in the event of military conflict with the United States (Canadian Police Chief, 1981; The History Collaborative, 1984). The subsequent arrival of numerous canal masons, miners and labourers, under the direction of

Colonel John By, had a significant economic impact on the existing lumber settlement. By 1827 the increase in both population and commercial activity had been so great that the settlement was incorporated as the Village of Bytown. Like other small communities which had undergone rapid urban development, due to either the discovery of rich natural resources or the expansion of the railway, Bytown experienced a dramatic escalation in crime rates. The village quickly gained a reputation of lawlessness, especially in Lower Town, and in response to this rise in crime the Grand Jury appointed a Constable to restore order. Until this time, military troops had been responsible for maintaining the peace. Law enforcement had officially become a civilian administrative matter and no longer the concern of the militia (Police Chief, 1981; The History Collaborative, 1984).

By 1832 the population of Bytown had reached 1000 and the completion of the Rideau Canal caused economic turmoil in the region. Faced with reduced employment opportunities, the Irish canal labourers branched out into the timber trade, an industry traditionally monopolized by the French Canadians. The hostilities between these two ethnic groups erupted in a series of violent ethnic and religious conflicts known as the Shriner Wars. These conflicts were unique to Ottawa and very influential in the decision to develop a more effective policing system. To further

exacerbate these disputes, an intense rivalry developed between the wealthy British protestants of Upper Town and the lower class French and Irish Catholic workers in Lower Town. Drunken and rowdy patrons of the Lower Town taverns and bawdy houses also presented several obstacles to the existing law enforcement system. As the violence and disorder continued, townspeople requested that local officials form a more effective police force to control these "drunk and rowdy dangerous classes". The Bytown Association for the Preservation of Public Peace was formed in 1835 from local militia members; however, this organization proved to be ineffective and throughout the late 1830's and early 1840's citizens continued to complain of violent robberies, assaults, fist fights and drunken brawls (The History Collaborative, 1984, Police Chief, 1981).

Volunteer Constables faced numerous barriers in carrying out the duties of their office. The residents of Bytown, like people in several other municipalities, seemed unwilling to forfeit their civil liberties and freedoms to enable a professional police force to ensure the preservation of peace. Furthermore, the citizenry was reluctant to obey the commands and directions of the Constables because these volunteers lacked external symbols of authority such as uniforms or weapons (The History Collaborative, 1984).

When Bytown was incorporated in 1847, the town council passed a by-law which provided for an office of Chief Constable and outlined the role and the duties of this position. Several prominent citizens suggested to Council that the provincial government subsidize a permanent salaried police force. This proposal was never approved and the law enforcement responsibilities continued to be performed by the Chief Constable and several volunteers who were paid on a fee-for-service basis. As crime rates continued to rise, some residents called for a regular paid police forces yet the majority of the citizens were still opposed to the principle of a powerful centralized police authority. Furthermore, Council was reluctant to finance a Constabulary (The History Collaborative, 1984).

The ongoing rivalry between Upper and Lower Town was further fuelled by a dispute over ward boundaries and the allocations of existing Constables to each ward. For example, it became obvious in 1855 that Lower Town was not receiving adequate policing services when only six of the fifteen constables were assigned to patrol that area. This sectional rivalry was finally alleviated when, in 1857, Queen Victoria declared Ottawa the new capital of Canada. The influx of civil servants employed in Parliament changed the composition of Lower Town and gave it greater respectability. By this time the city of Ottawa, officially recognized in 1855, had a population over 10,000 (The

History Collaborative, 1984). The Queen's decision to bestow upon Ottawa the seat of the federal government carried with it several unique responsibilities and obligations. As residents of the nation's capital, the people of Ottawa would be required to set an example for the rest of the country to follow. This included maintaining a high level of respectability, law and order. These added pressures increased the demands for the development of an effective and successful, full-time professional police force.

The depression of the late 1850's and early 1860's had depleted the town coffers and Council could not afford to create a paid police force despite mounting pressures for improved police services. It was also difficult to gain the support of the public for a permanent police force because of the poor performance of the existing Constabulary. As the city expanded and the number of by-laws multiplied, it became evident that there was a growing need for a professional police force. In 1859 it was suggested that Town Council resign its responsibilities for administering police services in favour of creating an independent Commission to oversee police activities in the city. However, this proposal did not become reality until 1863 when the first Board of Police Commissioners was established (The History Collaborative, 1984).

According to historians the 1860's were the most significant decade in the history of the Ottawa Police. The controversy over a paid professional police force was finally resolved in May 1863 when a shareholders meeting broke out into a riot following a debate over the financial situation of a local railroad company, forcing the town mayor to call in the militia to restore order. As in other towns of this era, it took an extreme and adverse incident to convince the city leaders of Ottawa that a better system of policing was essential to the survival of the community. Advocates of the policing system used this incident to increase the pressure on Town Council to rectify the situation. A Commission Report to Town Council in September 1865 suggested that the social disorder plaguing the city could be sufficiently controlled by creating a permanent police force. The opposition to this proposal was so extensive that it took a special council meeting to enact this new by-law, and in June 1866 an eleven-man police force received its first official uniforms. Constables finally had visible authority and commanded public respect, especially after 1867 when the police were armed with revolvers (The History Collaborative, 1984).

The 1880's were a period of substantial transformation for the city of Ottawa, and the demands upon the police were rising in proportion to the changes in both population and technology. In 1881 the population had risen to 25,000 and

the police force had recruited 35 men. The Electric company provided street lighting to outlying areas and introduced the electric street car. The Ottawa Police Force outgrew its headquarters and moved to its new home on Elgin Street (between Albert and Queen) in 1888. Chief McVeity reported in the Annual Report of 1893 that crime prevention was a very important element of the peace-keeping responsibilities of the police force. The expanding city needed to be patrolled and these new police beats were a considerable distance from the police station; police officers had no means of communication with each other or with headquarters. The Chief advised City Council of this situation and recommended that a patrol wagon and a signal system would increase the efficiency of the police force in transporting prisoners and reaching outlying areas in times of emergency. The patrol wagon was not supplied until 1900 when the force was under the direction of Chief Powell; however, City Council did supply the funds in 1897 to purchase four bicycles, which did increase the mobility of the beat officers (Police Chief, 1981; The History Collaborative, 1984).

During his term from 1896-1904, Chief Powell organized a recording system which logged all occurrences reported to the police and established a register of convicted persons; this system was to be the forerunner of today's computerized record system. Under Powell's direction the size of the

force grew to 60 men (Police Chief, 1981; The History Collaborative, 1984).

There were several significant changes to the police force in the early 1900's. The size of the police force increased to 73 in 1909 and again in 1911 to 124 men. The organization of the force itself was changed due to the development of the fingerprint system in 1910, the establishment of the Morality Division in 1911 and the introduction of the motorized division in 1912 with two vehicles. The first policewoman was hired in 1913. Also in 1913, the population of the city had grown to 86,000 and the residents were becoming more disorderly. In response to this situation a second police station was built in the west end of the city. By 1921, the population of Ottawa had risen to 107,843, and in 1927 Station #2 moved from Somerset to Fairmount (Police Chief, 1981; The History Collaborative, 1984).

The police administration had become increasingly aware of public opinion and the public image of the department in the 1930's, and warned the rank-and-file that shortcomings in demeanour would be quickly noted by the public eye. One-way radio communication was introduced in 1931. By 1941 the city of Ottawa had grown to 154,591, yet due to the manpower shortages caused by the Second World War the force had remained at its pre-war size. In 1945, two-way radio communication was launched. Also in the late 1940's the

police force was trying to cope with an increase in the crime rates and a rise in traffic violations and accidents. Chief MacDonell commented, during his term from 1947-1958, that the police were increasingly occupied with regulating and controlling vehicular traffic. In 1950, part of the neighbouring communities of Nepean and Gloucester were annexed and the Ottawa's population grew to 193,000; the police force in turn increased to 266 and by the end of MacDonell's term it had reached 302 men. Chief MacDonell made several significant contributions to the force: the three-way shortwave radio, night patrols, Underwater Search and Recovery Squad, and a five-day work week. Toward the end of his term, in 1956, the police force moved to its new headquarters on Waller Street. In 1957, the use of bicycles was discontinued. In 1958 Station #2 moved to Churchill Avenue (Police Chief, - 1981; The History Collaborative, 1984).

The 1960's saw the beginning of numerous innovations to the modern police force, under the directions of several different police Chiefs. Most of these new programs seemed to reflect a growing interest in both Police-Community Relations and progressive computer technology:

- 1960 Breathalyzer Test
- 1964 Youth Liaison Section
- 1969 Marine Patrol Service
- 1970 Crime Prevention and Community Relations Section
- 1971 MIRACODE--Microfilm Information Retrieval and Access Code System
- 1973 Children's Safety Village

1973 Lock it and Pocket the Key
1974 Operation Identification
1975 TOP COPS--Ottawa Police
Computerized On-Line Processing
Systems
1979 CADRE--Computer Aided Dispatch and
Records Entry
1980 MDT--Mobile Digital Terminals

In the early 1980's the Ottawa force was the first Canadian force to install computer terminals in the patrol cars. In 1983 the new police building on the corner of Elgin and Catherine streets was officially opened. The entire city of Ottawa would be policed from this new Headquarters and the #2 Station on Churchill was closed. In 1985 the Vanier Police Force was disbanded; the Ottawa Police Force assumed policing responsibilities for this city of about 20,000 and absorbed 37 officers from Vanier. By 1989, the Ottawa Police Force had grown to 601 officers and 223 civilian members, under the leadership of Chief Rice, and served a population of about 324,000 (Annual Report, 1989).

Summary:

An historical analysis of the origins of the modern policing systems can be traced back to Sir Robert Peel's principles of law enforcement developed in 1829. The literature indicates that the citizens initially opposed the

idea of a civilian police force because they thought that it would threaten individual freedoms and liberties. However, rising crime rates, public riots, public intoxication and the emergence of a dangerous class posed a greater threat to the liberties and freedoms of the elite groups than did the proposal of a civilian police force. Peel intended that the primary purpose of the police force would be to prevent crime and disorder. In order to be effective, Peel asserted that the police must always have public approval and public cooperation because ultimately, the public was responsible for policing the community.

In Canada, similar issues created problems for the business class and the government. At the municipal level, police forces were created to control the problems associated with industrialization and increasing urbanization such as drunkenness, juvenile delinquency and rising crime rates. The development of the Ottawa police force is fairly typical of other Canadian municipalities in that era. Many settlements experienced rapid urbanization and concomitant increases in crime rates and lawlessness. The police force in Ottawa was established to restore order and maintain the peace. However, several circumstances created a unique situation for the enforcement of law and order in the city of Ottawa. First of all, the community suffered under the intense violence of the Shriner Wars between the French and the Irish, and the classes between

the upper class British Protestants and the lower class French and Irish Catholics. These events alone demanded resolution through the external mediation of an impartial, fully empowered police agency. Some of these problems were alleviated once the city was declared the nation's capital and government employees began to alter the distribution of the population of Lower Town. Yet Ottawa's new status created added pressures for the Town Council to develop a permanent police force to control the rampant civil unrest and public disorder. Afterall, as the nation's capital Ottawa had a reputation to uphold and an example to set for the rest of Canada. A riotous incident in 1863 triggered public outrage and plans for a permanent police force were finally approved.

The original police mandate as created by Peel was to maintain order and keep peace in the community. In his ideal, the public and the police were to work together towards this common goal. However, with the advent of technology, police agencies demonstrated their unique capabilities of dealing with crime, and eventually the community transferred its powers onto the police giving them sole responsibility for the provision of service, enforcement of laws and maintenance of orders.

Chapter Three:

Methodology

I have chosen to examine the municipal police force in the city of Ottawa in an effort to satisfy my own personal preoccupations and curiosities with the police. Specifically, I am interested in discovering the factors which contribute to the development of an occupational culture within the police department and how this culture changes as this organization transforms to reflect a changing society. To achieve this end, I will utilize the methodology of qualitative research in order to generate data and consequently offer an explanation which will account for the observed behaviours of the members of this occupation. I have used the existing literature on police and on police culture as a partial framework to direct my research and construct the interview schedule (Appendix A).

Qualitative Methodology:

According to Paul Willis (1980) qualitative methodology is a viable alternative to traditional sociological theory and the positivistic methods which are modelled on the concrete research style of the natural sciences. He believes that the final product of any research effort should reflect the phenomenon found in the real world rather

than reproducing the patterns of the theory used in the analysis. It is essential to maintain the "richness and authenticity" of these social phenomena, especially in the early stages of research; therefore, the data should be received in "a raw, experimental and relatively untheorized manner" (Willis, 1980:89). Willis echoes the sentiments of Glaser and Strauss (1967) who believe that theory must be grounded in data which have been systematically obtained from the research setting. The purpose of this style of research is to develop a theory which can account for the behaviour of the subjects under study rather than forcing it to fit into preconceived theoretical concepts of some existing theory. Once concepts and hypotheses have emerged from the data, the researcher can then decide if there are any existing theories which may help in generating further categories:

Our approach, allowing substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge first, on their own, enables the analyst to ascertain which, if any, existing formal theory may help him generate his substantive theories. He can then be more faithful to his data, rather than forcing it to fit a theory. He can be more objective and less theoretically biased. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:34)

This "qualitative" methodology places significant stress upon examining the subject(s) as closely and directly as possible. Rather than confining the investigation to the laboratory, the researcher works in the environment of her

subjects and participates in their activities, collecting as much relevant data as possible; however, she tries to avoid significantly disturbing the field since this might alter the behaviour of the subjects under study. Therefore, it is necessary to enter the research field as free as possible from prior theoretical convictions which could contaminate the researcher's interpretations of the data. Since this methodological approach is so open and direct, the final account promises to recreate as closely as possible the "richness and authenticity" of the original social phenomena while attempting to "illuminate" its inner connections (Willis, 1980).

According to Willis (1980:90) the object of any study can only be "perceived and understood through an internal organization of data, mediated by conceptual constructs and ways of seeing the world". Glaser and Strauss (1967:45) employ a similar procedure which they call "theoretical sampling":

...the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory...The initial decisions for theoretical collection of data are based only on a general sociological perspective and on a general subject or problem area. (their emphasis)

A grounded theory can also combine some existing concepts and hypotheses which are useful in generating theory with those emerging from the research setting. In this style of research where the data direct the theory, the analyst cannot plan in advance which groups he will target for further research. The researcher is an "active sampler" of the data; he continually analyzes his data to redesign and reintegrate new material as it emerges until the point of saturation has been reached. From the emerging theory the analyst can identify which groups will further develop his conceptual categories. Theoretical sampling usually requires that a variety of "slices of data", such as reading documents, interviewing and observing, be used to collect as much information as possible from the research setting. This process is highly beneficial as it yields more information than utilizing any one method.

Becker et al. (1961) have employed this method of generating theory in conducting their research on students in medical school. They decided to go out into the research field and discover variables rather than using a preconceived theoretical notion in advance to locate, isolate and measure variables. Their intent was to uncover phenomena that they were unaware of when initially undertaking their project. Given these criteria, the method which they chose had to reflect the discovery nature of

their research. They committed themselves to using unstructured techniques:

techniques in which the data-gathering operations are not designed...to see which of two or more alternative answers to a question someone will pick, but rather which questions he himself will ask (Becker et al., 1961:18)

As they proceeded with their research, various themes emerged upon which they built "sets of systematic relationships", and as new information was obtained these models were revised and incorporated into the developing theory. Their data collection and analysis were occurring simultaneously. The purpose of their research methodology was to discover relevant problems to study and to build hypotheses which would provide solutions to these questions.

As demonstrated by the research of Becker et al., it is necessary to outline and acknowledge the theoretical organization of the initial research position, which Willis (1980:90) calls a theoretical "confession":

This inevitable organization concerns attitudes towards the social world in which the research takes place, a particular view of the social relationships within it and of its fundamental determinations and a notion of the analytic procedures which will be used to produce the final account. It would also explain why certain topics have been chosen for research in the first place. (1980:90)

However, it is vital that the researchers accept all discoveries and surprises found in the research data, and incorporate them into their basic orientation. One of the principles of qualitative methodology, then, is to discover new knowledge not "prefigured" in the starting paradigm--knowledge which has the capacity to contradict specific developing theories. "And here is the only possible source for the 'authenticity', the 'qualitative feel', which is one of the method's major justifications." (Willis, 1980:90-91).

I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the research guidelines and principles established by these qualitative methodologists. However, various restrictions imposed by the police department, to be discussed in further detail in the section entitled "Getting In", prevented me from actively participating in the work environment of the subjects. Given these constraints, I collected as much data as possible from interviewing the police respondents.

As the data were collected and analyzed, two unexpected themes began to emerge: the feminization of the police profession and the changing police philosophies, and the impact of each of these developments on the occupational culture. Ideally, this data should then be used to redesign the research tool -- the interview schedule -- and identify the groups in the research setting which would further develop these conceptual categories. However, given time

and budget constraints, I was compelled to explore these new developments using the available data.

The Research Setting:

The Ottawa Police Force is responsible for enforcing all municipal by-laws, provincial statutes and selected federal statutes within the boundaries of the cities of Ottawa and Vanier. The Ottawa Police Department serves a population of approximately 324,000 citizens (including the residents of Vanier). The 1986 Census data indicate that approximately 33,000 residents of these areas speak languages other than the two official languages. The most identifiable groups are the Italians, Chinese, Germans, Polish and Portuguese. The two largest ethnic communities, Italian and Chinese, are predominantly concentrated in the centre of Ottawa.

There are 601 uniformed officers in the Ottawa Police Force (as of 1989) and of these, 26 are females and 10 are visible minorities. The police population ratio is 1:540 (Annual Report 1989). The breakdown of the force by rank is

as follows:

404	Constables
138	Sergeants
27	Staff Sergeants
1	Force Staff Sergeant
15	Inspectors
8	Staff Inspectors
4	Superintendents
2	Deputy Chiefs
1	Chief

This distribution indicates that the largest percentage of the manpower is allocated to the Platoons which fall under the control of Field Operations on the organizational chart (see Appendix B). The Annual Report of 1989 indicates that the number of calls for assistance increased from 191,374 in 1988 to 199,788 in 1989.

The responsibility of policing the city of Ottawa is perhaps a unique one as this picturesque city is the capital of Canada. This city also has one of the ten largest forces in Canada along with Vancouver, Metro Toronto and Montreal. However, the Ottawa Police do have several things in common with other, more typical police forces across Canada such as: problems with pockets of unrest within sectors of the city populated by prostitutes, pimps and drug dealers; difficulties associated with public housing projects; complications provoked by conspicuous divisions between upper and lower class neighbourhoods or between ethnic groups within the city; and infractions to municipal by-laws such as parking, or provincial statutes such as the Highway Traffic Act or the Liquor Control Act. The Ottawa Police essentially perform the same duties as any other police department in Canada; for example, the statistics for 1988 indicate that the majority of the offenses within the city limits were infractions to the Highway Traffic Act (Annual Report 1988).

According to the Chief of Police the city of Ottawa is one of the safest cities in North America. The Canadian crime statistics for 1988 indicate that there were 3,363 violent crimes committed in Ottawa, a rate of 1,101 per 100,000 population. In areas of a similar population size such as Waterloo Region, there were 2,812 violent crimes reported within their jurisdiction, a rate of 800 per 100,000 population. However, the statisticians have warned that it is difficult to compare urban crime rates because all municipal police forces have their own methods of recording incidents. Perhaps, more importantly, each police force is responsible for a unique environment which is not directly comparable to any other jurisdiction. For example, the Ottawa City Police are responsible for protecting a concentrated population of civil servants within the city boundaries; whereas, Waterloo Regional Police are responsible for policing the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo as well as the surrounding rural communities. Furthermore, the fact that the Ottawa Police Force police the National Capital Region sets them apart from the rest of the police forces in Canada. The police administration must be very concerned with protocol and procedure because the city of Ottawa is the seat of the federal government, the home of both the Prime Minister of Canada and the Queen's representative the Governor General of Canada, and the locale of several foreign embassies. The Capital is also

visited by foreign dignitaries such as members of the Royal Family, and the leaders of major international powers such as the United States and the Soviet Union. These official responsibilities present serious security problems, unique risks and dangers for the police department.

The Ottawa Police also must share enforcement duties of the Capital City with two other police forces: the Ontario Provincial Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The OPP are typically called in to assist the City Police with special projects or to perform special investigations, especially where the conduct of a member of the municipal police force has been questioned. The OPP also patrol surrounding provincial highways, and have jurisdiction on Highway 417, the city's thoroughfare. The RCMP are authorized by the Government of Canada to take control of matters concerning national security. Members of the federal police force are assigned to monitor embassy properties, protect the families of the Prime Minister and the Governor General and provide security for visiting officials. They also patrol federal parkways, highways and bridges. Quebec and Ontario are the only provinces in Canada where three separate police forces have jurisdiction within the same spatial areas; however, there are very few incidents where all three police forces are involved in investigating the same incident, unless it is a joint forces

project. In the other eight provinces the RCMP act as municipal, provincial and federal police forces.

The Annual Report of 1989 indicates that there have been some structural changes occurring within the police department, largely due to the recent adoption of the philosophy of community policing (see Appendix C). For example, as of January 1, 1990, an Inspector was appointed to each of the four districts to oversee the implementation of pro-active policing strategies. These officers are responsible for identifying and resolving community problems and encouraging closer relations between community leaders and police officers. Furthermore, there were some changes in the Investigative Services Division. Five General Assignment Squads have been assigned to work in conjunction with the Patrol Services Platoons and, where possible, uniform members are conducting follow-up investigations. This can be interpreted as an attempt to achieve a "generalist" rather than a "specialist" mode of policing. The Ottawa Police Force has also targeted visible minorities and women for recruitment. During the course of 1989, the representation of visible minorities increased from 0.5% to 1.9% and female membership grew from 3.8% to 5.0%. It is evident that the police administration is taking steps to ensure that policing in the city of Ottawa reflects the needs and concerns of the communities involved.

Getting In:

I was interested in conducting research within a police department. The police literature indicated that several researchers had identified various attributes of something they were calling a police "subculture". Research has indicated that all occupational groups share a measure of identification and evolve distinct cultural characteristics, however the form they assume depends upon the organization in question (Brannigan, 1984; Skolnick, 1966). I decided to explore the idea that a local police department had developed a unique work culture. However, I did not wish to enter the research field with any preconceived notion about the form that this occupational culture would take. I would have to examine and identify the characteristics of the work culture by observing the behaviour of police officers and talking with them on a personal basis so that I could uncover any underlying patterns. Other researchers had identified the indicators they had used to indicate the existence of a "working personality" among police officers (Skolnick, 1966; Niederhoffer, 1967). For example, leading authors have claimed that the dangers and authority associated with police work have effectively isolated the police from the community. In response the police have become cynical and suspicious of a community which they claim is hostile and apathetic. I have used this literature

to provide some comparative guidelines for my own research. If indeed a work culture is, in part, a response to a perceived unsupportive and uncooperative community, I felt that it was important to assess the relationship between the Ottawa Police Force and the community it serves. Therefore, I included questions in my interview schedule which would help illuminate these relations; for example, officers were asked about their relationships with non-police friends and about their perceptions of the general community. I also felt that it was important to assess the training which the police receive since this is one manner in which the work culture can be transmitted from generation to generation. Several other issues such as professionalism, unionization, Civilian Complain Review Boards and the Charter of Rights also have a significant impact upon the police. However, not all of these issues could be dealt with at once, given the time frame and scope of this research, therefore, a cut-off point had to be identified. Based on this information I constructed an interview schedule oriented around questions which would indicate whether or not a particular occupational subculture was identifiable in this police force (see Appendix A).

I relayed my interests and wishes to the police department in a letter to the Chief sent in late June, 1989. I received a phone call a few days later from a Staff Sergeant in the Personnel Section who suggested that I make

an appointment with him in mid-July so we could discuss the aims and needs of my project. During this introductory interview the Staff Sergeant indicated that the Department would be able to accommodate my research interests, especially since the new administration was eager to promote police-community relations. However, he stressed that observation of the police officers in their work environment would not likely be possible. Apparently other interested parties had made similar requests in the past and, since it was not feasible to accommodate all of them, they could not give preference to my research efforts. Furthermore, he said that the police officers were always on the streets and hardly ever in their office working environments. It was decided, however, that I would be permitted to interview members of the force, providing that the police officials were advised of the content of the questions prior to commencing the data collection. I was cautioned that scheduling the interviews could be a potential problem since the respondents would be on-duty and may have to be called in off the streets. He referred me to a Sergeant working in the Personnel Section who would be my official contact with the Department and would arrange the interview schedules.

The Sergeant and I arranged to meet in early August. We discussed the types of subjects that I was interested in interviewing, the types questions that I would be asking and the estimated interview length. A second meeting was

arranged for early September to allow the Sergeant to meet one of the professors on my committee and to discuss, between the three of us, the needs of my project, particularly the details of choosing the sample. At a third meeting we examined the final interview questions that would be asked of the respondents, and finalized the details concerning the size and composition of the sample of respondents. The data collection began in late September 1990 and the 30 interviews were completed by late November 1990.

The Fieldwork:

From my initial literature review, I identified various areas which I wished to examine and used the concepts from this existing research to aid the construction of my interview schedule. I planned to use an unstructured focused interview because the flexibility of this style of interviewing would enable the interviewer to ask pre-determined questions in a particular order, and also encourage the respondent to talk freely about any subject that he felt related to the conversation. Furthermore, the interviewer was inspired to probe beyond the answers given to these prepared questions (Kidder, 1981).

I decided against using a tape machine to record the responses of the subjects since its presence might have

inhibited the respondents or caused some to refuse to participate in my research. The answers to the interview questions were recorded in writing.¹ In order to sustain the pace of the interview I asked the next question while I was still writing the answers to previous ones; this helped to create a relaxed atmosphere.

The issue of bias must also be considered when conducting qualitative research. Bias arises from the respondent's perception of the interviewer and from the interviewer's perception of the respondent. The effect can never be eliminated, however, it can be recognized and accounted for in the research (Kidder, 1981). To the best of my knowledge, bias was not a significant issue in my research. The majority of respondents were quite candid and seemed very comfortable. They were very receptive to being interviewed and seemed to enjoy the opportunity to share their thoughts.

The next step was to choose the sample for the research. Unfortunately this process was somewhat out of my hands since there were accessibility restrictions placed upon me by the police department. I indicated my preferences for respondents in regards to criteria concerning age, rank, years of experience, visible minorities, gender and section of the department. The Sergeant then selected the individuals I would interview based upon the members' years of experience, level of

academic achievement and views of police work--positive, negative and neutral. He also chose individuals whom he thought would give me the greatest insight to the many varied areas of police work. The Sergeant tried to choose individuals from each section who had the most knowledge of that section and would communicate to me their true feelings and opinions; certain people came to mind when he thought of particular divisions. Of all those contacted only one individual flatly refused to be interviewed. I was present when the Sergeant was discussing my project over the phone with this potential respondent who declined because he thought that I was connected with the media; he also did not like face-to-face interviews because he was not good at them.

The sample was not entirely a random sample by definition and not generalizable beyond the confines of this case study. According to Kidder (1981) the representativeness of the sample is very crucial to the validity of the research and its subsequent application to the entire population. However, randomness is not as crucial an issue in qualitative research as it is in research of a quantitative nature. In order to compensate for this apparent non-random sample, I divided age, rank and the years of experience into equivalent categories and tried to get equal numbers of representatives from each category. I also selected, from the organizational chart 'see Appendix

B), the divisions of the force from which I would interview. I attempted to obtain as representative a sample as possible from those sections of the force to which I had access: planning and research; personnel; community services; youth patrol; school patrol; crime prevention; victim/crisis unit; central records; communications; auto theft; break and enter; general assignment; major crime; crime unit and identification; drugs; sexual assault/child abuse; enforcement; fraud; general patrol; traffic; and beat patrol. It proved to be difficult to gain access to the Internal Affairs Division. The original interview with a member of IAD was postponed due to scheduling conflicts, and no one else in this section was willing to give an interview. However, after the data had been collected and analyzed, one of the Deputy Chiefs offered to throw his support behind my project and use his influence to arrange an interview for me with the IAD.

Overall, I interviewed a total of 30 respondents with the following characteristics:

RANK: 15 Constables
 10 Sergeants
 5 S/Sgt. to S/Insp.

YEARS OF EXPERIENCE:

1-5 years: 7 subjects
6-10 years: 4 subjects
11-15 years: 6 subjects
16-20 years: 3 subjects
21-25 years: 8 subjects
25 + years: 2 subjects

GENDER: 4 Females
 26 Males

VISIBLE MINORITIES: 3 subjects

AGE OF RESPONDENTS:

18-25 years:	3	subjects
26-30 years:	9	subjects
31-35 years:	3	subjects
36-40 years:	4	subjects
41-45 years:	5	subjects
46-50 years:	3	subjects
50 + years:	3	subjects

The subjects had been informed that I was a Masters candidate at Carleton University working on my thesis, and that I was interested in researching the theory of a police occupational culture. References to gender, rank, and section have been removed to protect the anonymity of the respondents. As the majority of respondents were male, I have chosen to use the masculine pronoun throughout this discussion in reference to an individual police officer, except where it is obvious that the gender of the respondent needs to be identified such as in Chapter Six. However, after the data was collected and analyzed I discovered that the issue of women in the police force assumed a greater importance than the number of female respondents in the study would indicate.

Because this is a case study the results cannot be generalized to police forces in other Canadian cities. Another group of police subjects in this police force, or in

another city, may have responded quite differently, if asked the same questions. Furthermore, a male interviewer may have elicited quite different responses from the subjects of the study. It is also possible that a male interviewer would have had access to police squad cars allowing him the opportunity to observe their behaviour. I asked a small, non-random sample of respondents to provide information pertaining to their personal careers as peace officers. My purpose in undertaking this study was not to provide an analysis of the total range of views and opinions of each and every member of the Ottawa Police Department. Rather, it is important for the purposes of this analysis to provide evidence that the attitudes, feelings and convictions of contemporary police officers, working within a changing society, influence the development of an occupational culture and the form it will assume. In other words, the design and nature of the work have an impact on the way in which members of that occupation experience that work. This experience is mediated by the informal work culture which in turn dictates the attitudes and behaviours of the individual workers and their relations with each other and to outsiders.

ENDNOTES:

1. For the majority of the respondents, the written notes were a paraphrased version of their responses to questions. However, a few subjects talked slowly enough, or took sufficient time to compose their answers that I had adequate time to write down the answers verbatim. I encouraged others to continue talking while I recorded their responses yet a large majority waited until I had finished writing before they would continue. Some suggested that I should have had a tape recorder, while others were quite relieved that I did not tape our conversations. Since the responses were recorded in writing, the quotes chosen for presentation were paraphrased as closely to the original ideas as possible.

Chapter Four:

The Role of the Police

The role of the police has never been clearly defined and as a result has been the focus of much debate among both academics and police experts. Historically, the police were responsible for maintaining public order and providing community services. Yet, modern police organizations have modified this original mandate and narrowed the focus of policing to law enforcement. Nevertheless, the public still call upon the police to perform several duties which have absolutely nothing to do with this aspect of policing. This creates many conflicts for police officers who find themselves dealing with incidents which contradict their personal crime fighting image. As their frustrations grow, they seek ways to reconcile the disparities they encounter on a daily basis.

The available literature on this subject has identified several functions performed by the police which, for the purpose of my review, have been divided into three broad categories: crime control or law enforcement, order maintenance, and social services. The first category involves the police in responding to and investigating crimes, applying legal sanctions where necessary to perpetrators of these crimes and patrolling the streets in a crime prevention capacity. Maintaining order in society

requires police to prevent, control or handle any dispute or behaviour which threatens to disrupt public peace. The social service role requires the police to provide a wide range of services to the community since they are the only agency available to handle emergencies and crises around the clock every day of the week; this includes acting as an information and referral agency (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989; Brannigan, 1984; Wilson, 1968; Schaefer, 1978).

Historically, the police were charged with the responsibility to "prevent crime and disorder" by Sir Robert Peel in 1829, and to do so with the approval and willing cooperation of the public. Eventually the police lost sight of their "civil" responsibilities, which had initially been established under the watchful eye of Peel, and began to focus primarily on law enforcement and fighting crime. Radelet (1980) claims that this change occurred as a result of Prohibition and the Great Depression. The police began to call themselves "crook catchers" and defined crime fighting as the only REAL police work. Over a period of several decades both the police and the public adjusted their views of police work. Most authors claim that the traditional role of the police is and always was law enforcement or crime control (Jayewardene, 1982; Blake, 1981; Kelly, 1976).

It is generally agreed that the police are "locked" in specific functions by legislation and the primary role of the policeman is now, and will continue to be, law enforcement. (Solicitor General, 1971:13)

Yet some authors claim that the police officer has always been both a law officer and a peace officer simultaneously (Radelet, 1980; Banton, 1964; Whitehouse, 1973; Jayewardene, 1982). The provision of services such as public health officer, revenue and excise officer, sanitation officer, bailiff, dog catcher demonstrate that the municipal police constable performed a wide range of duties beyond law enforcement (Chapman, 1977; Radelet, 1980; Whitehouse, 1973). In fact the most important aspects of police work, before the turn of the century, were not even performed by the police organization, but by private security agencies who were responsible for apprehending criminals (Radelet, 1980; Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

Wilson (1968) contends that law enforcement and order maintenance and service have always coexisted; it has never been a question of either one or the other, but an issue of emphasis.

...In effect, municipal police departments are two organizations in one, serving two related but not identical functions. The strategy appropriate for strengthening their ability to serve one role tends to weaken their ability to serve the other. (Wilson, 1969:135)

Wilson (1968) has developed three models of policing -- watchman, legalistic and service -- which incorporate the elements of both law and order-service, giving stronger emphasis to one of these roles depending on the prevalent culture in the community and the organizational structure of the police department. For example, the watchman style emphasizes order maintenance rather than law enforcement; the legalistic style places great emphasis on arrests and law enforcement; the service style emphasizes community relations, stressing informal sanctions such as warnings over formal sanctions like arrests. He claimed that these two roles cannot share equal importance within one department given that they require different organizational structures. The goals of law enforcement can best be achieved by a department which emphasizes strong hierarchical lines of authority, specialization, clarification of legal codes and procedures, sophisticated communications and improved mobility. On the other hand, the maintenance of order is facilitated by decentralization, wide police discretion, provision of services and involvement in community activities (Wilson, 1969). The police agency should develop its role concept, and hence establish its structural organization, in accordance with community consensus. However, the needs and demands of the community will depend upon the design or composition of the

community, including its cultural, social, ethnic, demographic features.

There is no magic formula--no prepackaged "reform"--that can tell a community or a police chief how to organize a force to serve, with appropriate balance, these competing objectives. (Wilson, 1969:135)

Wilson (1969) notes that the community voice is rarely heard in the decision-making processes. The role that the community plays in policing society will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

The Ottawa City Police seem to have a quite realistic outlook concerning their role in society. In Ottawa, the lines of distinction between crime fighter and social worker are slightly blurred; there is no rigid polarization between these two roles as suggested by the literature. One officer interviewed noted:

Police work is not crime fighting, but is instead people talking to people. Police are there to help people help themselves. These people are there to relate to people in the community and therefore need people skills above anything else.

The police in Ottawa recognize that they are there to serve and protect and this requires them to be problem solvers as well as crime solvers. There is a slight division among the interviewees in the emphasis given to these two functions, problem solving and crime solving, but

yet the police officers mentioned both aspects of police work as being equally important. "The Policeman's view of the image he projects to the community simply reflects his own self image" (Solicitor General 1971:16). The police officers in my study were asked to list the functions of the police force that they felt the public viewed as being most important. These responses were then used as an indication of what the officers themselves felt to be their most important responsibilities. Some examples of how members of the Ottawa Police envision their image follow:

I would have to say problem solving and crime solving, in that order because some of the things that we deal with are not necessarily of a criminal nature. We get calls concerning civil matters not police matters. The public have trouble distinguishing the fine line between what police can and cannot do, but we will offer advice on how they can solve their own problems. The crime work is second because they expect you to go out and solve the cases.

I think it is catching criminals, and the safety factor. If you have a bad guy out there and you don't catch him it is not safe on the streets.

To keep the bad guys away and to catch the bad guys when they do something wrong.

I think that they believe that our most important function is to fight serious crime and make it safe for them to walk the streets.

I think that they feel our most important function is to apprehend and prosecute criminals.

I think that they feel that it is important for the police to be a buffer between them and the criminals. They know it is a dirty world out there and since we are here to deal with it, they do not have to.

Nabbing criminals. I think that the community feels that it is our function to catch the criminals, hopefully in the act not after the fact.

I found that there were no distinguishing features, such as age, year of service, sex, or education, that characterized those officers who felt that crime fighting was more important than problem solving, except that the older, less formally educated policemen tended to lean more strongly towards this view. This finding could be a function of the more traditional oriented training they received.

The majority of the police officers commented that crime fighting, protection and service were functions that the police could fulfill simultaneously. In some cases, respondents gave more emphasis to protection and service to the community.

I think that it is to maintain the safety factor and public security so that people can walk through the streets freely without fear.

I think that the general public feels that it is our job to catch the crooks and along with that protect people. We keep the peace through various means by enforcing the Criminal Code, the Provincial Statutes or quelling domestic disputes. The job involves a lot more than just being out there catching the bad guys.

Our major duty is to deal with the public and try to solve their problems for them. I find often that you're just a mediator between people...Our duty is to deal with the community on a whole and help in any way we can, also it is to try to protect property. Part of our role is to fight crime; at times it is a big role and at other times it is must not there. Community relations is part of our duty; we have to make ourselves a presence in the community.

I would say that the public would think that it is our job to let them go about their day-to-day business without the fear of harm to self or property. It is our job to regulate the arena in which they make their living. The most important function of the police is to have a high degree of accessibility for the public--be there when they need help. The next important would be catching the bad guys.

I think the public come to the police to keep the peace, to keep everything normal. It doesn't matter if it is a domestic dispute, a traffic jam, a robbery, a murder, the police are expected to return things to normal

-- no matter what it is, bring it back to the normal sense. As soon as an event occurs, they call the police to get it settled.

The most important function of the police is to have a high degree of accessibility for the public -- be there when they need help. The next important would be catching the bad guys.

The Ottawa Police have tried to maintain a balance in their minds that the police are there to serve and protect, and maintain order in the community; this includes solving minor interpersonal problems as well as investigating serious criminal matters. Their responses indicate that they feel the public have slightly conflicting expectations of their function in the community.

Society's conflicting needs and demands have resulted in the ambiguities which exist in the police roles, increasing the confusion in the minds of both police and public as to the most desired approach to policing. While the police do admittedly perform a wide range of duties, it is the crime control role that is deeply engrained in our culture to be the primary function of the police organization. The public seem to have a romantic view of the police locked in a never-ending war against crime. This perception is exploited and inadvertently fuelled by the mass media through fictional portrayals of lone, courageous,

heroic cops fighting battles against crime and emerging victorious and unscathed, having defeated diabolical criminal masterminds.

Both the public and the police define the mission of policing in terms of excitement, danger and the importance of crime control to the community. (Thomas and Hepburn, 1983:345 cited in Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989:57)

The Ottawa Police agree that the mass media have not really accurately portrayed the role of the police, though recently there have been some attempts to bring reality to their coverage.

T.V. is way out of proportion to what it is like in real life. It can be dangerous. But they are totally out of proportion as to what you can do. Nobody on T.V. ever makes out a report or takes notes...I think that in regard to the newspaper, it is just a matter of selling a story.

The police are the biggest minorities in the country when you look at police per capita. When you think of it, there are 300,000 people in the city of Ottawa and only 600 police officers--that is a minority...The police are judged a lot by the media. As for the T.V. programs most of it is totally fictional; they do more in two hours than I do in one year. There have been a couple of good documentaries such as Crime Watch and documentary-type shows such as 60 minutes and W5 which show actual police footage.

I think the media highly exaggerates the police role. The police on the T.V. shows are always shown with their guns out and shooting at someone. You never even see them loading their gun. In Canada, you never see that. Shootings do occur in Ottawa, but it is relatively insignificant compared to the USA. Policemen in the States, if you believe the T.V. programs, always have their guns drawn and are shooting. In the USA, a police officer is shot every 57 hours. In Canada, we may have to withdraw the gun from the holster because people now carry knives and guns in their pockets and we have to be ready, but it is not common.

T.V. portrays a false image of police work as continuously being an adrenaline pumping situation. Basic police work requires a dedication to doing some very dull tasks. Investigations are very time consuming, boring and tedious and might lead to a result.

No I do not think that the media accurately portray the role or function of the police. I think all reporting in general is slanted toward sensationalism. They want the big headlines. As for the movies or T.V., I think that police work is glamourized too much. It is portrayed as glamorous and fast paced with lots of undercover work.

I don't know if the media can accurately portray the function of any occupation. Although, it does make an attempt to do so. It is about as accurate as any account can be, because they are not part of the occupation.

I think that the media have done the police a great disservice. The media help foster the idea of "US" versus "THEM". They do not try to remedy that situation.

No I do not think that the media accurately portray the function of the police. T.V. is bad, they sensationalize everything. T.V. cop shows have more car chases and shooting scenes in one hour than I will ever see in a life time. They do not portray the mundane parts of the job like the fact that for everything you get involved with there are reams and reams of paperwork that have to be completed. They go out and bust crime, they do not think of the paperwork.

I think the media do a pretty good job of portraying the function of the police. But because time is limited on T.V. programs, the public gets the idea that we can do things in one hour that realistically takes days to do. The biggest thing that the T.V. media have done is to go with a story line and in this line they have incorporated the personal life of the cop doing the job. The public sees the police doing their job and having a personal life as well. This helps to show the public that the police are no different from anybody else, even police officers have family problems.

The media coverage tends to present to the average citizen a false image of what police work is really all about. They sensationalize, glamourize and dramatize the role of the police officer and promote and reinforce the ideas that they

spend most of their time fighting crime and apprehending criminals.

If you are confronting a person who has never dealt with the police before, they are likely to expect to see a gun-toting police officer. T.V. does that to people.

The T.V. has influenced the average citizen...Police work is not fancy, glamorous or as action packed as they portray. Police work involves a lot of sweat and heartache...Sensationalism sells papers. The more atrocious the crime the more riveting the story. Even I like to read a good story in the paper.

I think they misdirect the public by letting them think that this job is glamorous. They do not show officers having to take a child away from its mother because it is not being properly cared for.

I think that the media deceive the public and give them a warped perception of the police. We are not like cowboys.

Some police administrators have even cashed in on this image hoping to improve their attempts to attain financial and moral support for their approach to controlling society. (Kelling, 1978 cited in Radelet, 1980) Afterall, the activities of police in this crime fighting capacity are easily measured by statistics concerning the number of arrests made, tickets issued or homicides and robberies

solved and cleared within any given time frame. Conversely, it is rather difficult to precisely measure police progress in areas such as police-community relations, provision of social services and agency referrals or maintaining public order (Blake, 1981), and the police are publicly accountable for their work activities and the allocation of resources.

...the image is constantly reinforced that crime is, after all, almost everything that the police are about. Of course there is talk about a social-service agency -- usually including the well-worn assertion that the police are the only 24-hour-a-day 7-days-a-week social-service agency -- but in the minds of police officers, in keeping with the thinking of the public, real police work is crime work. (Ericson, 1982:5)

These views are quite consistent throughout the policing literature, and yet are surprising in light of the evidence from time studies which indicates that crime control activities seem to occupy less than 25% of a police officer's time. For example, Wilson (1968) reported that the majority of calls received by the Syracuse Police Department were concerned with service and order maintenance and only 10.3% were related to crime control. Reiss (1971) studied the Chicago police and found that only 3% of the patrol officer's time was spend dealing with criminal matters, whereas incidents of a non-criminal nature occupied 80% of his time. Cumming et al. (1965) documented that over 50% of the calls received by the police complaint desk

involved calls that were non-criminal in nature, most involving personal and interpersonal problems. Webster (1970) also supplies supporting evidence for this argument by determining that the police officers in his study spent over 50% of their time dealing with administrative tasks, such as serving warrants, attending court, taking reports, community relations and even going on coffee and lunch breaks. Approximately 47% of their working hours were spent dealing with traffic violations, investigating property crimes and performing in a social service capacity. According to Webster, then, this left less than 3% of their time to be spent on incidents that could be classified as criminal in nature, such as crimes against persons. Ericson (1982) concluded from his study of an Ontario police department that the majority of the patrol officer's time was spent burning fuel and fighting boredom, isolated from the community because of the symbolic barrier posed by the patrol car: "...even in their "crimework", patrol officers are most often ordering petty disturbances, regulating driving and sorting out property relations." (Ericson, 1982:206). A Canadian piece of research conducted by Levens (1976 cited in Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989) concluded that 49% of the calls received by the Vancouver Police Department were requests for service.

Shearing (1984 cited in Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989) cautions against the blind acceptance of these time studies, suggesting instead that the police can evoke their full law enforcement capacities wherever and whenever they see fit. Therefore, there are potentially many more law enforcement cases of a criminal nature than are actually recorded or observed simply because the patrol officer has used his discretion to settle the matter peacefully rather than resorting to arresting the parties in question. Nevertheless, it has been exhibited that the police do spend the majority of their time resolving conflicts, providing social services, and maintaining and restoring order, instead of investigating crime -- the role to which most policemen aspire and popular myths sanctify. Police officers find themselves more frequently in situations which call for an understanding of human behaviour and psychology than they do circumstances which require the expert aim of a marksman or the powers of deduction of Sherlock Holmes (Terris, 1967:67 cited in Radelet, 1980).

The police function in two worlds. They play an integral part...in the operation of the criminal justice system. As the first agency in the system, their primary responsibility is to initiate a criminal action against those who violate the law. This is a highly structured role, defined by statutes and court decisions and subjected to strict controls. The second world is less easily defined. It comprises all aspects of police functioning that are unrelated to the processing of an accused person through the criminal

system. Within this world, a police department seeks to prevent crimes, abates nuisances, resolves disputes, controls traffic and crowds, furnishes information, and provides a wide range of other miscellaneous services to the citizenry. In carrying out these functions, officers frequently make use of authority which is theirs by virtue of their role in the criminal process....Police spend most of their time functioning in the second of these two worlds...Despite this distribution of activity, police agencies are geared primarily to deal with crime. (Goldstein, 1968:489 cited in Radelet, 1980).

Murphy and Muir (1985) have commented that while an aggressive law enforcement role has been traditionally accepted in the United States, a model of policing based upon crime control is entirely inappropriate in the Canadian context.

...the bulk of criminal activity in most communities is of a less serious nature and has not yet created the levels of crime fear characteristic of the American situation. The majority of police departments in Canada are located in small cities, towns, or rural areas with relatively low crime rates. An exclusive emphasis on crime fighting in these settings may be entirely inconsistent with community police needs and priorities. (1985:79-80)

The Ottawa City Police spend the majority of their time patrolling their districts, looking for things that are unusual or suspicious and answering calls for service. Occasionally, dispatch will broadcast an emergency

concerning burglary alarms, homicides or assaults; but most of the calls they receive involve solving domestic disputes, quietening noisy animals or children, and investigating traffic accidents. Police officers from the study commented on their activities:

With the general patrol we drive around a lot. One of my University professors said that "the police spend 85% of their time aimlessly driving around with intent." I check plates on the computer of cars that look suspicious to some degree to see if the driver is wanted or if the car is stolen. I look for things, like people committing crimes, and I answer calls for service in my area...We answer calls about anything that the public calls the police concerning. We may get the odd traffic accident or we may answer a call about a break and enter or a domestic dispute.

I drive around the area to have a look to see that everything is fine. I will float between zones or areas; I am available to respond to calls...I do traffic enforcement most of the time. I will sit near a stop sign or a corner and pull people over and give them warnings if they do not stop. I will not usually give out tickets unless they have a real bad attitude, then I will slap them with a ticket. I respond to calls and drive around checking plates. Some of these plates may come back "wanted". If I see something going on in an area I will watch and take notes...I got a gun call. A man was standing on his front lawn waving a gun around. It ended up being a BB gun. The average day shift is generally quite quiet. You usually find your own work....There are a lot of domestic calls and assaults in the afternoon. The domestic calls are the most common.

There are other calls like someone is breaking into a car, skulking around in a back alley. There are also vehicle accidents.

There is a fair amount of burglar alarms, but 99% of these are false; they are just store owners opening up their stores and forget to turn off the alarm. There is usually one or two accidents in the morning rush hour, a few during the day and quite a few during the evening rush hour...In the early evening, we tend to answer domestic calls and general complaint such as kids or animals making too much noise. The calls that involve criminal activity tend to come out more at night, such as bar fights, armed robberies and damage to property.

My main function is to look for criminal activity, which means any thing or any body that is out of the ordinary...I look for criminal activities and I enforce the Highway Traffic Act.

Obviously, the police in Ottawa spend the majority of their time serving and protecting the public, rather than fighting and apprehending criminals. The literature on time-studies seems to support my data on the activities of the police force.

Researchers have suggested that it may be dysfunctional for the police to concentrate so heavily upon the law enforcement role when in reality this role is inconsistent with community needs and demands (Griffiths and Verdun-

Jones, 1989; Ericson, 1982;). Ericson (1982), for example, suggested that in holding the police agency responsible for crime control, society has implied that the police have solved the problems which gave rise to crime in the first place, namely social, political, cultural and economic issues. Clearly, these problems are beyond the control of the police organization, and require community input and cooperation in a concertive effort to maintain the integrity of society.

The police organization has been permitted to broaden its net of social control due to the ambiguous demands placed upon it by society. Several of these new social service responsibilities, usually associated with other community service agencies, were incorporated into the police function because of their continuous availability and quick response. Nevertheless, there is still some resistance to adopting this service oriented model of policing. Even though it has been demonstrated that the vast majority of an officer's time is spent providing services to the community, the reward and promotional systems within most police organizations are geared toward the popular crime fighting image (Radelet, 1980; Jayewardene, 1982; Solicitor General, 1971). This disparity creates a great deal of confusion for the officer themselves, especially for those who maintain the "crook-catching" image. Police are not trained to be social

workers; the majority of police academy training is oriented toward law enforcement, not community service and order maintenance (Cumming et al. 1965; Blake, 1977; Drummond 1976). The result is a frustrated cop who sees a large discrepancy between what he is in fact doing and what he feels he should be doing (Blake 1977). Ward (1971) and Ericson (1982) have discovered that police officers themselves have difficulty defining their own role in the community. Ward's (1971) survey indicated that 85% of his respondents indicated that it was very difficult to define the role of police in today's society. Ericson (1982:63) found similar confusion among his respondents:

Among the 348 respondents, 38 percent did not define any particular role in their work, while 12 per cent said their role is primarily public relations (social service) work, and 9 per cent defined it mainly in terms of traffic law enforcement. Only 41 percent said their prime role is law enforcement under the Criminal Code.

Summary:

The modern police mandate asserts that the police organization is fundamentally concerned with law enforcement and crime control within the community. Therefore, the primary function of the police officer is to fight crime. Although, this traditional crime control model of policing

is deeply entrenched in our culture, the police are primarily responsible for maintaining the peace and order of the community. Therefore, the police are faced with two seemingly contradictory roles: "enforcer" and "guardian of the peace".

Police officers in Ottawa felt that it was their responsibility to not only investigate and solve crimes but to address the problems of the citizenry as well. All respondents felt that community service functions were imperative to the maintenance of law and order and the protection of public safety. However, the majority indicated that the true essence of police work was indeed crime fighting.

This crime fighting function is dramatized and glorified by the mass media. The popular media forms such as television and cinema have portrayed police work as fast-paced, glamorous and dangerous, and have depicted the police officers as a "hard-nosed, no-nonsense, gun-toting cop" who always solves the crime and catches the bad guys. This sensationalized image has reinforced the notion that the police spend the majority of their time fighting crime. The Ottawa police have denounced the mass media for failing to accurately portray the realities of their occupation. Realistically, police work is often mundane, tedious, boring and investigations are time-consuming and involve a great deal of paperwork. Yet, even though the police have

adamantly condemned the media for stereotyping their work, they continue to embrace this crime fighter image.

The public, having accepted and internalized this romanticized image of the police, expect crime fighting to take precedence over other law enforcement functions. This is quite apparent when members of the community, stopped for traffic violations, accuse the police of hassling innocent tax-payers when they really should be "out there catching crooks". Therefore, the police, the media and the public have all defined crime fighting as the most important function of the police department.

Yet this mythical image of police work does not mirror the reality. In actuality, the public repeatedly call upon the police to solve problems which usually have absolutely nothing to do with the traditional crime control model of policing. The Ottawa police respondents have indicated that the majority of the calls they receive involve domestic disputes, false alarms and traffic accidents. Thus, these police respondents spend the majority of their time serving and protecting the public, rather than fighting crime. These results are supported by numerous research studies which have found that the majority of patrol time is spent answering service and order maintenance calls.

The ambiguities surrounding the role of the police in society stem from the disjunction between myth and reality. In other words, there is a tremendous gap between what the

police feel they should be doing and what they actually do on the job. This creates a great deal of confusion for those officers who identify themselves as "crook-catchers", especially since the police organization rewards crime fighting activities over community service and order maintenance functions. Police officers are encouraged by the department, the media and the public to view themselves as crime fighters. Yet, given the actual nature of their daily work, they are frequently unable to involve themselves in frequent criminal investigations which would ultimately ensure their success in the force and justify their self-images. They believe that their ultimate goal is the "big pinch", or arrest, and this reinforces their crime fighting image. The routine tedium patrol work which police officers must endure is merely a means to an end, an arrest, rather than an end in and of itself.

Frustrated by these conflicting messages, the police become very defensive about their role in society. In response, they turn to their police colleagues for a clarification of their purpose in the community. The end result is the development of an informal work culture which provides a social support network for the officers.

Chapter Five:

Occupational Subculture:

We Americans have not known who the police are, or should be, or what we actually want them to do. Lacking knowledge, we citizens (and the police) have accepted a mythology of police work. This has isolated the police from reality and has misdirected the help that the people intended to give them. Too often, we have seen the policeman as a crime fighter when actually there is very little that most policemen can do to combat crime...We have at the same time denied and downgraded a major and legitimate aspect of the police role, that of community service, or peacekeeping...We have rightly urged training on the police, but refused to define clearly the roles for which they are trained. (Steadman 1972:2 cited in Drummond, 1976)

This uncertainty surrounding the police role is a major source of conflict and frustration for police officers. Most young officers enter the academy with visions of fighting crime, arresting criminals and protecting society from potentially disruptive elements. However, upon graduation they encounter a community with conflicting ideas and expectations of what they require from their police force -- social worker, peace-maker, enforcer, arbitrator -- none of which correspond to the officer's perception of his role. Instead of investigating crimes and catching crooks, police officers spend much of their time fighting boredom, burning fuel and answering service calls. The days of the

community "beat-cop" who was involved in the life of the neighbourhood are long gone. Today's police officer is distanced from the community; he is merely an "accountant" for the administration as he sits in his conspicuously marked car, aloof and judgmental, watching for public transgressions (Ericson, 1982).

It has been suggested that the formal introduction to the police culture begins upon entry into the police academy; therefore, several authors have focused their research on the socialization processes by which the individual is assimilated into the organization, and becomes a participant in the subculture (Vincent, 1979; Wexler, 1974; Bahn, 1984; Bennet, 1984; Drummond, 1976).

First, it is important to define what is meant by the terms "occupational culture" and "socialization". Everett C. Hughes (1971:334) defines an occupational culture as: "...a set of collective representations, more or less peculiar to the occupation and more or less incomprehensible to the community." Culture has been defined by Yinger (1965:74 cited in Drummond 1976:7) as: "...a system of norms shared by members of a society, the prescriptions and proscriptions indicating how things should be done or should be appraised", and by Kluckhohn (1949:17 cited in Drummond 1976:7) as: "...the man-made environment including the influences that the individual unconsciously absorbs and that govern his behaviour". Bahn (1984:390) defined police

socialization as: "...the ways in which rookies are transformed from organizational outsiders to participating and effective members of the force". According to Vincent (1979:9) "occupational socialization involves the internalization of an occupational culture."

A perspective officer is subjected to a rigorous entry process which examines his background, lifestyle, education and physical fitness and abilities. If he passes these initial barriers he is subjected to a series of psychological tests and personal interviews which culminate in a final board interview in front of a panel of five or six senior officers. A Personnel officer with the Ottawa Police force provided a detailed description of the hiring procedure:

The hiring procedure begins with a Mental Aptitude test or an IQ test. This is followed by an interview. In the first interview they have to sign waivers and release forms authorizing a background check. We supply them with a medical exam form to be filled out by their family doctor. They have to supply us with a certificate of visual acuity; this includes a colour blind test. At that time, we fingerprint and photograph them. The next step involves having them supply us with a copy of: their birth certificate, their driver's license, their transcripts and diplomas back to high school. Next, they have to fill out an application and supply us with a resume. We also have them write an essay to test their English language skills. Next they are asked to complete a shooting test at the range. We are looking for any fear of hand guns, or any belief against carrying firearms. We are not testing their ability in

firing handguns at this point. Then we send their file to Internal Affairs Division for a background check of their immediate family. This involves asking questions of the family members. If they are successful to this point, they will appear before a selection board. If they are successful they will be given a conditional offer of employment pending a complete physical by the Force Doctor.

Social psychologists have argued that the harder it is to get accepted into a group, the more the membership is valued by those who go through the process and are successful (Bahn, 1984).

In general, we may say that the longer and more rigorous the period of initiation into an occupation, the more culture and technique are associated with it, and the more deeply impressed are its attitudes upon the person's world. (Hughes 1971:334)

The training period marks the official beginning of the socialization process into the occupational role. The majority of classes are taught by experienced officers, who inadvertently and unknowingly inject their own biases, opinions and prejudices into the lesson plans -- often teaching what should be rather than the realities of policing (Drummond, 1976). The academy stresses uniformity of dress and behaviour as well as group cohesiveness. Rookies are often exposed to the "war stories" and anecdotes of senior officers which tend to instill a sense of a

widening gulf between the public and the police -- an "US" versus "THEM" attitude. Academic classes focus on the crime control model of policing and emphasize laws, rules and procedures, physical activity, and firearm training. Recently, courses such as sociology, psychology, communication and multiculturalism have been introduced to the curriculum in order to expose recruits to the "human" side of policing (Bahn, 1984; Drummond, 1976).

Ottawa police officers reported that their academy training was focused on the various laws and statutes and theories of policing. Physical fitness training was also a very important aspect of their training, along with instruction in driving techniques and firearm safety. Some of the more recent changes in academy training involve courses in multiculturalism and opportunities for practical training, i.e. role playing:

It was very intensive training on the laws such as the Criminal Code, traffic laws, federal and provincial statutes. There were opportunities to use this theory in practical situations. For example, when we were learning about drugs and drug statutes, we learned the theory and then in the practical aspect, we were to "bust" someone that has drugs. There is firearm training and extensive driver training, and physical training.

In class we were taught th. federal and provincial statutes...One of the most important things that they taught was the powers of arrest. There was some driving training and physical training.

There were "practicals". The college is set up in an old air force base. One of the hangars has been converted into mock streets with buildings. The instructors will play the part of the bad guys and demonstrate how to handle various situations. There were a couple hours of practicals along with each statute that we learned. And there were marching drills, for ceremonial purposes such as police funerals and memorial day services.

It was a university-type program with a military-type drill and discipline. In class we were taught the law, police procedures, provincial and federal statutes, civil law, driving skills and firearm skills. There is currently more emphasis on physical training. Psychologists teach courses on minorities and how to deal with them. There is also an in-service program on multiculturalism here at the department.

Now there is a greater awareness of culture. They (the college) are getting into multiculturalism. They are now offering help learning about intervention into domestic conflicts.

We were taught the basic procedures, and criminal offenses. The arrest procedures were the most important. We also learned about the various provincial laws and statutes. We were trained on the proper deportment for court and on court procedures. There was also some physical education. They are very limited as to what they can do because it is not the same atmosphere as the street. They taught us how to arrest someone, how to approach a house and police holds.

Upon graduation, the rookies enter the real world of policing accompanied by a Field Training Officer. This seems to be a difficult period of adjustment as the new officer realizes that his academy training has not adequately prepared him for the realities of his job, such as dealing with verbal and physical altercations and communicating effectively with citizens (Drummond, 1976; Bahn, 1984). He must now choose between the ideal of police professionalism he has learned in the academy and the definition of professionalism as supported by the police subculture, which:

...refers to on-the-job-experience, and the experientially acquired street sense which permits them to recognize "dirty" people and situations which require police intervention. For them, this reactive "gut level" ability to recognize, identify and respond to a situation, rather than the internalization of standardized rules and procedures, characterizes "good police work". (Reuss-Ianni, 1983:6-7)

Academy training merely conveys abstract generalizations concerning the true nature of the job, but the particular ways of feeling, thinking and acting -- the occupational culture -- cannot be properly conveyed to the rookies before they have had experience in the field. The process of informal socialization into the subculture begins once the rookie is assigned a senior training officer who introduces him to a new system of norms and values. Senior

officers function as role models by providing the rookie with concrete examples of the methods and procedures utilized in their work.

Ottawa police officers remarked that Field Training Officers were very important in helping them adjust to the realities of policing. The theory that they learned in the academy has to be applied to concrete experience. Most of the training for this type of work is on-the-job training, because the college cannot possibly teach rookies how to deal with every conceivable situation. The field training officer demonstrates the right and wrong approaches to a variety of situations. New officers get the chance to practice during their three months under the guidance and protection of their senior partner.

When you get back to the force, you are assigned a coach officer. This is a senior officer who has been on the force for some time. He goes out with you in the car as your partner for three months. He gets involved in everything you do. At first he takes the calls, and then as time progresses, you take the calls and he looks over your shoulder. He is your personal instructor.

You have to learn the police powers -- what you can and cannot do. You learn the practical side of police work with your coach officer.

You needed the college training, but you learned more on the street. The education was found on the street not in the classroom.

The coach officers would likely have a least eight or nine years of experience. He was my den mother for three months and he showed me the ropes around here. With the coach officer we learned municipal laws, force procedure and the practical application of the laws and the theories that we had learned at college.

They cannot possibly teach all of the variables or simulate all the possible situations that you may come up against once you start to work on the street. Every situation is different; every consideration was possible. You cannot possibly encounter every situation. The information that you get about what you can and cannot do is very important. The coach officer is also very important. All the information that you have learned is in your brain but it is not practical until you actually use it. Practice makes perfect.

I think that the best part of the training was on the street with the coach officer seeing how the job actually works. The street work is not the same as in the classroom. In the class we learned the laws well. On the street, we deal with people and people are unpredictable. You cannot meet this criteria in the classroom. The practical scenarios were just exercises to put our theoretical training to test, but it is not the real thing.

I think that the 12 weeks with my coach officer where I was actually putting theory into practice were the most beneficial. That is the real job -- out on the streets. The coach would teach things like how to observe and how to notice little details, how to react and when to raise the voice in a threatening authoritative capacity and when not to. These were things that the college did not teach us. This was putting the theory into effect.

You learn by experience and trial and error. You got into situations where you were an observer and you would learn from the mistakes and successes of your colleagues and superiors. I am not sure if all of my training was useful once I started, because you do learn on the job.

Field Training Officers also believe that on-the-job experience is the best training recruits receive.

Confidence comes with experience. You can get the highest marks in the academy and you can come here and I will train you. The college gives you mock situations, but it is different from the real thing. In a scenario you can goof up, but you are not making real life and death decisions. A mistake made in a case scenario does not cost anyone their life or their property. Until you have the practical experience on the streets, you don't know anything. You have to shut your mouth, listen and learn. All the degrees in the world don't mean a thing until you put them into use

I will proof his reports and tell him where he makes his mistakes. I will also aid him in his first court appearance because he is usually very

nervous...I teach him how to deal with the public and how to deal with all police situations from a barking dog in a backyard to investigating a bad crime, such as murder, as the first officer on the scene.

During this time the rookie learns what it means to be a police officer and how to play the game according to the rules of the subculture; he learns which supervisors are easiest to work for and with, what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and, perhaps most importantly, the new officer learns the values of the police culture. This loose collection of understandings, conventions and behavioural expectations which establishes the standards required by the informal police organization has been referred to as the "cop's code". Reuss-Ianni (1983:12) has referred to this code as:

...a charter for action, a set of shared understandings which, while not written down or formalized, are understood by all members of the precinct and limit the degrees of variability of behaviour permissible for individuals....Violation of one of these rules will mean social criticism and sanctions because "you're not behaving like one of us". The code shapes their behaviour but also distinguishes the good cop from the bad cop.

Hughes (1971:334) has also referred to a code within an occupational group:

The interests, which the occupational group couches in a language more or less its own, are the basis of the code and

policy of the occupational group. The code is the occupation's prescribed conduct of the individuals within toward each other...

The continuity of the informal rules, or the police subculture, is ensured from generation to generation, in spite of modernization, through the traditional use of an experienced senior officer who guides the new rookie through the system. (Reuss-Ianni, 1983).

Experienced officers will advise rookies to forget their academy training in order to become REAL policemen doing REAL police work (Drummond, 1976). Peer pressure, initially encountered in the academy, makes its full impact upon the individual once the officer is working in the department. The informal in-group will keep the rookie in line and will discipline him if he fails to act properly. He learns that he will gain the confidence, trust and respect of his peers only by adhering to the code which emphasizes loyalty and secrecy. Once his loyalty has been established and he has proven himself, the new officer is fully accepted by his peer group and becomes a part of their world.

My respondents indicated that it was important for new officers to fit in with the established informal groups; otherwise they would become extremely isolated. To do this rookies learned to watch, listen and learn. New officers

tended to be rather eager and idealistic and often thought that they had the right answers to all the possible questions. They were warned to forget their formal training and respect the informal practices and procedures. Rookies were not fully accepted until they had proven their abilities as police officers. These attitudes were evident in my respondents' answers to questions concerning advice frequently given to new officers.

You have no status as a rookie, you have to prove yourself.

The more you do and the better you do it, the more they respect you and let you be a part of their group. If you don't do things right, they will shut you out. You are termed a "maḡḡoi" when you graduate and start work. You have to earn your rank as a "rookie".

When you get back to your own jurisdiction, the officers there will tell you to forget what you learned at the college and show you the way that they do things in their department.

I would tell a new officer to sit back and watch, not be too mouthy and have respect for the older officers, whether they were good or bad cops. Respect them for the number of years that they have on the job. If they do these things they will gain respect as a rookie.

I guess the biggest thing is to come into the job slowly. Do not impose yourself on people, they take offense to this. You are a young pup on the job and many have the attitude "who are you to tell me"...You do not want to get on the wrong side of anyone. This puts more pressure on you, and they might make it difficult for you to work in this environment. They could drive you out if they wanted to. Take it slow, feel things out and do not impose your ideas and thoughts on other people. Learn who you can talk to and ask for advice or assistance.

Listen and learn as much as you can. Do not try to pretend to know more than the person that you are working with. Do not feel that you know more just because you just returned from police college and perhaps you have a university degree and the other person does not. Do not be cocky; they hate these types. Learn from the older guys. There is really a lot to learn from them and this is where you learn your street experience.

Don't try to be something that you are not. Learn as much as you can from those around you. Watch everyone, take their good habits and form your own style of policing. You cannot imitate someone else. Look, watch, listen and learn. Don't try to impress people, just do your job. Get along with your peers. Keep your mouth shut until you know what you are talking about. This advice was given by the senior officers. You cannot be too cocky; you cannot know everything about everything. If you are a know-it-all you will eventually fall on your face, and be disliked by your peers and superiors. You have to get along with the guys that you work with.

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

You cannot please all of the people all of the time, but you try to do your best...There are a lot of people coming in here thinking that they know everything there is to know about everything.

Gradually, the rookie identifies himself as a police officer and begins to think and act the role. Minor changes in speech patterns and work habits occur as the police officers find themselves becoming socially isolated because of the constraints of shift schedules and the code of secrecy which alienates them from their families and old friends (Bahn, 1984; Drummond, 1976; Vincent, 1979) As a result, officers tend to socialize with fellow policemen during the off-duty hours.

With the police this process results in an all-embracing, exclusive and pervasive occupational identity....He is a very different man and thinks and acts both on and off the job according to this police occupational identity. (Vincent, 1979:127)

People working within the same occupation share similar work experiences and encounter similar problems. As a result, members of these groups tend to develop characteristic modes of behaviour, or an "ethos", which distinguish them from other work groups in society. Yet, few occupational groups evolve subcultural characteristics which come to dominate so pervasively the identity and self-

concept of its members as does the police (Brannigan, 1984; Skolnick, 1966).

The work environment, which differs considerably from that of any other occupation, plays a very important role in the development of this culture. Skolnick (1966) proposed that two elements in the occupational milieu, danger and authority, combine to isolate the police from the community. In the face of public rejection and in an effort to maintain a sense of self-worth, members of the police organization turn inward to their collective power to find a social identity within the occupational milieu; consequently, they develop a particular attitude or personality which sets them apart from the rest of society.

...certain outstanding elements in the police milieu, danger, authority, and efficiency...combine to generate distinctive cognitive and behavioral responses in police: a "working personality"....Thus, the police, as a result of combined features of their social situation, tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves... (Skolnick, 1966:42)

The first critical aspect of this environment is the relationship between the police and the public they serve. Encounters with the public are always marked by stress and apprehension because both parties know that the police can evoke their authority as peace officers, and use physical force to enforce these law enforcement powers at any time (Vincent, 1979; Wexler, 1974). The community demands law

enforcement, order maintenance and provision of services; yet when a policeman exercises his authority and detains or inconveniences them in anyway, members of the public respond with anger and resentment at the intrusion into their private lives. This tension is especially apparent when the police enforce many unpopular statutes such as traffic laws. The increased contact with law-abiding citizens creates a gulf between the police and the public (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Balch, 1972;). Furthermore, the police have to enforce the laws while respecting and maintaining civil liberties and freedoms. In addition, full enforcement of the laws is impractical since it would cause a backlog in the courts; therefore, the police are forced to develop a set of rules which guide their classification of situations and decision-making processes. These two methods of "conceptual shorthand" are known as typifications and recipes for action. Typifications are: "constructs or formulations of events based on experience and involve what is typical or common about routinely encountered events" (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989:123). Recipes for action are: "the second phase of the conceptual shorthand utilized by patrol officers and constitute the action taken and decisions that are normally made in certain circumstances" (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989:124). However, the police officer once again encounters public hostility when he uses these

discretionary powers and is often accused of discriminatory behaviour.

The police are asked to deal with society's "dirty work" and therefore tend to see only the unpleasant side of human behaviour. Police regularly deal with 10% of the population who can be considered criminal, and this experience tends to colour their perception of the other 90% who need the police to act as agents of social control (Blake, 1981; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989). Involvement in this seamy underworld has made policemen suspicious of human behaviour and distrustful of human nature. It is believed that the police officer's perception of the public is shaped by those people he deals with on a daily basis. Since most of these individuals are hostile toward, and unsupportive of, the police the individual officer attributes these attitudes to the whole population (Balch, 1972). This hostility effectively isolates the officer from the community in which he could possibly have found friendship and understanding.

In contrast with much of the literature on the subject, the police officers in the city of Ottawa tend to have very positive views of the public, and feel that the public are very supportive of their policing efforts. However, a few did mention that over-involvement with the underside of society could colour their perception of the general public

and cause a great deal of stress because they were forced to deal with the "dregs" of society.

It is pretty positive. It has improved over the last ten years, partly because of the increased calibre of people who are being hired. This is a conservative city and most people are fairly highly educated. The past and current police chiefs have made strong efforts to develop good relations with minority communities, especially.

I think that the public has a positive perception of the Ottawa police. This has been reflected by the many compliments we have received, and comments made about being Ottawa's finest.

I think that the Ottawa force is a very well respected police force. We are perceived as being very fair. I think that the public see us as the best force in the area.

I think that 90% of the public are supportive. Only 10% have run-ins with the police and are as a result very uncooperative.

In general I think the public have an accurate and a good perception of what police are and what they do. However, I deal with criminals in Vanier for example, which I think is the "armpit" of the world, and I tend to lose perspective on what the rest of the public think. The people I deal with do not have great admiration for the police.

I guess it depends where you are working. I work in Vanier. The residents of Vanier are mostly welfare recipients. They deal with us quite often on a different basis than the working class deal with us. These types of people found in Vanier and Lower Town -- the welfare cases -- do not like the police much. I have never dealt with any other areas, so I cannot say how the rest of the population perceives the police....You take abuse from the public day-in and day-out. The public never call you with good news, they always call with bad news; it is always bad, never good. We always see people at their worst. The longer that you stay in patrol, the more cynical that you become. You are dealing with the lower classes of society and there is only so much abuse you can take. They are putting your uniform down but it is hard not to take it personally...You need a change or you become stagnant. You have to have a balance in this job.

The police deal with the dark side of reality. We never stop a good driver or visit old age homes or stop kids walking down the street. We stop the bad driver or the kids who have shoplifted some merchandise, or pick up the lost and senile old people who have wandered away. I have found that it is enjoyable meeting the public through crime prevention efforts, because there is no conflict between these people and the police. Police work is almost always filled with conflict.

I asked to come to this section because I needed a break and I was getting a jaded perception of life. You never hear the good things about people when you work on patrol.

The public know we are there and we have to be there, but the majority of the population do not like the police. That is probably why police officers stick together off the job.

On the other hand, some of the officers in this study did indicate that in some social situations they prefer not to disclose their identity as law enforcement officers because some citizens do react negatively to this information, or take advantage of their position and ask for free legal advice. This forces the police officer to discuss their work even while off-duty and causes them to dislike and avoid such situations where possible:

There is definitely a reaction. They won't say certain things. You can tell by the way people act whether or not they are at ease with a police officer there. It is almost virtually guaranteed that if the person introducing you is not one of your close personal friends that they will add the fact that you are an officer and will sometimes chuckle at it. It can be either a defense or avoidance mechanism. In a social situation you do not want it to suddenly turn into a business situation, so a person doesn't discuss crime activities he is involved in such as smoking a joint.

For the first few minutes after I meet people, they tend to be slightly protective of themselves as to what they will say in front of me. Once I break the preconception of the superman image and other misconceptions, I get treated as a regular person.

People become very cautious and not as open, almost as if they are trying to hide something. They tend to get tense and cover up, but once they get to know you, they can loosen up.

I find that the first thing that they do is get their complaints off their chest about cops. My comments to their complaints are that there are two sides to every story and I am only hearing their side. This really turns me off when they complain about the police department to me. I know what really goes on. They always want to know all about police work. They want to hear all the "war" stories. I give them very little information about my work.

It depends on the individuals and the situation. I might not acknowledge that I was a police officer because generally they have complaints like speeding or parking tickets and I would prefer to avoid that situation.

I think that people react differently once they know you are a police officer. They become more inquisitive. They do not associate with a lot of police. The majority of non-police persons do not know what the police are all about and they are automatically inquisitive. I do not want to talk for hours about my job when I am off-duty. They like the idea of being a police officer and they want to be buddy-buddy with you, or they will completely disappear.

Generally speaking, my experience shows that if you bring up the fact that you are a police officer, the person has a million of gripes.

People shrink away from the police or they ask all these questions. For example, about past tickets they received, and what does this really have to with me? I automatically have to pay for everyone else's sins. I hate that! Invariably, I do not say that I work for the police department. I would say that I work for the City of Ottawa.

If they don't like the fact that I am a police officer they can deal with it, I don't have to. Some people with a few drinks will start talking about a bad experience they had with an officer. It was a small misunderstanding, but someone else other than the officer who they encountered in the first place has to hear about the problem. Some officers will predominantly chum around with fellow officers just to avoid that situation.

Members of the Ottawa Police Force were divided on the question of the affect, or impact, the job had on their personal lives. Several of them indicated that they had lost quite a few of their old friends, mainly due to the dissimilarity of work schedules with friends who worked civil servant hours with weekends off. Some officers reported that their relationships with non-police friends had not changed. This division was also apparent when asked

to indicate how many of their closest friends were police officers.

As far as old friends are concerned, you are going to lose a certain percentage of them anyway. There are strict guidelines that we have to follow, even if we are off-duty. An officer will have to terminate some relationships due to the character of the individual and his history, and a friend may terminate the friendship because you are now an officer. You don't want to put yourself in a predicament. You tend to be more selective about your friends.

Yes they did. Because of the shift work involved, you are unable to maintain a lot of relationships. You are unavailable to attend social functions and or parties that you might get invited to...Other friendships were often lost, because they were not purposeful.

I still have some of the close friends that I grew up with and went to school with. But I have also lost a lot of friends due to the shift work. There are only so many times that you can turn down invitations before they stop calling and asking.

Except for the effect that shift work has on socializing, I think that otherwise I have kept most of my friends. I have also made new friends. Most of my friends are outside of the force.

Other than the problems associated with the shift work, I don't believe that my relationships have changed significantly.

I don't think that my relationships have changed at all. Some old friends have drifted away. It happens.

I still have the same groups of friends that I hung around with in high school, and I have made new friends in university. I am involved in extra-curricular activities like hockey and volleyball.

All my friends are police officers...With our shift work and the odd times that we work it is hard to carry on friendships outside of the force. I am not in contact with my friends from school because of these shifts.

Two of my three closest friends are police officers on this force. I spend more than half of my leisure time with police friends. We go fishing a lot and we try and talk about anything but the job, unless there is something that needs to be talked about. We don't get into many heavy conversations since we have to be serious on the job. We try to lighten up the conversation.

One of my three closest friends is a police officer. The majority of my leisure time I spend with non-police friends. I will go for a "beer" with my squad occasionally. There are a lot of people around here that I think of as

friends but I do not closely associate with them. My time off is very important to me. There is nothing worse than coppers who get together and talk shop all the time. I like to leave the work at the office as much as possible. Enough is enough.

None of my closest friends are police officers. I spend very little time with police colleagues. Most of my leisure time is spent with outside friends and my family.

The potential for danger is a second critical aspect of the policing environment and is responsible in part for the social isolation of the police. Some have argued that police officers have been preoccupied by the danger and violence posed by their work, largely due to the unpredictability of human behaviour. This element of danger causes the policeman to become especially attentive to his surroundings, looking for any signs of violent or law-breaking activity. The conceptual shorthand police officers develop to direct their discretionary use of authority is also used to identify particular situations as dangerous and certain persons as "symbolic assailants", based on their appearance, gestures, demeanour and language (Skolnick, 1966). As a result, the policeman tends to be an extremely suspicious individual. This danger, and the suspicious attitude created from this atmosphere, not only effectively isolate him from the criminal segment of the community, but

also prevent the officer from socializing with the conventional citizenry with whom he identifies and seeks acceptance and friendship.

Because the individual officer feels rejected by the community, he turns to his colleagues for reassurance, acceptance, companionship and understanding because they have experienced similar problems. A unique camaraderie develops among police officers as they seek isolation from their ungrateful clients -- the whole community -- and an attitude of "US" versus "THEM" develops. Within their closed society, members of this occupational groups can protect one another from the hostile community and feel safe, comfortable and secure in the brotherhood which bonds them with fellow officers whom they can trust. They also do not need not worry about being caught off guard in public, or being watched by citizens eager to catch them in awkward situations. An in-group solidarity develops which demands complete dedication and total allegiance; the more involved the individual becomes in this subculture the more likely it is that he will identify all other friends as outsiders or members of "out" groups (Vincent, 1979; Balch, 1972; Drummond, 1976; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Radelet, 1980).

Several remarks were made by members of the Ottawa police concerning the camaraderie which develops between officers. This solidarity is a characteristic of the occupational culture.

Most reports about police are negative and police have a high profile politically. This negative image is reinforced over and over in a variety of ways. If a group of people feel that this is what is happening -- negative stereotyping -- then they are going to become more empathetic to the problems which they share with fellow officers. You have to be there to understand why. In order to comprehend, you have to be there.

I think there is a police subculture. You have to be a part of it to understand it. Definitely there is camaraderie between the fellow officers. I am just starting to feel like a part of the people I work with.

We are a really tight-knit group because we work together so much and rely on each other a lot. I guess there is a good guys (US) versus the bad guys (THEM) attitude.

There is an identifiable camaraderie between officers. Your life depends on the guy beside you and you have to know what he is going to do. If he does something that you don't expect, that is scary...There is some degree of favouring police friends but you can wear those friendships out eventually.

You tend to start associating with other police rather than with outside friends. It is difficult to relate to people who are not on the job. In a group situation, people are fascinated about police work but they do not understand it. Policemen understand each other.

When I joined, the Staff Sergeant in Personnel at that time warned us against socializing too much with other cops because it can get to the point that that is their whole life. If you get more into socializing with other cops you begin to develop a stronger "US" versus "THEM" mentality.

One police observer who works very closely with the Ottawa Police Force made this very astute observation concerning the existence of an occupational culture:

The hierarchy administratively, the nature of the work and the attitudes that develop all contribute to an occupational culture. Police never see people at anything but their worst. They are always on the street, and always in potential danger. The police are legitimate in the ways that they perceive themselves given their situations. The system itself does things to the person and helps to foster and develop the "WE-THEY" attitude, and the mistrust and paranoia...With the cops it is more of a brotherhood, than with Emergency Room doctors. The police really see themselves as a unique group. They spend almost all of their time with police friends, for example social events at the Police Club. They share with the guys on their platoon who will understand what they are going through and will understand what they have to deal with in this job. They want to protect their families from these types of bad situations; therefore, they bond with their colleagues...The job impinges on the life of the individual officer. One is never not a police officer. It is unfair to the individual and to his/her family. They are an officer 24 hours-a-day. Even when they are off-duty they are expected to respond and act in situations that normally require

police intervention. If they fail to act in response to such a situation that they see transpire, they can be charged under the Police Act. An accountant can go home and leave his job at the officer, and become a regular person again. A police officer can never do that. There is a pervasiveness about the job. And, because of this they bond together as they do...This type of situation does create an "US and THEM" attitude among the police.

Shades of grey do not exist in the police world; everyone is perceived in terms of good and bad, right and wrong. Cynicism and suspiciousness become necessary character traits if the police are to function efficiently. A good police officer must be able to spot or sense the unusual, and must avoid becoming too emotionally involved in his work (Kelly, 1976; Balch, 1972; Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966). It has even been suggested that those officers who are the most cynical and suspicious are also the most successful (Skolnick, 1966).

Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989) have cited a body of literature which disputes and renounces the theory that the police develop a unique personality. There are two competing hypotheses: 1) the police develop their unique mentality after they have been exposed to the contradictions of police work and 2) police work attracts individuals who are authoritarian in nature. Balch (1972:119) concluded

that there was "simply not enough good evidence to support or refute any side of the controversy".

The respondents in my study had a few comments to make concerning the theory that a separate and distinct police personality existed. Most of the police officers did not believe that there were certain groups of people in society that were better suited for police work because of some predisposition towards authoritarianism. Some members did agree that the job itself did tend to change an individual's personality somewhat, yet others believed that candidates retained their original character traits despite the work.

The experience doesn't change the person. They still remain the same person they were before they joined the force, but now they have to follow the rules and guidelines. The job can't change people because then we would all be the same, like robots.

At the entry level of the police force the recruit, through various tests and procedures, indicates that she or he does not have a different value structure than that of the normal population. However, once that person has been on the job there is a visible change that occurs when measuring the value structures...it is the effects of the job itself that causes a person to change.

This job takes all kinds of personalities, all kinds...I disagree with the idea that there is a police personality among the general population. If there was such a thing, the testing process would be easier.

There is no one test that can define a police officer. I think that you tend to develop into a particular personality after you have been on the job for a while.

I hate the "US" versus "THEM" mentality and you are often shoved into one of these categories without a choice. I try to fight against this sort of thing, but some come on this job with this mentality. Police are ordinary people whom society has put into a uniform and asked to do a particular job. This business of a police personality is garbage. The majority of the public and the media make a big deal out of it. We are just ordinary people who hold the same values as the majority of the population. Once you become an officer, you have all the characteristics that cops are accused of and you inherit all this nonsense overnight. It gets on your nerves.

Several studies indicated that the police were no different than other groups in society such as college students nor were they distinct from the general public (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989; Balch 1972). Furthermore, several studies have indicated that the police do not feel isolated from the public nor do they perceive the public to be hostile (Koenig 1975; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989).

According to the statistics, police work is supposed to be one of the most dangerous occupations (Balch, 1972). However, contradictory evidence has surfaced claiming that

police work is less dangerous than some other high risk occupations, such as construction and transportation. Canadian police officers have lower risks of fatal injury than do individuals working in mining industries, transportation or construction, and the rate of homicide victimization per 100,000 population is higher for the general public between 1975 and 1979 than for the police. (Whittingham, 1984 cited in Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989 [note #25]).

The Chief of the Ottawa Police Force stated in an interview with a local TV journalist:

The streets of Ottawa are safe or safer than most cities in North America. Oh yes certainly crime is particularly growing, violent crime, drug crime is increasing throughout North America, and in this country as well, although not as quickly as in the United States. We have our share, but so far as the safety of the city is concerned, this is considered one of the safer cities. Yes we have our share of crime but when I think of a safe city, I think of a city where people are not afraid to come to visit and a city where there are no areas where they have to deep out of a night, and Ottawa is still that way. There are many cities where people are told not to go there after 6:00 p.m. or after dark. I don't know of any area in this city that we can say that to people, unless it is Major's Hill Park.

One thing that researchers seem to agree upon is that the police image is essentially a tough, masculine image and the subculture callously rejects those men who fail to live

up to this portrait (Vincent, 1979; Drummond, 1976; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Martin, 1980). "The policeman's culture is that of the masculine workingman" (Skolnick 1966:82). Emotion is regarded as a weak character trait. In order to survive in this occupation, a police officer must possess the ability to mask his emotions and develop a "thick skin". The popular myth of the police demands that a man appear to be tough, firm and emotionless, and officers must present this image to the public in order to control disorder. The public expects the police to remain cool, impersonal and decisive, and take control of all situations.

Some authors have suggested that this police subculture may be in a precarious position because of the changes taking place in society. Experienced policemen are encountering a new breed of police officer. The police seem to have "lost their identity". The popular image of the large, tough police officer has been significantly altered due to changes in the criteria for recruitment and selection. Evidence has clearly indicated that height and weight criteria were not related to job performance; however, it seems that the public does not feel as comfortable with officers who are only 5 feet tall and 100 pounds protecting them (Bahn, 1984). An increase in the education levels of new recruits also threatens the continuance of the traditional work culture. Individuals with university or college education have obviously

considered alternative careers and have made the conscious choice to pursue police work; therefore, these police officers tend to be more career oriented. Recruits with post-secondary education are older, more experienced in the working world, and already part of a variety of primary reference groups. Consequently, they are not necessarily tied to the job, nor the personal affiliations which accompany it, and do not require either of these to develop their self-image (Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Bahn, 1984). Furthermore, these officers tend to be less interested in the "folklore" which surrounds police work. The new breed of officer is also less affected in his thinking and acting by the occupational subculture if his circle of non-police contacts have remained strong. Such positive experiences with the public should reduce the cynicism and suspicion normally associated with the police role, and provide a fertile environment for the introduction of increased police-community involvement (Vincent, 1979; Bahn, 1984). Finally, the entry of women into police forces in sizeable numbers has raised some issues of suitability and performance. Chapter Six will examine the issue of women in the police force, in greater detail.

Summary:

An occupational culture develops when members of an occupation realize that they share a common identity based upon their work experiences. Virtually all occupational groups create some informal principles which guide their behaviour and attitudes as well as their interactions with others. These characteristic modes of behaviour, or "ethos", distinguish them from other work groups in society. Yet few groups evolve such dominating and pervasive subcultural characteristics as the police.

During formal academy training, police officers are indoctrinated in the crime control model of policing. Yet when they graduate into the real world, they discover that the community expects the police to play many roles other than that of a "crime fighter". This uncertainty and ambiguity surrounding the police role is a major source of conflict and frustration for police officers.

Once the rookies become members of the actual police department, they are exposed to a whole new informal system of norms and values. Field Training Officers are responsible for the resocialization of these new police officers. This practical on-the-job experience is more important and more educational than the abstract generalizations received at the academy. Rookies finally get to see first-hand how the job actually works. Senior

officers teach them how to be observant and attentive to their surroundings, how to react in a variety of circumstances, and how and when to enact the full authority of their police role. New officers learn which supervisors are difficult to work with and what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. They also learn that the informal work group values loyalty, secrecy respect and trust, as well as masculinity. Their constant exposure to the stories and anecdotes of older, more experienced officers enables rookies to learn more about the actual nature of the job. They must, however, be careful to filter the biased and prejudicial opinions and attitudes which they may encounter.

Senior officers are responsible for teaching rookies how to play the game according to the rules or "code" of the group. This "cop's code" is a loose collection of understandings, conventions and behavioural expectations which establish the standards required by the informal network. Rookies must abide by this code and prove their competence before they are accepted as full-fledged members of the group. If they fail to comply with the guidelines,, the informal group can and will ostracize them.

These values and norms can only be learned from participating within the occupation, as an officer. This "culture" or code cannot be taught in a sterile classroom environment, nor can it be read in a manual. It must be

lived and experienced on a daily basis in order to appreciate and understand its magnitude, complexity and importance.

As they perform their daily duties, rookies discover that the police are seemingly isolated from the community. The nature of police work prevents police officers from forming close relationships with members of the community. In particular the authority of the police role and the dangers associated with crime fighting prohibit officers from receiving a great deal of support from civilians.

As law enforcement agents, the police have the authority to revoke civil liberties at any time using physical force where necessary. These powers evoke a great deal of hostility from the public. This is especially true when police exercise their authority to detain the average law-abiding citizen, for whatever reason. These individuals respond with anger and resentment at the intrusion and accuse the police of neglecting their crime fighting duties. Police officers also have to endure the disrespectful attitudes of the offenders they apprehend. These experiences convince the police that the entire community is hostile and unsupportive. Officers tend to withdraw from these realities into their work group where they can find support from people who understand and appreciate their efforts and share similar experiences. This informal work

culture acts as a defense mechanism by shielding the police from the public.

The element of danger associated with police work poses another barrier to positive relations with the public. The public believes that the police spend a great deal of time in the company of people who are on the margins of society. A close personal encounter with a cop forces these upstanding citizens to acknowledge the existence of a dark side of the human condition. This knowledge threatens to permeate their comfortable middle-class lifestyles. In order to disassociate themselves from this chaos, they isolate themselves from the police. On the other hand, the police believe that every situation has the potential for danger. This preoccupation with danger makes the police suspicious of everyone; they have to be able to spot or sense the unusual. Overexposure to the seedy side of life tends to instill cynicism. As a result, police officers have the tendency to restrict their socializing to other police officers who understand and appreciate police work.

Police officers also have difficulty keeping the civilian friends they do have because shiftwork prevents them from socializing with individuals who work nine to five and have weekends free. The organization's code of secrecy and loyalty prohibits officers from discussing their cases with civilians. Furthermore, police officers often have difficulty pursuing their private lives while constantly in

the public eye, and therefore feel that they must isolate themselves from their clients, which includes the whole community.

Succinctly, it is the preoccupation with danger and authority which has isolated and alienated the police from the community causing them to become very suspicious and cynical of human behaviour; this, in turn, has prompted them to restrict their social activity to fellow officers. There is an identifiable "ethos" within this occupation. An ethos is a "disposition, character or attitude peculiar to a specific group that distinguishes it from other groups". The ethos of the police occupation is based upon the following components: isolationism, suspicion, cynicism, secrecy, loyalty and masculinity.

My research has revealed an "ethos" or work culture among the Ottawa police. However, it is not as obvious or pronounced as the subcultures described in the policing literature. It is more subtle in its expression. The police respondents indicated that they do not feel the general community to be overly hostile towards them. In fact, most of the officers indicated that they feel the community has a very positive perceptions of the Ottawa police force. The "community" to which the police refer consists largely of a law-abiding middle and upper-middle class who call upon the police as agents of social control. The exceptions are the offenders who are usually extremely

hostile and disrespectful. However, they did concede that prolonged exposure to the seedy side of life instills cynicism.

Officers acknowledged the existence of a code of behaviour which must be followed in order to be accepted as a full-fledged member of the force. Failure to comply with these informal rules resulted in being "shut out" by the group. Trust and loyalty were identified as important attributes. Officers needed to know that their colleagues were capable of providing back-up assistance in the case of emergencies because their lives depended upon their co-workers. The potential for danger brought these officers closer together. Only other cops could possibly understand the feelings of encountering a dangerous situation; only other cops understood the need for venting emotions through black humour; only other officers could understand the conflicting emotions suffered by those involved in shootings.

The code of secrecy prevented officers from discussing their work outside the confines of Headquarters or their patrol cars. Shift work had a negative effect on their civilian relationships; therefore, police officers tended to socialize with one another after hours or during vacation periods because no one else was available.

This work culture enables the police to survive in a community which may be supportive and compassionate, but

nevertheless fails to understand the experience of policing. The "brotherhood" gives officers a social support network and bestows upon them a social identity.

Chapter Six:

Women in the Labour Force:

Prior to World War II the labour force was composed mainly of male workers; those females employed in the work place were mostly young single women. However, World War II claimed most of the country's able-bodied males and industries at home needed workers in order to produce war materials. The reserve female labour force was called upon to serve their country by entering the work place in what were traditionally "male" occupations, such as construction and transportation. After the war these occupations were once again considered to be the domain of male workers, and most women returned to the home (Braid 1979; Ritzer and Walczak 1986). However, several factors emerged in the decades following the war which necessitated and facilitated the entry, or re-entry, of women into the labour force. Ritzer and Walczak (1986) have identified several issues which changed the role women would play in the working world. First, several stereotypical "female" occupations expanded, such as white-collar clerical workers, legal aids and computer operators, and the demand for female employees therefore increased. Secondly, as social norms slowly changed it became far more acceptable for women of all ages to work outside the home, on both a part-time and full-time basis. Thirdly, women were older when they chose to marry

and their resulting families were often quite smaller than in the past, hence changing the structure of the family. Fourthly, high inflation rates in the 1970's and 1980's were crippling one-income families, so women were forced to contribute financially to the survival of the family unit. Also, more women were becoming single parents and therefore needed to work in order to support their children. Increasing numbers of women were furthering their education to enable them to qualify for a wider variety of higher-paying jobs. Finally, the government passed legislation preventing discrimination in employment based on sex. All of these factors have served to reduce some of the formal barriers to female employment in some occupations. Nevertheless, institutional sexism continued to exist as evidenced by occupational segregation on the basis of sex. Some occupations are exclusively male dominated while others are virtually the private domain of females (Ritzer and Walczak 1986).

As the decade of the 1980's approached it was apparent that the number of persons participating in the labour force had increased during the 1970's by 39%, whereas the total population during this ten year period increased by only 12.9%. This growth in the labour force has been attributed to the increased participation of married women (Highlights 1984). According to British data supplied by Esland and Salaman (1980), 62% of all employed females in 1972 were

married compared to 1931 when only 10% of married women worked outside the home. The Canadian situation reflects the British experience. Between 1971 and 1986 the participation rate of married women 25-44 in the labour force increased from 40% to 62% reflecting the increase in numbers which doubled from 900,000 to 1.8 million (Highlights 1984). The overall participation rate of females in the labour force has increased significantly from 24.1% in 1951, to 39.9% in 1971 and 55.4% in 1981. By comparison, the rate among their male counterparts remained relatively unchanged between 1971 and 1981, the figures being 76.4% and 77% respectively (Highlights 1984; Women and Labour Force 1990).

However, while men in the labour force were employed in a wide variety of occupations, it was apparent that women were concentrated in a small number of low-paying jobs.

From 1901 until 1971 six occupations accounted for a least 50% of the female labour force: 1) dressmakers and seamstresses, 2) servants and maids, 3) nurses, 4) teachers, 5) office workers and 6) saleswomen and clerks" (Wilson, 1982:77 in Marshall 1987:13)

Esland and Salaman (1980) report that while women have accounted for a growing proportion of the labour force, they do not appear to have been distributed equally across the full range of possible occupations and tend to be concentrated in a relatively small number of industries. For example, Canadian data show that in 1971 females

represented 46.2% of non-manual workers and only 19% of manual workers. While data indicate that women constituted 42.6% of the employed labour force in 1986, the percentage of women working in "female-typed" occupations, such as trade and community, business and personal service industries, actually increased from 55.7% in 1971 to 61.6% in 1986. At the same time, 58.1% of employees in clerical sales and service occupations were women, while they made up only 10.7% of the construction labour force. As the evidence suggests, most women continued to be employed in traditional female occupations. The top three occupations for women in 1986 were secretaries, bookkeepers and salespersons. (Connelly and MacDonald, 1990).

Marshall (1987) focuses her inquiry upon the professions, such as law, medicine and dentistry; she reports that women have been under-represented in these higher ranking professional occupations. A professional occupation is classified as being male dominated if 66% or more of the individuals employed in the occupation were male. In 1971, 34 of 46 listed professional occupations were classified as having less than 35% female representation, and were therefore clearly male dominated; between 1971 and 1981, females increased their proportional representation in 33 of 34 of these male dominated professions from 11.4% to 18.6% respectively. The highest ranking professions in terms of status and prestige, such as

medicine and law, were typically reserved for men, while the majority of all professional women -- 79% in 1971 and 62.3% in 1981 -- were concentrated in only 5 professions, all related to teaching positions. However, despite the fact that men clearly dominated the law and medicine professions, a significant number of young females entered into these occupations between 1971 and 1981; for example, women increased their representation in law (lawyers) from 5.2% in 1971 to 15.5% in 1981 and in medicine (doctors) from 10.7% in 1971 to 17.4% in 1981.

Ritzer and Walczak (1986) agree that women have made some gains in traditionally "male" dominated professions; yet they warn that this may be misleading since it conceals the fact that within these high-paying, high-prestige occupations, women generally occupy the lower positions. For example, in 1982 only 14.8% of physicians were female yet over 95% of nurses were women. Modest gains have been made but women still continue to be relegated into a relatively small number of occupations which tend to reflect male stereotypes about the kinds of work suitable for women. Clerical, health and teaching occupations are examples of appropriate professions for women because they are natural extensions of traditional female roles of nurturing and care-giving. For example, in 1981 over half of all women surveyed reported working in one of these three occupations.

Women have made some inroads into some predominantly male industries such as construction, mining, forestry and fishing, but the actual number of women employed remains small. For example, between 1971-1981 women doubled their representation in mining, but this small increase of 16,100 additional jobs was not overly significant in light of the fact that women gained more than two million jobs during the decade (Connelly and MacDonald, 1990).

Boyd (1982) provides a summary of the evidence which suggests that the work force in Canada is sex-segregated. Men and women are employed in very different occupations. Relative to men, women are over-represented in occupations which deal with health, teaching and clerical duties while at the same time are under-represented in areas such as construction, farming, natural sciences, engineering and business administration. For example, men are more likely to be employed in the medical profession as surgeons, doctors, and dentists, while women are more liable to be nurses and aids. In the teaching profession, men are more apt to instruct university, college and secondary school students whereas women are more likely to be elementary school teachers. In 1980 48% of all workers in clerical occupations were women. Positions which are more prestigious, higher paying and invested with more authority are more likely to be occupied by a man than a woman.

History of Women in the Police Force:

Traditionally, policing has been viewed as a logical extension of the traditional position held by men in society as the warrior, soldier and protector of the family and the community. Even today it remains a male-dominated occupation closely associated with masculinity. Initially, when Peel established a police force in 1829, politicians were concerned that a proper image be projected to the public -- that of a moral and symbolic force, immune from politics and impartial in their fulfillment of the community's laws. Part of that image was based on the idea that only men of great stature and superior intelligence could instill public confidence in this new institution, and at the same time indirectly elevate the authority of the state. Women were considered unfit for this job because they were deemed inferior to men, both physically and mentally. This was hardly an image suitable for the protectors of society, nor did it inspire a sense of authority or ensure confidence and feelings of security.

There is very little information available concerning the history of women in the Canadian policing system; not even the major historical account of policing by Kelly and Kelly (1976) makes reference to them. However, what is known suggests that the situation in Canada was strikingly similar to that of the United States and Britain (Martin,

1980; Linden and Minch, 1984; Breece and Garrett, 1975). Policewomen were first hired in Canada in 1912 in Vancouver, closely followed by Toronto and Ottawa in 1913, Winnipeg in 1917 and Edmonton in 1919. Women had been employed for several years as civilian members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In response to increased pressure from a variety of external interest groups, the federal police force conducted a feasibility study in the early 1970's concerning the employment of female officers. The first female troop commenced training in September 1974 and graduated in March 1975 (Linden 1983, Linden and Minch, 1984). Since that time, women have accounted for a small percentage (under 10.0%) of the police officers across Canada (See Appendix D).

Historically, women in Canadian police forces were channelled into sex-specific assignments, such as protecting the welfare of juveniles, women offenders and female inmates, because this work was seen as an extension of their natural female roles of "mother" and "moral guardian". Women also functioned as secretaries and meter maids. The general attitude was that women were totally unsuitable for police work, both physically and emotionally. Furthermore, male police officers believed that individuals entering police work needed to be aggressive and assertive in order to handle the demands of a paramilitary institution. Such

attitudes restricted the career options accessible for women.

The Ottawa Police Force followed the lead of other Canadian police agencies in the early days. If women did manage to get hired on to the force, they were restricted to "female-type" duties and responsibilities. One of the female officers interviewed commented:

They had started hiring meter maids and court matrons, but 30 years ago if a women got married she had to quit the job. Therefore, there was a high turnover of women in the force in these jobs. There were a few ladies who started in those positions, who are now officers in the force. They liked the job and stuck it out. However, they have never married. One of these ladies is now above the rank of Sergeant...At the time when I joined there was a strong push for hiring women. We had the same applications to complete and received the same training that the men did. There was a push to entice more women to join the police force. The police were criticized about not having female police officers on the job.

Pressure from lobby groups in the early 1970's and changes in Human Rights legislation, encouraged police agencies to assign women to more active duties, including general patrol duty, where women and men perform the same functions and are similarly assessed and evaluated (Linden and Minch, 1984; Breece and Garrett, 1975; Martin, 1980). The Ottawa Police Force found the spotlight in the late 1970's as the Human Rights Commission turned its attention

to police recruitment policies and hiring procedures. It found that some of these standards violated the Human Rights Code and discriminated against particular groups in society, namely women and visible minorities. As another respondent reported:

The force was taken to task in the late 1970's in regard to the Human Rights Code. This eliminated the height and weight requirements. The educational requirement was upgraded to grade 12. The population was becoming more educated so we needed the same level of education for the police. The vision standards are pretty close to perfect 20/20 vision. You have to be a Canadian citizen. We used to hire individuals with British landed immigrant status, but this policy was ruled an unfair advantage to certain groups over other groups....The Human Rights Code forced the police department to review its selection processes.

Barriers to Women entering the Police Force:

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to women in the realm of policing is the negative attitude of their male counterparts. The majority of male police officers, as reported in the literature, has been less than enthusiastic about expanding the role of female police officers in the area of general patrol duty. Policemen believed that participation of women should be limited to areas where women could practice their traditional roles of "mother" and "guardian of moral order", such as searching females,

questioning rape victims and contending with juveniles (Linden and Minch, 1984; Breece and Garrett, 1975; Reuss-Ianni, 1983).

The literature has identified four separate issues which demonstrate why men have difficulty accepting women as police officers. First of all, men feel that the public image of the police officer will suffer if women are assigned general patrol duties. Canadian research on the Mounted Police suggest that many male officers feel that the public would not accept women police officers and the image of the police would be tarnished (Laronde in Linden and Minch 1984).² However, Bloch and Anderson (1974) report that citizen surveys suggest that the public feel that women and men are equally capable of performing police duties and functions. In fact, the evidence suggests that women can improve the public image of the police department because they are seen as less aggressive and more understanding (Linden and Minch, 1984; Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Sherman, 1975; Sichel et al., 1978 [cited in Linden and Minch, 1984]; Linden 1980).

Secondly, male police officers believe that women are not committed to a career in policing; once they find a husband and have a family they will resign from the police force. Laronde (in Linden and Minch, 1984) reported that 62% of his male RCMP respondents felt that women viewed

their work with the Force as a temporary short-term position rather than a long-term career.

Thirdly, despite research which provides evidence that police work is more service-oriented, police officials and patrolmen fear that women will be unable to cope with the violence and danger which are components of this occupation. Bloch and Anderson (1974) concluded from their study on women police officers in Washington D.C. that the majority of policemen did not feel that women were as capable as their male colleagues of performing general patrol duties, especially if women were faced with handling violent disorderly male citizens. Canadian research has also indicated that male police officers did not feel that women could carry out all aspects of the police role as well as men (Laronde, and Whetstone (1978) cited in Linden and Minch, 1984). Policemen perceive women as the "weaker sex" and question their abilities to handle calls which require aggressive demeanour, physical strength and force. Male officers would not only have to worry about their own safety, they would have to protect their female partners from violence and danger as well; and, this would hinder their performance of their own patrol duties.

Female respondents in my Ottawa study indicated that they still encountered a great deal of resistance to their role in the police force, especially from the older, more traditional male officers. Women find that they have to

work harder than men in order to prove their abilities as a police officer, and they find this extra labour very stressful. However, attitudes are slowly changing with each new generation of police recruits.

Women in policing are still breaking new ground; they are still quite new even in policing. The force has to realize that it needs women on the job. The officers have to recognize that men and women are not physically the same.

On the platoon there are 40 other officers with varying degrees of seniority. There were a lot of the older male officers that had no use for female officers whatsoever and I was treated as such until I could prove to them that I could handle myself and was able to do the job just as well as they could. I find it stressful being a female working in a male environment. I feel like I am competing with them. I have to prove to them that I can do the job and that I am not a "ditzy" female. The physical aspect of the difference in size is there. They regard females as less helpful as back-up if they are getting the shit kicked out of them.

Everyone has to prove themselves. I like to think that my being a woman did not make any difference. I had a good coach officer and I worked with a great group of guys. It was not long before I realized that they would be there for me, the assistance would be there for me when it was needed...It used to be that the bigger you were the better you were. Ottawa was at one time known as a "big" force. Since I am a woman, I had to learn to compensate in different ways to challenge these old attitudes.

Some of those guys have been on the job for 15-16 years, and I have to put up with attitudes that are 15-16 years old.

[When I joined] women were still relatively new to the job. There were still a lot of chauvinistic attitudes around; they had a different outlook on policewomen. The men thought that they had to be a protector. Today, they are more accepting of women.

Male officers also voiced their concerns about the role of women in the police force. Some of these respondents were convinced that women were unsuitable for police work which involved violent situations, and they were not convinced that female partners would be useful to them in a physical confrontation.

In my personal opinion for my duties as a cop on the street on patrol, I think that size has to be a requirement. I have nothing against women police officers, but I think that women have to be of a suitable stature to help me out if I get in trouble. They have to be fit enough to defend themselves and not count on me to do it for them. It is often difficult to subdue big, strong and violent people to put them in cuffs and into the car. I need to know that my partner or back-up has the ability to assist me if I run into trouble...There are some female officers that I would prefer to some male officers because they are more willing to assist me...Agitated people are very hard to deal with and sometimes a woman officer can calm the situation. For example, some macho criminal types would not strike a woman, so she can help to reduce the potential dangers of the situation.

Some of the girls are big and can take care of themselves; others are quite small and physically not strong. This has nothing to do with sexist or chauvinist attitudes, but if you need a back-up you don't want to end up looking after yourself and her too. Some of the girls will not hesitate and will get right in the heat of things. We want to cover ourselves. The female officers may not be able to physically take control of the situation, but sometimes the men cannot either. If I hear that they are sending a female as back-up, I may go along as an extra back-up if needed. The female officers are of great benefit in the domestic disputes. They tend to have a calming affect on the situation.

Apparently women are useful in calming down volatile situations such as domestic disputes. Some men even commented that there were some policewomen they would rather have as back-up because they made a greater effort to help control the situation than some of their male counterparts.

It is sometimes necessary to use physical force in order to establish control of various situations. Laronde (in Linden and Minch 1980) reported that 75% of males and 52% of females resorted to using physical force during the course of their duties. Assaults were reported by 62% of males and 29% of females, though very few of these officers reported any serious injuries. Several studies have reported that women and men are similar in their ability to handle threatening behaviour, and women are not more likely

than men to request back-up assistance (Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Sherman, 1975). Sherman (1975) suggests that the violence which police officers do encounter is not truly inherent in the job itself, but is a result of public expectations of police behaviour. In the words of W. I. Thomas: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (in Cuff and Payne, 1979:134; Sherman, 1975). The mythical image of the police officer is built upon two assumptions: police officers are rugged and tough "men" and they can legally use physical force to enforce the laws. The American popular culture has conditioned the public to expect the police to use force in their encounters with civilians; therefore, through their demeanour and attitudes people convey an attitude of disrespect for the law and the police. Police officers usually respond to this type of situation in the expected manner -- resorting to the use of physical force to control the situation and instill a sense of respect for agents of the law.

The hostility of the interaction between the police and the gay community is a perfect example of the public's preconditioned attitudes concerning the expected behaviour of the police. In this case, the police are accused of being extremely prejudicial in their treatment of gay men. Perhaps this accusation is more relevant to the police than to other groups in society because these gay men have failed to uphold the rigid police standards of masculinity. The

gay community immediately becomes defensive and hostile in the presence of the police which automatically forces police into playing the role of the oppressor, even if their original intentions had been otherwise. One respondent indicated his concerns over being stereotyped in these situations:

I hate the US versus THEM mentality and you are often shoved into one of these categories without a choice...The spokesmen for these gay groups are notorious for fostering the US and THEM attitude. I honestly do not believe that cops as a whole think differently about gays versus the rest of the population. I feel that there is the same percentage of officers who do not like gays as there are any other groups in society. When we answer calls on gay assault, we automatically have to act out a role that they have imposed upon us as police. They start to get uppity and accuse the police of not treating them fairly because they are gays. If he has been assaulted, we will deal with it the same as we would any other assault.

These expectations of police behaviour would be profoundly challenged if women were to become police officers. Females are culturally defined as less aggressive and less physical, and more understanding, more sympathetic and more compassionate than men. Researchers have argued that these stereotypical characteristics of women are actually beneficial to the police department; women on patrol would elicit less violence, arouse less antagonism, have a greater calming effect on aggressive behaviour and

tend to defuse volatile situations. The general public appears to have a relatively favourable attitude towards female police officers (Sherman, 1975; Breece and Garrett, 1975; Bloch and Anderson, 1974). Canadian research indicates that women are quite pleased with the public's response to their presence in the community. Despite initial scepticism in their abilities to handle the demands of general patrol duties, police supervisors are generally more supportive of female police officers than male members of the rank-and-file. For example, Linden (1983) reported that 73% of the supervisors in his study gave women very good assessments and 85.3% supported the idea of assigning women to general patrol. Researchers report that women were quite competent and generally performed their duties in a similar manner as their male colleagues, with the exception that policewomen tend to make fewer arrests and give fewer citations (Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Linden and Minch, 1984). Regardless of these favourable reports demonstrating the similarities in abilities, capabilities and styles of women police, men still resent their assignment to general patrol duty.

This resentment and discriminatory attitudes and behaviours from male colleagues force women to choose between their feminine identities and their careers. Braid (1979) suggests that all women working in non-traditional occupations, especially blue collar jobs, encounter similar

resistance and resentment from male co-workers; their work is closely scrutinized because they represent such a great threat to the continued existence of the exclusivity of the "man's" world. Women face the additional responsibility of being seen as the "token" female; therefore, any personal shortcomings, weaknesses or failures are regarded as proof that women, in general, are unsuitable for police work. This is a dilemma which male recruits never encounter because traditionally police work has been defined as "men's" work.

Policewomen, those who have chosen the profession over femininity, must be overachievers. They have to prove to their male colleagues that they are just as capable of performing all the duties and responsibilities of the police role. In order to fit into the occupation and become professionals at their work, these women adopt several "male" characteristics such as assertiveness and the ability to take control of situations. They try to discourage paternal attitudes and protective behaviours by exerting their independence in all aspects of police work. Policewomen are very ambitious and are, therefore, very critical of less successful female police officers. These female officers are more likely to challenge the idea that police work is the exclusive domain of men by participating in off-duty social activities alongside their male colleagues (Martin, 1980).

Policewomen, on the other hand, emphasize their femininity on the job and seem to be very uncomfortable in situations where they have to take control or assert their authority because these behaviours are contradictory to their feminine socialization. As a result, male officers often become protective and treat women as junior partners. These protective attitudes may also lead police supervisors to give women special treatment in assigning duties such as administrative duties or service-oriented roles, thereby discriminating against the women and increasing the feelings of animosity among male officers. Such practices merely reinforce the belief that women are inferior, require extra protection and therefore have no place in the police world beyond the role of support staff. This patriarchal protectiveness impedes the development of females as police officers; restricted to non-violent assignments, women fail to learn the full range of duties required of patrol officers. If she does encounter a dangerous situation, she will not know what to do because she has never before confronted a similar predicament. Furthermore, if a female officer is prevented from handling these types of situations, she has no opportunity to prove her abilities and worth to her male colleagues and therefore has no chance for promotion (Kruckenber 1974 cited in Linden and Minch, 1984; Vincent, 1979; Reuss-Ianni 1983; Martin, 1980). As a result of this treatment, policewomen are less ambitious and

less career oriented. They give in to the stereotypical roles cast upon them by their male colleagues and place greater emphasis on being a lady than on being a cop. These female officers do not present any great threat to the solidarity of the informal male group because they are perceived to be fulfilling their appropriate gender-specific roles, and they are not generally viewed as competent police officers.

Finally, women are viewed as a threat to the male solidarity of the informal subcultural group. Martin (1980) has suggested that the occupational group is centered around the concept of masculinity and the male officer has built his self-image and identity around this culture. Males have revelled in the fact that police officers are "men", facing violence and danger daily for the purpose of protecting and serving the public. This whole image is shattered and the definition of policing is questioned if it can be proven that women are just as successful as police officers as their male counterparts.

Men vehemently oppose the entrance of women into the police work because they feel that it would reduce their "macho" image and erode the strong male bond which unites police officers. The policing occupation is one of the last "male" strongholds which honours and glorifies masculine values and qualities. Part of this celebration of masculinity is the pleasure of working in a man's world,

sharing the danger and excitement and testing the limits of his courage and ingenuity against those of the criminal mastermind; this has been referred to as the "John Wayne Syndrome" or the "Wyatt Erpp Syndrome". The presence of women threatens to disrupt this image (Martin, 1980).

The unity and solidarity of this "brotherhood" necessitates that members participate in behaviour and activities which are considered inappropriate for women, such as telling dirty jokes, swearing profusely and bragging about sexual exploits; it would be incredibly awkward for men to have women around. Policemen resent this intrusion into their world because they often find themselves feeling self-conscious or behaving differently when women are present. The presence of women threatens to expose a man's sentimental and emotional disposition. Men often mask their feelings and guard themselves against the overt displays of emotion. As a diversion they seek typical "manly" outlets such as heavy drinking, hunting or sports activities which bond them together and justify their close alliance and affection for one another. Mutual interdependence is an important facet of the group solidarity. Policemen depend upon one another off-duty for friendship, and on-duty for their safety and protection. Because of the unpredictable nature of the work and the potential for violence, it is important to police officers that they can trust their co-workers with their lives and depend upon them for support

whenever they need assistance. However, many policemen feel that they cannot rely upon the strength or courage of a woman during a physical confrontation, and depending upon a female partner is not only unmanly and humiliating, but could be potentially very dangerous (Martin, 1980; Vincent, 1979).

To protect their unity and maintain the norms of the in-group, the police have utilized the recruitment and selection standards to ensure that they will select a group of individuals who will fit into their subculture and accept their values. Traditionally, police recruited from a very narrow portion of the population -- white lower-middle-class males. Women and visible minorities were often viewed as outsiders and therefore untrustworthy and unpredictable. However, recent legislative changes have declared some of these requirements as unconstitutional, and as a result more "outsiders" have been recruited by police agencies. This will have a significant impact upon the occupational culture of the police (Martin, 1980; Ericson, 1974).

Summary:

In our culture, men and women have been assigned a variety of roles based upon their inherent traits and qualities. Women have been culturally defined as nurturing, sympathetic, understanding and compassionate as well as non-

aggressive and non-physical. As a result, they have been limited to positions in the labour force which emphasize these natural characteristics such as teaching and nursing. On the other hand, men have been regarded as assertive, competitive, aggressive, authoritative as well as emotionally and physically strong. Typically, males dominate the more prestigious occupations such as medicine and law. The majority of the blue-collar occupations such as construction, mining, logging and policing are also male-dominated.

Policing is one of the last "male" strongholds which celebrates masculine values and qualities. It is the only civil occupation in which physical force can be legitimately used to control others. The unpredictable nature of the work and the constant potential for violence require the presence of strong male characteristics such as strength, assertiveness and authority. The police and the public feel that police officers represent the "thin blue line" between civil society and the corrupting influences of the criminal elements. Their position on the boundary between order and chaos has effectively isolated the police from the rest of the community.

A special bond or brotherhood develops from working side by side with other men, sharing danger and excitement and testing the limits of courage and manhood. The unity and solidarity of this fraternity is reinforced through

typical manly outlets such as sports activities, hunting or heavy drinking. These associations and bonds justify their close alliance and affection for one another.

Unsuitable candidates had been excluded until social conditions forced changes in the traditional divisions of labour and opened up the police community to a wider variety of applicants, including women. Today, women are full-time participating members in almost all segments of the labour force, including most non-traditional occupations. Members of the policing occupation resent the intrusion of women because it forces them to adjust their self-identities and self-images and requires them to redefine the boundaries of masculinity and men's work.

The presence of women in policing threatens the continuation of the work culture. The culture facilitates the perpetuation of the crime fighter image by emphasizing masculinity, loyalty and secrecy. It also stresses the components of danger and authority which combine to create a police officer who is suspicious and cynical and feels isolated from the community. This is essentially the ethos of the occupation. The popular image of the police would be shattered if it could be demonstrated that female officers are just as successful as their male colleagues. There would no longer be anything unique about the occupation which men could claim as their own. It is apparent from research that women are as equally effective as men in their

performance of police duties. However, there are some significant differences in their policing styles; female officers are less likely to take the initiative in proactive police action than are their male counterparts. Nevertheless, studies confirm that the general public appears to have a relatively favourable attitude toward women police officers.

Researchers have argued that stereotypical feminine characteristics such as understanding and compassion are actually beneficial to the police department. Female officers would have a greater calming effect on aggressive behaviour, elicit less violence and arouse less antagonism than policemen who seem to depend more upon physical intimidation. As a result, female officers would appear to be more approachable, and therefore would enjoy a closer relationship with members of the community. Female officers also tend to prefer community service work thus increasing their overall contact with the public. This poses a direct challenge to and undermines the significance of the work culture. Initially, the police turned inward to their collective power to escape from the ungrateful, unsupportive and hostile community which treat them like outsiders. The attempt by female officers to bridge the gap between the police and the public force the policemen to renegotiate their position vis-a-vis the community.

The solidarity of the male groups is threatened by the presence of women who do not adhere to the traditional feminine norms and values. Women must learn a whole new set of behaviours when they become police officers. Male officers have very low expectations of the job performance of these women. This increases the pressures on the women since their personal failure will be taken as proof that women in general do not belong in the police profession. Women also threaten the stability of the self-image of their male counterparts, therefore women tend to have limited opportunities for success at the outset of their careers.

Much of the behaviour and many of the activities of policemen are considered inappropriate for women, such as telling dirty jokes, swearing profusely and bragging about sexual exploits. Female officers have to endure this initiation process, or rite of passage, in order to be "accepted" as a member of the informal work group. Their best defense is to either ignore this behaviour or participate where appropriate; to act offended would further isolate them from their male colleagues.

These chauvinistic, and often sexist, attitudes force these women to choose between their feminine identities and their careers. While their very presence challenges the ethos of the occupations, the most successful female officers are those who have embraced the "masculine" characteristics of the job such as confidence, competence,

assertiveness, independence and physical strength. In other words, these women have "bought into the maleness" of police work. Those who choose the profession over their femininity are dedicated and ambitious individuals who want to prove that they are as equally capable of performing the police role as their male colleagues. They are overachievers who are staunchly loyal and adhere to all the rules in order to prove themselves as exceptions among women. Policewomen resent being pampered and protected. Policewomen acknowledge that in order to survive in a male-dominated profession they have to be able to compete on an equal footing with men. They endure the discrimination until their abilities gain recognition from the men. Eventually, the male cops will accept the presence of women, but they are still essentially "outsiders" not only in the policing occupation but also among their female reference groups. Women in policing challenge the cultural definitions of both masculine and feminine behaviour.

The responses of the female respondents in this study are supported by the research presented in this discussion. The female officers in the Ottawa Police Department indicated that they have to work twice as hard as their male counterparts to be accepted as competent police officers because they have to dispel the myth that women are not suitable for police work. They acknowledge that there were some lingering chauvinistic attitudes within the department;

however, these were mostly from the older, more traditional police officers. Policemen admitted that they were reluctant to rely upon women as back-up assistance in physical confrontations because of their small stature. Overall, the women were very optimistic and predicted that current changes in male-female relationships on the force would continue to improve with each new generation of police officers.

In summary, the nature and design of policing have contributed to its enduring definition and recognition as "men's work". However, the recent participation of women in policing has challenged the ethos of the occupation, in particular the concept of masculinity and the principle of isolation vis-a-vis the public. Ultimately, the participation of women in non-traditional occupations presents a challenge to the social order and the traditional stereotypical definitions of masculinity and femininity.

ENDNOTES:

1. There was no bibliography with the copy of Linden and Minch (1984) which I used for this chapter, therefore I was unable to find the titles of the articles published by many of the authors quoted in their research. For example, Laronde was quoted without a year for this piece of literature; and the reference for Sichel et al. (1978) was also missing.

Chapter Seven:

Community-Based Policing: An Alternative Philosophy.

In the past few years, there has been increased pressure on the police to improve their relations with the communities they serve. Critics argue that the traditional crime control model has failed to abate or control rising crime rates and has alienated the police from the community (Kelling, 1987). Community-based policing has been suggested as an alternative solution to these problems. This philosophy suggests a return to the basic principles of policing, as defined by Peel in 1829, which stressed the importance of community participation and responsibility for maintaining order, preventing crime and apprehending offenders. The underlying premise was that the police were a part of, not apart from, the community: "...the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police..." (Radelet, 1977:4).

This original police mandate evolved over time into a form of policing which emphasized law enforcement and crime fighting (Braiden, 1989; Kelling, 1987). Braiden (1989) points out that the majority of current managers within the Canadian policing system were exposed to a mind-set that declared police officers as part of the criminal justice system and apart from the larger community. The Canadian Police Act, which is in effect a job description, portrays a

style of policing quite different to the one suggested by Peel:

The members of police forces are charged with the duty of preserving the peace, preventing robberies and other crimes and offences, and apprehending offenders and commencing proceedings before the proper tribunal, and prosecuting and aiding in the prosecuting of offenders... (Braiden, 1987:33)

Kelling (1987) argues that early police reformers developed the idea that the police could achieve greater social order in the community by concentrating on the reduction of serious crime. Modern technological advancements such as automobiles, two-way car radios (and more recently computers) provided police agencies with new "weapons" for fighting crime. Reformers pulled police officers off the streets and placed them in motorized patrols. Several explanations were offered for this tactic: foot patrol was a waste of manpower, time and money; mobile units could respond faster to citizen calls for assistance; motorized patrol would create a feeling of police omnipresence in the community. One of the police respondents indicated that the foot patrol system was abolished in Ottawa for similar reasons:

The beat system as it used to exist was abolished because over the years there developed a greater need for mobile officers. There is more advantage having the officer mobile in a car than wasting time walking a beat on Bank Street.

Perhaps more importantly, police reformers wanted to break the link between the police force and local community politics in an effort to reduce widespread police corruption.¹

Organizational modifications created a centralized command which was responsible for all decision-making and accountable for all actions taken by members of the police force (Kelling, 1987). All police activities were coordinated through a central dispatch. Police officers were no longer at liberty to investigate information and leads supplied to them by community members; instead, they were arbitrarily assigned to investigate complaints from the public. The police organization became preoccupied with measurable variables of police efficiency such as crime rates, clearance rates, arrest statistics and traffic citations. Criminal matters were given higher priority than civil matters. Policing became very impersonal. Officers became preoccupied with meeting quotas and assignments were completed as quickly as possible so the officer could return to his patrol car to receive his next assignment. The feelings and the welfare of the victims of crime were often overlooked (Kelling, 1987; Braiden, 1987).

On the other hand, progressive communications and increased mobility improved police response time to calls from the public. This enhanced service encouraged citizens to call the police for a wider range of services, not all

related to criminal incidents. The public slowly began to abdicate its responsibility for maintaining order and preserving the peace in their own communities and increasingly relied upon the police to solve all their problems (Braiden, 1987; Task Force, 1974). The police began to assume all responsibility for the safety and protection of the community. Members of the community were obligated to report crime, but beyond this they had no responsibilities for further action (Braiden, 1987).

A police respondent discussed the development of policing in the city of Ottawa. Foot patrol approaches were exchanged for motorized patrol strategies which were more mobile and could respond more quickly to the public calls for help. Once the community realized this they abdicated all responsibility of policing their own communities:

The police had moved away from Peel's nine principles developed in 1892, especially the public are the police and the police are the public. Historically that is what it was--the public policed their own communities. Then the public handed over that responsibility to the police and the police developed the attitude that it was their responsibility alone....At this time computers were coming into existence the thinking and philosophy of the police department began to change. Portable radios, on-board computers and computerized dispatch greatly decreased the response time of the police to calls for emergency service. The community was demanding that the police protect them better. In an emergency the public was not concerned with the added frills of better police-community relations. They demanded that the police get there

fast. There was, however, an opportunity cost involved in meeting this demand. If you put something somewhere you had to take something away from somewhere else. The police force's response was to increase the number of available patrols, expand the number of zones and take police officers off the beat where they were wasting manpower and put them somewhere where they could be more efficient. Now Ottawa has the fastest response time, of 2 minutes, in the area, but the police are away from the public. Police men and women in patrol cars removed from public contact are not developing that relationship with the public.

As foot patrol officers, individuals enjoyed close interpersonal relations with members of the community on a daily basis. The squad car erected a physical barrier between these two groups and the radio restricted the patrolman's movements in the community. Eventually policemen lost touch with the law-abiding segment of society, and were increasingly exposed to the dark side of the human condition. This unbalanced exposure to the community leads the individual to develop a cynical attitude towards human nature which he then generalizes to all police-public encounters; the result is the emergence of the "US" versus "THEM" dichotomy. The organization's preoccupation with measurable statistics has produced police officers who seem to be only interested in the facts of the case and not in the human element of the police-citizen encounter. The public react to this detached, impersonal

manner by portraying a general skepticism of police effectiveness in controlling crime in their neighbourhood. Such encounters are uncomfortable for both the police and the public; the police feel the public are hostile and ungrateful (confirming their cynicism), and the public feel the police are ineffective and uncaring. Gradually the individual restricts his friendships and social relationships to police colleagues who understand and appreciate his predicament. The combination of these factors eventually leads the individual to perceive himself first and foremost as a crime fighter and define real police work as law enforcement. As a result, officers designate non-crime activities as peripheral to the crime control function and, therefore, the responsibility of social welfare agencies (Task Force, 1974).

Officers who espouse the crime control philosophy are called traditionalists. These individuals have the idea that community policing is something "new" to add on to their police mandate. Yet, research has provided evidence demonstrating that the dual functions of law enforcement and peacekeeping services have been present from the beginning of policing. Chapman (1977) and Whitehouse (1973) report that police officers assumed several community service and welfare duties such as sanitation officer, fire fighter and dog catcher. Investigation and solving crimes and apprehending offenders were not even a part of police

responsibilities; these duties were handled by private security agencies (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). The Chief of police, in an interview with a local TV journalist, commented on the social work aspect of policing, which traditionalists claim should not be the responsibility of the police force:

I think that the police are probably the best social workers that there are because they have to deal with all issues: legal, medical, housing issues and everything else. They always have had to answer those questions. But some years ago the police officer might have been told "This is not your domain to worry about housing conditions, this is somebody else's domain, this is not your domain to worry about lighting in the streets, this is not your domain, education in the schools." These are all very great concerns of the police and they should be involved with them...I think that the police are going to have to become more involved in social conditions in housing, in sexual abuse, spousal abuse, the abuse of the elderly and the abuse of young children. We're getting very deeply into these areas now, finally. A lot of these areas were ignored for some time. The police have always been social workers, but I see them becoming more and more aware of their responsibilities in these other areas because, don't forget, the police are on duty 24 hours a day and they are the people who people in trouble come to and I think that we have to realize that, that we are not just (quote unquote) "Crime Fighters" for bank robberies and hold-ups and things like this. We are there to help the public and improve social conditions if we can...This is not really a different role for the police, because I've been a police officer for 39 years almost now and I have always been involved as a social worker. And I can remember years

ago lecturing to recruits and telling them that they were in fact social workers, and not having too much support from people above me in those days who were telling me that I was not telling the recruits the right thing. But the police are social workers, always have been and I don't think their role is changing. I think they're just becoming more aware and allowed to do the role that they were put there for, and the young people really are interested in doing this today.

The crime control models ignores the basic fact that the police spend the bulk of their time (75%-90%) on patrol or dealing with service calls. Incidents of a serious criminal nature are rarely the focus of police activity (Reiss, 1971; Wilson, 1968; Cumming et al., 1965) Braiden (1987) and Murphy and Muir (1986) argue that a crime control model is inappropriate for Canadian policing considering the relatively low rates of serious crime in Canada.

Braiden (1987) asserts that there is a basic flaw in the crime fighting model: the product is not controlled by the police. The police rely upon the public to call in their complaints and provide the relevant and necessary information. Members of the community are customers requesting the services provided by a police force which is available 24 hours-a-day and seven days-a-week and does not charge user fees. The public alone determine what police work is and how good the police are at doing it. The "people" factor is an uncontrollable variable. The police

have discovered that rapid response is not entirely successful in reducing crime due to the fact that citizens control the lapse of time between the occurrence of the event and the call for help. The majority of crime-related incidents are "cold" by the time the police reach the crime scene. According to Braiden (1987) over 90% of police work is generated by complaints from the public and without this information, the probabilities that crimes will be solved are drastically reduced.

We know that forensic science solves only 1% of the problem. So we come down to the basic fact that people solve the vast majority of whatever crime we solve...We know that the best single source of solving crime is information from complainants or witnesses...If a crime is not solved by an on-scene arrest or being provided with an identification, chances are slim it will ever be solved. (Braiden, 1987:33).

The crime control model also exaggerates the crime-fighting capabilities of the police because crime is a symptom of deeper social ills such as poverty, unemployment or family break-up. Policing cannot be divorced from these issues; however, the police working alone can only apply band-aid solutions to these problems. These social issues must be addressed by the community working in concert with the police force (Braiden, 1987).

Traditionally, the police have been unilaterally responsible for defining the parameters of their role in society. Researchers contend that the aims and goals of the police agency are not in line with public expectations. While the police have been selling themselves as crime fighters and presenting statistical evidence of their successes, the public has been concerned with community disorder. The public have accepted crime as a fact and believe that the police cannot really do anything about it. The general disorder created by the influx of prostitutes, panhandlers or juvenile gangs threaten the continued existence of the community (Kelling, 1987; Braiden, 1987). Wilson and Kelling (1982) have developed a theory of "broken windows" to explain this process of urban decay. They suggest that the presence of undesirable individuals in the neighbourhood cause the residents to engage in protective behaviours, such as crossing the street to avoid a gang of teenage boys loitering at the corner store. Eventually, more outsiders invade the community and people take refuge behind locked doors. This reduced visibility of law-abiding citizens on the streets invites the criminal element to invade and take over the neighbourhood. Fear of crime dramatically increases.

If you have disorder in a community and don't do something about it, the disorder is going to get more serious and ultimately result in serious crime.
(Kelling, 1987:19)

A suggested solution to this disparity is to develop a style of policing where the community could voice its needs and concerns and become an active participant in defining enforcement policies.

The police in Ottawa also feel that it is important to seek community input into policies, procedures and styles of policing. The police Chief described the philosophy of community policing to a local journalist:

The philosophy really is very simple. You have to get closer to the people. You have to have the people have confidence in the police. You have to have the people tell you how they want you to police them, not you tell them how they should be policed. You can sit here in this office, you and I, and talk about how people should be policed in a certain community and what we decide may be entirely different from what we would find out if we go sit down with those people. I've found this on several occasions...People have their concerns and you have to find out what they are. If you find out what the people's concerns are you'll become closer to those people, you'll gain their confidence. The secret is to gain the confidence of the people. If you can do that you can fight drugs, you can fight all sorts of crime, you can also help people, which really is what the Police Force function is all about--to help people.

Another police respondent offered his comments on community involvement in policing issues:

The public is aware of changes in policing. Today, the police go to the public and ask what they want in their local police. The police and the public

differ in what they single out as major concerns. For example, the police may list armed robbery or organized crime as creating problems for the community. However, the local community may identify as a problem or concern the cars that fail to stop at the stop sign on the corner and threaten to run over their school children. These conceptions of the major concerns are very different and the police and the community must strike a balance. Communities need different things and have different needs. It is important that the police and community identify what these particular needs are. The main focus--raison d'etre--of the police force is to maintain peace and security in society. To fulfill this function we need the cooperation of the public.

The police have recognized that they alone cannot resolve the crime problem and acknowledge the need for public assistance. The police and community must jointly accept the responsibility for peacekeeping and order-maintenance. Some members of the Ottawa Police Force commented on this increasing collaboration:

Good community relations are one of the most important things. I have seen major changes in the past few years. It is a team effort between the public and the police. In the United States there was a big problem with community relations. It got to be the police versus the rest of the people. Now they are realizing that this does not work, especially in big cities. It is showing up in different places, for example the drug problem. The drug problem has become so bad that the police and the community have to work together. A few years ago it seemed that it was just a police problem. Now it is also a

community problem. If the drug problem is ever going to be beaten, that is the way to do it.

I think that community relations are extremely important. They are more important today than ever because the community has changed. Thirty years ago the community did not have to get involved. The cops were the ones responsible. Today, we have to sell ourselves to the community. We have to make the community know that we are on their side and they are on our side.

I think that community relations are very important. Without public support we cannot do our job efficiently. The only way to get that public support is through professional attitudes. We have to be proactive, we cannot just wait for the community. A high profile policing is very important. We have to show that we are a part of the community and not a separate entity. We are all part of the community and we have to work together to make it function well.

I think that community relations are very important. It is important that the people know what we are doing so they do not make demands on us that we cannot fulfill. It is very important that they know that we are human and not special individuals with some magical powers to find criminals. We are no different than the public. We are just doing a job.

The more things that the police get involved with the better. It is important to educate the public that the police are part of them. None of that "US" versus "THEM" stuff. The more the police get involved in the community the more opportunities we have to tell them what we do and why we do it...There are too many misconceptions of police work and these just lead to problems.

Poor police-community relations impede police efforts to handle crime and maintain law and order. The "new" style of policing focuses on increasing personal contact between police officers and citizens. While crime control is an important part of police work, the community-based policing strategy suggests a broader conception of the police mandate. Crime fighting is not necessarily the central task of the force and traditional policing has failed to have a direct impact on serious crime. Conversely the police could have an indirect impact on crime by working closely with communities to strengthen and reinforce traditional, largely informal, social control mechanisms. This is accomplished by teaching members of the neighbourhood how to manage their problems and defend themselves. This includes educating the citizenry about the limitations of the police mandate and aiding local groups in establishing crime prevention programs such as Neighbourhood Watch (Kelling, 1987).

The mission statement of the Ottawa Police Force indicates that it has recognized the importance of strong

police-community relations. The police administration is taking steps to ensure that the police organization provides service and assistance to the community as well as protection from crime:

It is the mission of the Ottawa Police Force to promote a safe and secure environment for all the citizens we serve through the provision of the highest quality of community oriented police services with integrity and sensitivity to Human Rights and the Multicultural and Bilingual nature of our population.

Murphy and Muir (1986) have reviewed the literature and have identified five key principles which form the basis of this community-based policing philosophy and distinguish it from the crime control model:

1. The importance of the community in police decision making: The community is not simply viewed as a passive recipient of police services, but as an active element in the decision making process which affects priorities, allocations and the implementation of police services.
2. The objectives of policing are broad and community-defined: The general peace, order and security needs of a community are defined as the appropriate ends or goals of a community-based police service. Order maintenance and social service functions are legitimized by acceptance of the broad social objectives of policing and are not seen as marginal policing responsibilities.

3. The diverse functions that the police perform are legitimate elements of the police role: What the public expects and want the police to do is, by and large, similar to what the police should do. The diverse nature of activities comprising the police role are thus products of public definitions of police work. Adopting a broad definition of the police role simply brings role definitions in line with the realities of police work and the expectations of the community.
4. Community-based policing is based on a shared responsibility between the police and the community: The police are seen as a special but interrelated component of a complex system of social control in the community. They should, where possible, support, educate, co-ordinate and animate dormant self-policing capacities of the community.
5. Community-based policing advocates proactive involvement with the community: The police are expected to break away from the traditional reactive response mode and become proactively involved in the identification and management of community crime and order problems. (Murphy and Muir, 1986:9-10)

Advocates of community policing argue for the decentralization of authority. Front-line officers must acquire more freedom and independence from the administration, and be allowed to use their informal discretionary powers without fear of reprisal. Police officers currently work alone 90% of their time without

close supervision. However, management does not officially recognize this autonomy because the hierarchical structure of the organization demands close and constant supervision and centralized decision-making. If community-based policing is to be successful, police administrators as well as local governments, must accept the fact that the majority of police work is intangible and consequently unmeasurable. Therefore, if police officers are ever to emerge from beneath the crime control mentality where arrest statistics and clearance rates are given highest priority, crime prevention and community service functions must be rewarded (Braiden, 1987).

Community-based policing is a mind-set, an "umbrella" term used to describe a variety of approaches to policing which encourage closer police-community relations. It does not suggest a specific, empirical approach to policing. This model recognizes and accepts the fact that individual communities are quite diverse and have different needs and concerns. Depending on the context of the community, the police have a wide variety of innovative approaches at their disposal such as problem-oriented policing, team policing, crime prevention and police patrol strategies (Murphy and Muir, 1986).² All of these styles of policing encourage proactive police-community partnerships. I have chosen to discuss foot patrol strategies and crime prevention programs

because these approaches have been implemented by the Ottawa Police Force.

Police administrators have largely discredited foot patrol mainly because it tied up valuable police resources, reduced the mobility of the officers and weakened the control of the organization over its members. Motor patrol officers are required to call in "out of service" if they are leaving their squad car for any reason, but Headquarters has limited ability to control the activities of beat cops (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Critics claim that foot patrol programs have little impact on crime rates. Researchers contend that the purpose of beat patrols is not to prevent crime per se, but to encourage communities to prevent crime themselves. Foot patrol programs also seek to restore a semblance of social order in the community. Results from the Newark experiment concluded that foot patrol had not reduced crime rates (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). However, Trojanowicz (1987) reports that experiments in Flint indicated that neighbourhood foot patrol programs had actually reduced crime rates by 8.7% over the duration of the research. Both studies provide evidence demonstrating that residents in foot patrol neighbourhoods seemed to feel safer than members in adjacent community. They also tended to perceive a reduction in crime rates and consequently took fewer precautionary measures, such as staying at home behind locked doors (Kelling, 1987; Trojanowicz, 1987).

Foot patrol strategies offered several advantages over motorized patrol. The daily presence of a beat cop walking the streets of the neighbourhood greatly improved the relationship between the officer and the community. After initial reluctance foot patrol officers found that they enjoyed greater rapport with local residents. They were given the opportunity to become intimately familiar with the geographics of their patrol zones; areas which were previously inaccessible to mobile units, such as alleyways and parks, became part of the daily rounds of the beat cop. Once the officer became acquainted with the community, he could distinguish between the good guys and the bad guys and monitor the activities of potential troublemakers. Officers assigned to foot patrol reported greater job satisfaction and higher levels of morale. Foot patrol officers indicated that they often felt safer on foot patrol than they did patrolling in squad cars. This was attributed to the fact that the officer had developed close relationships with community members and usually knew the suspect in question on a personal basis (Kelling, 1987; Koller, 1990; Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Trojanowicz, 1987).

Citizens of these communities also changed their opinions of the police. Motorized patrol officers were too impersonal; they had no ties to the neighbourhood and only stayed long enough to complete their assignments. On the other hand, foot patrol officers were considered to be a

part of the community. They had a stake in the neighbourhood and were concerned about its problems. Beat cops were readily available to residents who had sensitive personal matters to discuss, or who were too scared or embarrassed to officially report a crime, such as rape. Officers on the street were not "social workers" but they could offer advice and refer people to the appropriate social service agencies. Citizens made an effort to get to know their local officers. Trojanowicz (1987) reports that over 33% of the residents could name their patrol officer and at least 50% could provide an accurate description of him (Kelling, 1987; Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Koller, 1990; Trojanowicz, 1987). Foot patrol officers also educated the public about the limitations of the police mandate and told them which incidents required official intervention and which matters could be settled informally. With their local officer's encouragement and assistance, citizens began to solve their own minor problems, negating the need to register formal complaints. The results of the Flint experiment demonstrated that over the duration of the study, the number of service calls had been dramatically reduced by 42%. Research has also indicated that people in neighbourhoods which participated in the foot patrol programs started to associate more freely with one another and discuss community problems (Trojanowicz, 1987).

Police experts have declared that the key to policing is information. Modern technology has removed the police officer physically from the community, and as a result the "police have ended up policing space instead of people" (Koller, 1990:4). The police, however, still rely upon the information supplied by the public and the most reliable method of gathering this information is personal contact. Police officers have to get out of their squad cars, away from the technology, and mingle with the citizenry (Braiden, 1987). It is much easier for informants to make casual contact with a beat cop on patrol who blends in with the neighbourhood than it is to approach a squad car and have on-lookers identify them as a fink. Similarly, community residents who want to share their information with the police fear reprisal from local predators if a squad car is seen in their driveway (Koller, 1990; Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Trojanowicz, 1987). A foot patrol officer can also gain a great deal of information about problems in the community, including tips about illegal activities, by listening to the comments made on the streets and talking to local residents.

Police respondents from Ottawa recognize that the community supplies the police with a great deal of information and suggest that positive police-community relations are facilitated by the presence of foot patrol officers.

Our job would be exceedingly difficult without the assistance of the public. You cannot get the job done without information. Unless the public cooperate, I do not get anywhere with my investigations. We need to glean public information.

This job involves public relations work more than anything else. I have a good rapport with the people that I have met on the beat. You become a part of the community and the people there trust you. Most of them have known me for a while. If you are just starting out, you have to walk a beat for three to four months before you get into people's confidences. You go from store to store and chit chat with the people and ask them if they have any problems. You make arrests if you run into something suspicious. You basically do the same thing that an officer in a car would be except that you are on foot. Beat policing offers more personal contact between the public and the police. You tend to find out more things on a beat. The people will often forget the uniform and open up to you and tell you private things that even their best friends do not know about. We find out about the skeletons in their closets.

We get all our information from the public. We cannot be isolated in a car. We have to be in touch with the community. If no one talked to us, we would be lost.

Reinstating the beat patrol has been partly an effort to reinstate closer community relations. In general terms the beat puts the individual in closer touch with the public.

the police with potential valuable sources of information should crime problems arise. Community policing encourages police officers to develop more intimate ties with the community and become more integrated in the social and political life of the community. The police profession will be expected to become more accountable to the community and local government; therefore, the police organization will become more open to public scrutiny.

The primary function of the officer will no longer be defined as crime fighting and law enforcement. Instead, the police will serve and protect the public in the role of peace officer. Police officers are also encouraged to become generalists rather than specialists, and are therefore responsible for a broader range of activities. This change compromises the officer's self-image. The specialized knowledge and the power of the police role had identified the police officer as a law enforcement "expert" in society and enabled the police to gain professional control over their work. However, the community policing model awards the power to define the police role to the public.

These changes threaten the continued existence of the work culture which is founded, in part, upon secrecy and isolation. Increased participation of the community in formulating policies and procedures and determining the style of policing reduces the distance and bridges the gulf

perspectives and personal experiences. If they have been in CID for 15-20 years they will believe that the role of the police in society is to fight crime. They need exposure to other segments of the police force in order to comprehend the entire function of the police in society.

In Ottawa the officers working in the community service section are recognized for the work they do, yet there still seems to be several misconceptions about their purpose and function and some lingering doubts concerning the necessity for a separate section:

The guys in the community relations section are a good reminder to the public that we are there to serve the people. The people in the community service section act as salesmen for the force. They go out and patch up the problems that exist between the force and the community.

I am a bit of a relic. I most often see police work, rightly or wrongly, as most benefitting the public by catching the criminals. I am not certain whether the force better serves the public by maintaining such a large number of persons engaged in the public relations role as opposed to the law enforcement role. I am not sure that we are attuned to what the people want or whether it is the people as a whole that want public relations.

I think community relations are important to some extent. However, when I am down in Lower Town on a Friday night I could use some back-up because we have lots of calls but fewer cars.

Sure it is important to have police officers go out and talk to schools and community groups and educate the public to make more reports and more calls concerning criminal activities. Educating the public results in more calls for service and therefore we need more available officers to answer these calls. These community relations officers are the guys working nine to five. The Platoons tend to be big drawing grounds for sending people off to other divisions. However, it is frustrating to be out there with less officers available when we need the extra manpower.

The Community Relations Section does try to increase the police organization's involvement in community issues. This section arranges for officers to visit schools and lecture to community groups:

The Community Relations Section has resource people that are able to go and talk at community and school events. They deal with media relations. The community service guys often ask other sections to send a representative to talk in front of various groups.

I think that there is definitely a need for community relations. What we do is education, people do not know what the laws are. In this respect, education is needed. The aldermen need to know who to contact when there is a problem. This is our job and we have more time to investigate these issues than the general platoon or CID. We have more time to "stroke" the public.

The Community Service Section is also responsible for implementing, coordinating and supervising crime prevention programs such as Neighbourhood Watch. Crime prevention has been defined as the "anticipation, recognition and appraisal of crime risk and the initiation of some action to reduce that risk" (Murphy and Muir, 1986:21). A police respondent described some of Ottawa's crime prevention programs:

Crime prevention is a section within the Community Services Division. Other sections include School Patrol, Youth, and Community Patrol. Crime Prevention involves liaison between business groups and overall crime prevention programs. We initiate, organize and maintain several programs. There is a lot of public relations involved with this job. Public relations are very important. We do the full spectrum -- interview, radio, T.V. Prevention programs are ongoing at different times of the years. There are home and business security checks that we perform where we go into the home or the business and give valid up-to-date, unbiased information about security services that are available on the commercial market, such as locks and alarms. Over the last seven years there has been a decrease in the break and entry crimes of almost 50%. At one time Ottawa was known as the break-in-capital per capita. We are often called in by large companies to improve upon their security systems. We also do environmental design. This involves assisting the company to make security recommendations at the blue print stage. We make recommendations that will give the building a more security enhanced look. The architect or designer may not have designed the building with security in mind. Trees, for example, if used in the wrong places in landscaping could provide very dangerous places for users for the building.

Neighbourhood Watch: This is a community based program. The philosophy behind this is neighbour helping neighbour. Use your eyes and your ears and report anything that is suspicious in your area. It is common to ask a neighbour to watch your place, get your mail while you go on holiday. We have just formalized it so that it takes in an entire area. So if you drive through your area and you see something suspicious two blocks away from your home, you would call it in. It is our job to educate the citizens on home security and we do this through lectures and films. We teach them about good secure home environments. We pass on the statistics (of the number of break ins in their area) to watch and if we detect a crime wave in the area we will give the leaders of the watch in the area a description of the MO (modus operandi) of the theft so that they can be prepared. It is a three tiered system. There is a member who just watches and calls the police; there is a Block Captain who actively canvases for participants in the area; there is a Coordinator who is the initiator of the programs and sets it up and has contact with the police. Neighbourhood Watch has worked to a certain extent. It is a fan out approach. We contact the coordinator who phones the Block Captain who phones the members. But since it is a fan approach we are never sure just how much information is actually getting out.

Operation Provident: This is a program that was developed by the government and is used Canada wide. There is no real way for a company to mark its product. There is a numbering scheme which has been developed for every province/region/city in Canada. We will supply the organization with a number to mark their property and equipment. A buyer of stolen property may take a chance and purchase a stolen item if it is clean. But this same buyer will not

buy stolen goods with operation numbers on them. The thief would have to destroy or deface the goods to get rid of the number engraved on the property. Such markers are placed in prominent positions to deter the would-be thief, because somewhere this number can be traced. Operation Identification works on the same principle for the general community only social insurance numbers are used.

Ideally the community-based policing philosophy requires the full participation of the community and local government in all aspects of policing. However, it will take time to implement these changes because the police department must undergo a reorientation, both organizationally and operationally, if community policing is to be successful. The public must also be educated in their new role as contributing participants in policing their own communities. Successful crime prevention programs such as Neighbourhood Watch provide a groundwork for future community policing by encouraging strong community participation.

During the course of this research the police administration has adopted a community-based policing philosophy and is making changes in order to create an organizational structure which is more responsive to the needs of the community (Appendix C). For example, beat patrols have been reinstated in selected areas in an effort to improve police-community relations. Additionally,

Inspectors have been assigned to each of the four districts and given the responsibility of consulting with local politicians and neighbourhood leaders on appropriate policing styles and policies for those particular communities (Annual Report, 1989).

Summary:

The traditional "professional" model of policing, developed during the early 1900's, emphasizes rapid response and random motorized patrol. Research has indicated that this model of policing has failed to have any significant impact on reducing crime rates.

Typically, victims of crime delay reporting the criminal incidents to the police and the crime scene is "cold" by the time the police arrive. Shorter response times to calls such as these are unnecessary since they are unlikely to result in the apprehension of criminals in the commission of their offences. Furthermore, studies have indicated that the calls which would justify rapid response, such as life-threatening incidents, are only a small percentage of the total calls for service received by the police. In addition, very few crimes are solved without the information provided by victims or witnesses. Studies have also indicated that motorized patrol does not significantly reduce the crime rate, nor do they diminish the fear of

crime. Overall, the traditional crime control model of policing has not been very effective in preventing or containing crime. However, it has effectively isolated the police from the community and diminished any positive police-community relations which had once existed.

Increasing pressures to improve community relations have prompted several police forces to seriously explore the option of community-based policing. This "new" policing philosophy is actually a return to the basic principles which emphasized service roles and shared responsibility between the police and the community. At the core of community policing, then, is the partnership between the police and the community. Afterall, police departments do not operate in a social vacuum, totally isolated from other agencies in the community. Even "professional" policing required the input from the community in order to identify and solve crime.

Police administrators interested in restoring police-community relations have reinstated foot patrol programs. These programs may not have any serious impact on crime rates, but they do tend to increase the community's perception of safety and social order, and decrease the fear of crime. The police cannot isolate themselves from the community if they are on foot patrol. Officers exposed to good, hard working and law-abiding people will not be as cynical nor as suspicious of human nature as they once were

when forced to deal solely with the criminal element. Once officers become familiar with the members of the community, they are able to identify and monitor the troublemakers. Also, officers on foot report feeling less threatened because they know the community members on a personal basis. Citizens exposed to a police officer who demonstrates that he is concerned with the welfare of the community will not fear police authority nor will they complain that the police are impersonal. Members of both groups will eventually become accustomed to working together and come to like and respect one another.

Crime prevention programs such as Neighbourhood Watch have encouraged members of the public to participate in policing their own communities. Community participation is an essential ingredient of community policing. Those departments which have successful community relations sections have provided the groundwork for introducing this "new" system of policing.

This policing philosophy requires the police to consult the community on policing objectives and priorities. The community plays a more active role in decision-making and in determining the police mandate. Together the police and the community must identify the local crime and disorder problems and address the underlying causes. There is a constant exchange of information between community members and the police officers. These informal networks provide

the police with potential valuable sources of information should crime problems arise. Community policing encourages police officers to develop more intimate ties with the community and become more integrated in the social and political life of the community. The police profession will be expected to become more accountable to the community and local government; therefore, the police organization will become more open to public scrutiny.

The primary function of the officer will no longer be defined as crime fighting and law enforcement. Instead, the police will serve and protect the public in the role of peace officer. Police officers are also encouraged to become generalists rather than specialists, and are therefore responsible for a broader range of activities. This change compromises the officer's self-image. The specialized knowledge and the power of the police role had identified the police officer as a law enforcement "expert" in society and enabled the police to gain professional control over their work. However, the community policing model awards the power to define the police role to the public.

These changes threaten the continued existence of the work culture which is founded, in part, upon secrecy and isolation. Increased participation of the community in formulating policies and procedures and determining the style of policing reduces the distance and bridges the gulf

between the police and members of the public. Public accountability prevents the police organization from maintaining its code of secrecy.

Community policing also has far reaching implications for the organization and operation of the police force. First of all, there will be an increased pressure on the organization to increase the representation of visible minorities and women in order to better reflect the changing nature of the community. This will result in several changes in the recruitment and selection standards and criteria. Further changes will occur in the basic training curriculum to include course on cross-cultural sensitivity. The police department will have to explore the option of including women as training officers, to provide other female officers with a role model.

Furthermore, this "new" philosophy, with its emphasis on generalists instead of specialists, requires that the community police officer be granted greater responsibility and autonomy. Therefore, if the police are going to become more community-oriented, then the paramilitary, hierarchical centralized organization will have to change to one that is more decentralized. The Ottawa City Police Department has made several recent changes in their efforts to return to the original policing principles as established by Peel in 1829. One of these changes has installed Inspectors as the coordinators of policing within the four districts. These

representatives of the Chief have the responsibilities of identifying problems and resolving these issues, and acting as official liaison between the police and the community. The respondents also indicated that community relations were important in police work; without the information provided by civilians, the job of the police officer would be more difficult. Many of the subjects indicated that there are on-going internal changes, such as the evolution of a new investigative team which combines general patrol officers with criminal investigators. The majority of the officers attributed these internal changes to the new management under the control of a new police chief. The current chief is an avid support of the community policing philosophy, and has always believed that the police officer is a front-line social worker.

There is growing support for community policing right across North America. The popular consensus is that this style of policing is the most appropriate and effective response to the challenges facing the police during the next decade.

ENDNOTES:

1. Kelling (1987) reports that corruption and inefficiency were serious problems in American cities, in the early to mid-1900's, not only in policing but in governments of all levels. Police reformers like Volmer, O.W. Wilson, and J. Edgar Hoover sought to remove this problem by pulling police away from local politics and restricting their involvement in community affairs.

2. For a detailed discussion on these approaches see chapter four of Murphy and Muir, 1986. Herman Goldstein also discusses problem-oriented policing in great detail. See Goldstein Policing a Free Society. Cambridge Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1977; and Goldstein "Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach" Crime and Delinquency Vol 25, #2, 236-258, 1979.

Chapter Eight:

Conclusions and Discussions

The origin of the modern police system can be traced back to Peel's principles of policing, developed in response to the societal unrest caused by public disorder and rising levels of crime. Similar problems faced the government of Canada. Police forces were developed at three levels -- federal, provincial and municipal -- to control the social disorder caused by increasing urbanization. Peel intended the police force to work closely with the public to maintain social order and keep peace in the community.

Canadian policing seems to have been influenced by the changes in the American police forces which occurred during the early to mid-1900's. Police departments in the United States had atypically close ties to the communities and were quite actively involved in local politics -- to the point of corruption. Police reformers in the mid-1900's wanted to create a distance between the police and the community to prevent widespread police corruption. They also believed that the police could have a greater impact on rising crime levels by concentrating their attention on serious crimes. The original police mandate was altered so that the focus became one of law enforcement and crime fighting. Organizationally, the police developed a centralized command so that the administration could control all decision-making

at the top of the hierarchy, and at the same time keep an eye on the activities of front-line officers. The technological advances of this time period -- the patrol car and the two-way radio -- increased the control the organization had over the individual officers, and helped to create a greater distance between the police and the community. Reformers were convinced that motorized patrols would be more effective in portraying a police presence in the community and more efficient in responding to emergency situations than foot patrol officers.

Improved communications and increased mobility improved the ability of the police to respond to citizens in need and encouraged people to call the police for a wider range of services, more frequently. Eventually, the public became dependent upon the police to handle all their problems and awarded them sole responsibility for policing their communities. Police work became increasingly reactive as police responded to every demand made by the public.

The technological innovations which transformed the police organization also caused a shift in the role of individual officers and created a great deal of frustration and confusion for police officers. Administrators became preoccupied with crime statistics and measures of efficiency, performance and productivity. Police organizations needed to present tangible evidence of their success to community leaders and police boards to ensure

that budgetary increases would enable them to continue their fight against crime. As a result, individual officers were rewarded and promoted on the basis of their crime fighting activities, while community service and order maintenance functions were largely ignored. Police officers themselves defined law enforcement and crime fighting as "real" police work, and the media continued to glorify and glamorized the "crime fighter" image of the police officer. Yet, the police continued to receive calls from the public which had absolutely nothing to do with this "traditional" police function. Various studies have reported that over 80% of a patrol officer's time is spent serving and protecting the public, rather than fighting crime. Frustration and controversy plagued police officers as they faced two seemingly separate and unrelated roles: "enforcer" and "guardian of the peace".

These early stages of technical reform also had the side-effect of isolating the police from ordinary people on the streets. The squad car erected a symbolic barrier between the police and the community. Individuals who had once supplied information to foot patrol officers feared being identified as a snitch if they were seen approaching a patrol car. Individual officers no longer had the time nor the opportunity to investigate any information supplied by faithful informants because the two-way radio concentrated the officer's attention on incidents reported by telephone.

The community which had once enjoyed close contact with foot patrol officers, now complained that the police were too impersonal and dispassionate. Police officers were too preoccupied with crime fighting and trying to find that one "big pinch" which would advance their careers, to spend time dealing with the "human" element of policing or solving the small problems of everyday life which residents faced in their communities.

In his daily work, the officer deals with many individuals who live on the edge of the law. In fact, any situation involving the police has the potential to be violent and dangerous. This preoccupation with danger makes the police officers suspicious of everyone, and his overexposure to the underside of the human condition makes him cynical of human nature. As an individual, he isolates himself from these people who are sensitive to the authority of the police image and neither appreciate nor understand the daily pressures and dangers of the job. Most civilians do not like to recognize that there exists a darker side of the human condition; therefore, they try to avoid police officers who are paid to deal with this segment of the community on a daily basis. Socially, because of shift work and the element of danger surrounding his job, the individual tends to restrict his friendships to fellow officers. Furthermore, police officers find it difficult to lead private lives while constantly in the public eye.

Resolution Test Chart Labels:

- 1.0
- 1.1
- 1.25
- 1.4
- 1.6
- 1.8
- 2.0
- 2.2
- 2.5
- 2.8
- 3.0
- 3.2
- 3.6
- 4.0

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

Overall, the police feel the community to be hostile and apathetic. In response, they create a closed society in which they can protect themselves from an unsupportive community as well as get support and appreciation from individuals who share similar experiences and problems.

The nature of the work -- a preoccupation with danger and authority and an emphasis on efficiency -- combined with the paramilitary structure of the organization, results in the development of a particular occupational identity which, in turn, comes to dominate the social identity and self-concept of individual police officers. The ethos of the occupation -- that attitude which distinguishes the police culture from other groups -- is based upon the following components: isolation, cynicism, suspicion, secrecy, loyalty, danger, authority, and masculinity.

The data from this case study reflect, for the most part, the findings reported in the police literature. I have concluded from my research that a work culture does in fact exist within the Ottawa police force. However, it seems to have assumed a more subtle form or style than researchers have suggested.

There is some minor dispute over the primary function of the police force within the city of Ottawa. Generally, police respondents acknowledged that problem solving was just as important in policing as the more traditional crime

solving role of the police. Subjects indicated that the majority of calls received by the Ottawa police were related to order-maintenance and service functions, such as responding to false alarms or solving domestic disputes. There were a few traditionalist hardliners who believed that the primary role of the police was to fight crime and catch criminals. However, there were no particular identifiable features of this group which would distinguish it from other respondents. On the other hand, the more service-oriented individuals tended to be younger, more educated and had fewer years of service on the force. Nevertheless, senior officers in administrative positions also supported the community service orientation. Perhaps, they are merely aligning themselves with the current administration to present a united front to the community in the face of initial modifications which are being implemented in order to create a more community-oriented police force. This apparent return to the basic principles of policing requires that the entire police organization be supportive of any structural changes which occur in the transformation process.

Police officers in the study reported that the majority of the media tend to exaggerate and glamourize the crime fighting image of the police officer. They commented that policing in Canada is not nearly as confrontational nor as dangerous as the largely American media sources have

suggested. In reality police work has extended periods of mundane, tedious activity such as paper work and patrol. The Ottawa police chief has declared Ottawa to be one of the safest cities in North America. The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics has reported that the rate for crimes of violence per 100,000 in 1988 was 1,101 in Ottawa.

Academy training focused on drill, discipline, physical training, proper police procedures, and laws and statutes. There were very few courses emphasizing interpersonal communications or subjects dealing with human behaviour such as psychology or sociology. Recently, however, they have been some modifications to the curriculum, reflective of the changes in the recruitment policies. Multiculturalism courses are now offered both in the academy and in the Ottawa police department to help officers understand the traditions, values, norms and customs of different cultures so that they could take these into consideration when encountering situations involving members of ethnic communities. One visible minority respondent stated that the Ottawa Police Department has been and continues to be trend setters and leaders in racial tolerance. The issue of visible minorities is not one which generates too many negative comments in the organization. Several race relations programs have been implemented within the last decade in Ottawa. The police have encouraged minority groups in the community to attend seminars and workshops to

discuss issues sensitive to both groups. This respondent felt that there was a very positive interaction between these groups and the police. The Census Data for 1986 indicate that Ottawa has a very small number of identifiable ethnic groups, hence this city seems to experience fewer problems with inter-racial conflicts than other cities may encounter.

Overall, the police respondents indicated that they felt the community was very supportive of their work. The current Chief of police stated that the Ottawa Police have always maintained positive community relations. The majority of the respondents indicated that they had several close civilian friends, and did not spend a great deal of time socializing with police colleagues. Shift work was cited as the main obstacle to maintaining friendships with non-police friends and acquaintances. Some subjects commented that they quickly grew tired of hanging around with the same people that they worked with everyday, and discussing police work and rehashing some of the problems they encountered during their shift. The majority of respondents stated that they ceased to be police officers when they leave the building at the end of their shifts. They leave their work, as well as their uniforms, at the office. Recruits have even been warned not to spend too much time with other police officers because they begin to

develop the "US-THEM" mentality and become bitter; this affects their objectivity and their work.

Most subjects declared that a special camaraderie develops between officers because they work together under very stressful conditions and come to depend upon one another for their safety and protection. They acknowledge that outsiders seldom understand their work and they sometimes find it hard to relate to their non-police acquaintances. Subjects also explained that it was very important to fit into the informal group. Initial socialization into this group begins with the Field Training Officers assigned to help the rookies learn how to apply the theories taught in college to real life situations, introduce them to departmental policies and procedures and teach them the "code of behaviour". Rookies are advised to watch, listen and learn and respect the more experienced senior officers. They have to earn the respect of their peers. Those who make mistakes risk being stigmatized and ostracized by the in-group, sometimes to the point where they can no longer successfully function in the organization. It is very important that individuals be accepted by the established in-group, because they depend upon their colleagues for much more than just friendship.

The Ottawa Police Force is attempting to return to the community policing philosophy. Foot patrol programs have been reinstated to reestablish the close community relations

police officers once enjoyed prior to technological innovations. The police organization is already attempting to make some structural changes which will enable the police force to respond more effectively to community needs and concerns. The centralized chain of command is being replaced with a system which emphasizes discretionary practices at the local level. Inspectors have been placed in charge of each of the four districts and given the responsibilities of identifying and resolving issues with the help of community leaders and this autonomy extends to the workers underneath him on the streets. As the citizens become more involved in policing their own communities, the distance between the police and the public should decrease, and the so-called hostility between these two groups should disappear. A work culture built, in part, upon the deterioration of police-community relations would have to be reconstructed once community based policing policies are put into effect. The Ottawa City Police have enjoyed fairly positive police-community relations, compared to some other Canadian cities such as Toronto. The philosophy of community policing hopes to strengthen these current trends. It must be noted, however, that the "community" to which the police generally refer consists largely of a law-abiding middle and upper-middle class who call upon the police as agents of social control. It is also very important to recognize the existence of a multiplicity of diverse

communities within the jurisdiction of the Ottawa Police Force. Some of these communities such as the gay community do not enjoy very amicable relations with the police, at present. Developing positive police-community relations with these types of communities is more challenging than inspiring generally law-abiding members of society to cooperate with the police force. There are always going to be segments of the population in a variety of problem areas within the city -- that 10% who encounter the police on a regular basis -- whose relations with the police can best be described as adversarial. However, the police respondents believe that the majority of the community -- that segment within which they aspire to cultivate friendships -- is supportive of their policing efforts.

Most of the police literature is based on research conducted in the United States. Researchers have suggested that a combination of factors in the police environment such as an emphasis on danger, authority, efficiency and the perception that the community is apathetic and hostile, create a strong "working personality" among American police officers. The police in Ottawa do not face a hostile and unsupportive community, nor do they work in an extremely dangerous environment. The police themselves also have recognized the pitfalls of restricting friendships and contact to other police officers and have tried to compensate for these factors by becoming more involved in

the community, such as working with the Children's Wish Foundation. They do, however, depend upon one another for their safety and protection while they are working on investigations and answering calls; this fact seems to draw the police together into a unique fellowship, or esprit de corps, which is not experienced as profoundly nor as pervasively in very many other occupations.

The theory that has been identified as being most relevant to this study is that the nature and design of the work affect the experience of the work, and the work culture mediates this relationship. Therefore, changes in the nature of the work should challenge the basis upon which the culture is built, and thus affect the experience of working in the occupation. This thesis explores the hypotheses that the ethos of the police occupation will be changed by the feminization of the police occupation and the reformation of the policing philosophies. These themes emerged, unexpectedly, from the data.

Cultural values and norms dictate the interpersonal patterns of behaviour governing male-female interaction and control the assignment of sex-specific roles to the appropriate genders. Men have always been defined as the provider and protector of the family, and women have traditionally been assigned to more subordinate, inferior roles. Women are challenging this traditional basis of the

division of labour by entering many occupations, such as policing, which have been typically assigned to men because of their physical advantages.

The nature and design of policing have contributed to its enduring definition and recognition as "men's work". Policing requires an officer to take initiative, exercise authority and control others, using physical force if necessary. Women have been culturally defined as non-violent and are rarely perceived to be authoritative or assertive. They have not been socially prepared to assume the police role and must learn a whole new set of behaviours and attitudes in order to perform their work. They are also physically smaller and weaker than men.

Female respondents from Ottawa reported that they have to work twice as hard as their male counterparts to be accepted as competent police officers, because they have to dispel the myth that women are not suitable for police work. Generally, policemen have had very low expectations of women's work performances and have tended to cast them into rather stereotypic roles, such as subordinate "ladies" or sexual objects. These chauvinistic attitudes have forced women to choose between their feminine identities and their careers, a situation which their male colleagues would never experience. Policewomen work hard to be recognized as competent police officers and in the process suffer from the pressures of social isolation and self-distortion.

Policewomen tend to conform to the stereotypic roles and often fail as police officers, hence perpetuating the cycle of dependency and failure and reaffirming the myths that women are unsuitable for police work.

Women are in a unique position within a police force; they are essentially alone. There are very few other women to talk to, to share experiences with, or to serve as role models. They are accepted as marginal members of the work group if they can prove that they can successfully perform their policing duties. However, being "accepted" by the policemen is not the same as being one of them. Female officers are still regarded as outsiders, not only within the policing occupation but also among their female reference groups. Women in policing challenge the norms of definitions of both masculine and feminine behaviour. Other women have not yet fully accepted the presence of females in the police force, especially policemen's wives, and policewomen are often treated as social outcasts. As Kate Braid (1979:16) wrote: "They are "with the boys" but not "of the boys", but likewise they are "of the girls" but not "with the girls". Is there a "female" subculture among policewomen? This is a subject for further investigation and research.

The solidarity of the male in-group is threatened by the presence of women who do not adhere to traditional norms and values and can prove that they are as equally competent

and qualified to perform policing duties as their male counterparts. Members of the occupation resent the intrusion of women because it forces them to adjust their self-identities and self-images, and requires them to redefine the boundaries of masculinity and "men's work".

The presence of women in the police force has important implications for the police force the police role in society, and the definition of "men's work" and "women's work". If it can be proven that women, who are physically smaller and weaker than men, are competent enough to successfully perform the work, then other less tangible differences between the sexes are no longer significant. Increasing numbers of women in the police force, who are culturally defined as non-violent, will ultimately change the nature of the police role, which is by definition a potentially violent one. The police have traditionally emphasized crime fighting and law enforcement as activities which require masculine attributes. However, female police officers have shown remarkable aptitude for service roles and the public has accepted the presence of policewomen on the streets. Some studies have indicated that the community actually prefers dealing with female officers because they are viewed as less threatening than their male colleagues. Community-based policing philosophies emphasize the importance of these service roles in the police function. Changes in recruitment and selection processes recommended

by the Human Rights Commission have permitted the employment of more women. These trends seem to have reciprocal and interactive effects: the employment of larger numbers of women intensifies the trends which lead to their initial employment. For those police officers who derive their masculine identity from the job, changes in the police role and in police personnel will seriously threaten their sense of personal and occupational identity.

The justification for defining police work as "men's work" is disappearing and it is becoming another one of the rapidly diminishing, legitimate "male" occupations. The traditional boundary between the sexes is blurred as women enter more non-traditional occupations. This has an important impact on definitions of both "masculinity" and "femininity", threatens the position of both sexes in the workplace and ultimately challenges the traditional cultural values of our society.

The traditional crime control model of policing has proven to be ineffective in preventing or containing crime. However, it has effectively isolate the police from the community and diminished police-community relations. Increasing pressures to improve community relations have prompted several police forces to seriously explore the option of community-based policing. The "professional" model of policing was not appropriate for the Canadian context from the outset. Canada did not experience the

widespread political corruption which faced many American forces, nor were Canadian cities plagued by violent crime. Today, Canada has become one of the leading advocates for community policing, from the RCMP to the municipal policing organizations.

At the core of community policing is the partnerships between the police and the community, the police and other social service agencies, and the police and other agents of the criminal justice system. Under this new philosophy, the police will cease to become an autonomous enterprise. The goal of community policing is to increase public participation in the identification and resolution of crime and order problems and their underlying causes. The police organization must become more accountable to the local governments and communities; thus, the policing profession will come under greater scrutiny by the public. Police officers are encouraged to develop more intimate ties with the community and become more integrated in the social and political life of the community. Increased participation of the community in formulating policies and procedures and determining the style of policing, the policy of public accountability, and the integration of the police with the daily life of the community all violate the code of secrecy and the policy of isolation which are indigenous to the work culture.

Under this model, the public have an active role in establishing policing objectives and priorities for their communities; hence determining the role of the police officer. The primary function of the police officer will be to serve and protect the public as a peace officer, not to enforce the law as a crime fighter. Community policing encourages officers to become generalists rather than police specialists. The specialized knowledge and power and authority associated with the police role had identified the police officer as an "expert" in society. This recognition enabled the police to gain professional control over their work. This new philosophy of community policing removes from the police the power to define their role in the society and awards it to the public. The work culture is built upon the definition of the police role as "crime fighter". The new identification as "peace officer" threatens the self-image of the police officer and shakes the foundation of the work culture.

Community policing emphasizes the role of the front-line community police officer and requires that s/he be granted greater responsibility and autonomy. Therefore, if the police are going to become more community-oriented the paramilitary, hierarchical organizational model will have to be replaced with a decentralized police management program. The loyalties of the community police officer will be to the community and the law, whereas the loyalties of officers

working in a paramilitary organization are to the chain of command.

The feminization of the policing occupation and the emergence of community policing philosophies are external changes which are being forced upon the work culture. The initial reaction of the culture is a resurgence of its properties: masculinity, isolation, suspicion etc. At first, the members of the informal group can ignore and resist these changes. For example, policemen can refuse to work with policewomen or refuse to work more closely with the community. However, the work culture must be flexible if it is to survive these changes. These are permanent changes and will not be reversed.

Gender is an important issue to be considered for further research in the study of work and occupations. The relations between the sexes in sex-segregated occupations reflects and reinforces the social arrangements between males and females in the dominant culture. Therefore, the barriers to the entry of women in the police force are generated not only from the formal nature and design of the occupation and the informal structures of the organization, but are also produced by the wider dominant cultural prescribed norms of interaction between the sexes. To significantly change the structure of the organization we would have to alter the dominant culture. Yet, women are making significant inroads into non-traditional occupations

such as policing, but these changes will be slow and uncertain. As the number of policewomen increase, the male police officers must re-negotiate their positions in the profession and their definitions of men's work and masculinity. The experience of police work will be significantly altered because it will no longer be defined as a man's job.

The culture is also threatened by the new policing model. Community policing will require a number of internal organizational changes in the police force, which may ultimately include a restructuring of the Criminal Intelligence Division and the Patrol units. These two sections are perhaps the most preoccupied with the crime fighting image of the police. Police have tended to be largely reactive, responding to calls for service and managing short-term crises. However, the community policing objectives call for the police officer to be more than merely a manager of the status quo. Proactive policing is stressed in the community policing model and police departments are encouraged to implement problem-oriented policing strategies in order to identify current problems and future trends.

Currently, the Canadian police organizations are in transition from a traditional model of policing toward a community-based policing philosophy. The vision of the future of policing in Canada is community policing.

Community policing principles state that the police organization must reflect the community it serves, therefore, there will be increased numbers of women and visible minority police officers serving the Canadian public.

Further research is needed to determine the full effects of these current transformations in the following areas: the organization of the police department; the recruitment standards and selection procedures; the training methods used to prepare future police officers for their careers; the solidarity of the work culture, and the form it assumes; and, the development of a separate female culture, and the form it assumes.

Appendix A:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Background and Current Information

1. How old were you when you became a police officer?
2. What type of job did you have before you joined the police force?
3. Why did you decide to become a police officer?
4. How long have you worked in Ottawa?
5. Why did you choose municipal policing over provincial or federal policing?
6. What is your present rank?
7. Could you describe a typical shift from beginning to end?
8. Could you describe the duties involved in your present job?
9. What other positions have you held in this organization?

Recruitment and Training

10. What were the entrance requirements when you joined the police force?
11. To your knowledge, have these requirement changed since you joined?
12. What do you think of these changes?

13. What do you think the necessary skills are to be a successful police officer?
14. In your opinion, how do the formal qualifications required to get into the police force reflect the real skills needed to do the work?
15. What kind of training did you receive when you joined the force?
16. Did this training meet your expectations?
17. Was your training useful when you started working in the "real" world?
18. What aspect of your training was most useful/least useful when you were carrying out your duties?
19. What was some of the advice you received as a new officer on the first day on the job?
20. As a new officer, was there anyone who was a role model for you?
21. What qualities did this role model have that impressed you?
22. What advice or techniques would you offer to a new officer?

Community

23. How important are community relations in your line of work?
24. How do you feel about the public's perception of the Ottawa police force?

25. What do you think that public feel is the most important function of the police?
26. Do you think that the mass media have accurately portrayed the role or job of a police officer?
27. In which areas do the media most misdirect the public in their perception of police work?
28. Did becoming a police officer significantly affect or change your relationships with your family and friends, or affect your ability to make new friends?
29. Think of your three closest friends. How many of them are also police officers?
30. How much of your off-duty leisure time would you say is spent with police friends? Would you say all, most, half, less than half, almost none or none?
31. If you met a stranger at a party who asked you what your job was, how would you answer?
32. Do you find that people react differently towards you once they find out that you are a police officer?

Changes in the Police Role

33. How has police work, in your opinion, changed since your were a new officer?
34. What has been the most significant difference in the police role in society in the last decade?
35. Have these changes made police work more difficult or easier?

Police Work--the Job

36. Would you say that your job is more stressful, equally stressful, or less stressful than other occupations?
37. In which ways is your job more stressful than these other occupations?
38. How does a police officer usually deal with stress?
39. Are some of these methods more successful than others?
40. Do you get any help from the department in dealing with work-related stress?
41. In your opinion, are these facilities utilized by the officers?
42. Do administrative policies and procedures help you or hinder you in making your day-to-day decisions in the field?
43. In your opinion, do you have a lot of autonomy in your work?
44. What are the criteria to be eligible for promotion?
45. What aspect of your job contributes to good/low morale among the people with whom you work?
46. When did you first come to see yourself as a police officer?
47. What is your description of an "ideal" police officer?

Miscellaneous

48. What is your marital status?
49. Do you have any children? If yes, how many?
50. How long have you been a police officer?
51. If you were given the opportunity to do it all over again, would you still choose to pursue a career as a police officer?
52. If you won the lottery for a million, would you continue to work?

Appendix B:

OTTAWA POLICE FORCE ORGANIZATION CHART ORGANIGRAMME DE LA POLICE D'OTTAWA

Appendix C:

Appendix D:

Police Personnel By Gender, 1989

<u>Prov.</u>	<u>Pop.</u> ¹	<u>Police per/pop</u>	<u>Police Officers</u> ²		
			<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Nfld.	571,000	157	821	75	896
P.E.I.	130,000	137	166	12	178
N.S.	885,900	168	1434	58	1492
N.B.	718,600	172	1174	60	1234
Quebec	6,692,100	214	13,691	647	14338
Ont. ³	9,578,700	208	18676	1220	19896
Man.	1,084,800	196	1996	133	2129
Sask. ⁴	1,007,300	190	1808	108	1916
Alta.	2,423,000	178	4045	258	4303
B.C.	3,053,300	185	5235	414	5649
Yukon	25,300	399	96	5	101
N.W.T.	53,300	370	188	9	197
RCMP ⁵	---	---	1758	145	1903
Canada	26,233,200	207	51088	3144	54232

¹ Updated Postcensal estimates 1989, Demography Division, Statistics Canada.

² Represents actual police personnel strength as of December 31, 1989.

³ Excludes personnel from RCMP Headquarters.

⁴ Excludes personnel from the RCMP Training Academy.

⁵ --- Figures not available or not applicable.

General Information:

- 1) Females comprised almost 6% (3,144) of the police officers in Canada.
- 2) Females comprised almost 6% of the police officers in Ontario in 1989.
- 3) Females comprised 4.5% of the police officers in Ottawa in 1989. There were 601 officers, 575 of these were men and 26 were females. Ottawa was slightly under the national average for the employment of female police officers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annual Report of the Ottawa Police Force.

1988/89 Ottawa: Ottawa Police Force.

Bahn, Charles

1984 "Police Socialization in the Eighties: Strains in the Forging of an Occupational Identity" 12 Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. 390-394.

Balch, Robert W.

1972 "The Police Personality: Fact of Fiction" 61 Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 106-119.

Banton, Michael

1964 The Policeman in the Community. New York: Basic Books Inc.

Blake, J.A.

1981 "The Role of the Police in Society" in The Police Function in Canada. eds. William T. McGrath and Michael P. Mitchell. Toronto: Methuen Publications.

Bloch, Peter B. and Deborah Anderson

1974 Policewomen on Patrol: Final Report. Washington: The Police Foundation.

Becker, Howard S., Blanche Geer, Everett C. Hughes and Anselm L. Strauss

1961 The Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.

Bennett, Richard R.

1984 "Becoming Blue: A Longitudinal Study of Police Recruit Occupational Socialization" 12 Journal of Police Science and Administration. 47-58.

Boyd, Monica

1982 Occupational Segregation: A Review of Sexual Equality in the Workplace. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

Boyd, Monica

1984 Canadian Attitudes Toward Women: Thirty Years of Change. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

- Braid, Kate
1979 Women in Non-Traditional Occupations. Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.
- Braiden, Chris
1987 "Community Policing: A Personal View" Community Policing in the 1980's: Recent Advances in Police Programs. eds. Donald J. Loree and Chris Murphy
- Braiden, Chris
1989 "The Origin of Community Policing: A Four Part Series" Blue Line Magazine: Canada Law Enforcement Magazine. November 1989 - February 1990. ed. Morley Lymburner. Markham: Blue Line Magazine Inc.
- Brannigan, Augustine
1984 Crimes, Courts and Corrections: An Introduction to Crime and Social Control in Canada. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited.
- Breece, Constance M. and Gerald R. Garrett
1975 "The Emerging Role of Women in Law Enforcement" in Police Roles in the Seventies: Professionalization in America. ed. Jack Kinton. Michigan: Social Science and Sociological Resources.
- Canadian Police Chief. 70, January, p19.
1981 "Police Histories"
- Chapman, Brian
1977 "The Canadian Police: A Survey" .2 Government and Opposition. Autumn, 496-516.
- Connelly, M. Patricia and Martha MacDonald
1990 Women and the Labour Force. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.
- Cooper, H.S.
1981 "The Evolution of Canadian Police" in The Police Function in Canada. eds. William T. McGrath and Michael P. Mitchell. Toronto: Methuen Publications.
- Cumming, Elaine, Ian Cumming and Laura Edell
1965 "Policeman as Philosopher, Guide and Friend" 12 Social Problems 276-286.
- Drummond, Douglas S.
1976 Police Culture. California: Sage Publications Inc.

- Ericson, Richard V.
1974 "Police Bureaucracy and Decision-Making: The Function of Discretion in Maintaining the Police System" in The Police Community: Dimensions of an Occupational Subculture. eds. Jack Goldsmith and Sharon Goldsmith. California: Palisades Publishers.
- Ericson, Richard V.
1982 Reproducing Order: A Study of Police Patrol Work. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss
1967 The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Goldstein, Herman
1968 "Police Response to Urban Crises" 28 Public Administration Review.
- Gray, J.H.
1971 Red Lights on the Prairies. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada.
- Griffiths, Curt T. and Simon N. Verdun-Jones
1989 Canadian Criminal Justice. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Griffiths, Curt T., John F. Klein and Simon N. Verdun-Jones
1980 Criminal Justice in Canada: An Introductory Text. Toronto: Butterworths.
- The History Collaborative
1984 History of the Ottawa Police Force, 1827-1983. Summer Canada Works Program, Carleton University.
- Highlights: 1981 Census of Canada.
1984 Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Hughes, Everett C.
1971 The Sociological Eye. Chicago: Aldine Atherton.
- Jayewardene, C.H.S.
1982 The Police. Ottawa: Crimcare Inc.
- Juliani, T.J., C.K. Talbot and C.H.S. Jayewardene
1984 "Municipal Policing in Canada: A Development Perspective" 8 Canadian Police College Journal 315-385.
- Kelling, George L.
1979 "Police Field Service and Crime" 24 Crime and Delinquency April, 173-184.

- Kelling, George L.
1987 "The Changing Function of Urban Police: The Historical and Political Context of Community Policing" Community Policing in the 1980's: Recent Advances in Police Programs. eds. Donald J. Loree and Chris Murphy Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.
- Kelly, William and Nora Kelly
1976 Policing in Canada. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, MacLean-Hunter Press.
- Kidder, Louise H.
1981 Research Methods in Social Relations. 4th ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Kluckhohn, C.
1949 Mirror for Man. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Koenig, D.J.
1975 "Police Perceptions of Public Respect and Extra-Legal Use of Force: A Reconsideration of Folk Wisdom and Pluralistic Ignorance" 3 Canadian Journal of Sociology 313-324.
- Koller, Katherine
1990 Working the Beat: The Edmonton Neighbourhood Foot Patrol. Edmonton, Alberta: Edmonton Police Service.
- Levens, Bruce R.
1976 The Social Service Role of the Police: Domestic Crisis Intervention -- Citizen Requests for Service and Vancouver Police Response. Vancouver: Lower Mainland United Way.
- Linden, Rick
1983 "Women in Policing: A Study of Lower Mainland RCMP Detachments" 7 Canadian Police College Journal 217-229.
- Linden, Rick
1985 "Attrition Among Male and Female Members of the RCMP" 7 Canadian Police College Journal 86-97.
- Linden, Rick and Candice Minch
1984 Women in Policing: A Review. Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada.
- Lundman, Richard J.
1980 Police and Policing: An Introduction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Limited.

- Marshall, Katherine
1987 Who are the Professional Women? Ottawa:
Statistics Canada, Ministry of Supply and Services
Canada.
- Martin, Susan Ehrlich
1980 Breaking and Entering: Policewomen on Patrol.
Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Murphy, Chris and Cpl. Graham Muir.
1985 Community-Based Policing: A Review of the
Critical Issues. Ottawa: Solicitor General of
Canada.
- Murphy, Chris and Cpl. Graham Muir.
1986 Community-Based Policing: A Review of the
Critical Issues. Executive Summary. Ottawa:
Solicitor General of Canada.
- Niederhoffer, Arthur
1967 Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society.
Garden City, New York: Doubleday Books.
- Perspectives in Sociology. 2nd ed.
1984 eds. E.C. Cuff and G.C.F. Payne. London: George
Allen and Unwin Publishers Ltd.
- The Politics of Work and Occupations
1980 eds. Geoff Esland and Graeme Salaman. England:
The Open University Press.
- Radelet, Louis A.
1977 The Police and the Community. 2nd ed. Toronto:
Collier MacMillan.
- Radelet, Louis A.
1980 The Police and the Community. 3rd ed. California:
Glencoe Publishing Co. Inc.
- Reiss, Albert J. Jr.
1971 Police and the Public. London: Yale University
Press.
- Reuss-Ianni, Elizabeth
1983 Two Cultures of Policing: Street Cops and
Management Cops. New Brunswick: Transaction
Books Inc.
- Ritzer, George and David Walczak
1986 Working: Conflict and Change. 3rd ed. New
Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

- Schaefer, Roger
1978 "Law Enforcer, Peace Keeper, Servicer: Role Alternatives for Policemen" 6 Journal of Police Science and Administration. 324-335.
- Shearing C.D.
1984 Dial-A-Cop: A Study of Police Mobilisation. Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.
- Sherman, Lewis J.
1975 "A Psychological View of Women in Policing" in Police Roles in the Seventies: Professionalization in America. ed. Jack Kinton. Michigan: Social Science and Sociological Resources.
- Skolnick, Jerome H.
1966 Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Solicitor General of Canada, Ministry of
1971 The Police Function in Our Changing Society: The Role of the Policeman. Proceedings of Conference A. Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.
- Steadman, Robert
1972 The Police and the Community. Baltimore: John Hopkins University.
- Talbot, C.K., C.H.S. Jayewardene and T.J. Juliani
1984 "Policing in Canada: A Developmental Perspective" 8 Canadian Police College Journal 218-288.
- Task Force on Policing in Ontario: Report.
1974 Toronto: Queen's Printer
- Terris, Bruce J.
1967 "The Role of the Police" 374 Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. November
- Thomas, C.W. and J.R. Hepburn
1983 Crime, Criminal Law and Criminology. Dubuque Iowa: W.M.C. Brown Co. Publishers.
- Trojanowicz, Robert
1987 "Neighbourhood Patrol Strategies: The Flint, Michigan Experience" Community Policing in the 1980's: Recent Advances in Police Programs. eds. Donald J. Loree and Chris Murphy Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.

- Vincent, Claude L.
1979 Policeman. Toronto: Gage Publishing Limited.
- Ward, Richard H.
1971 "The Police Role: A Case of Diversity" 61 Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. 580-586.
- Webster, John A.
1970 "Police Task and Time Study" 61 Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. 94-100.
- Westley, William A.
1970 Violence and the Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Wexler, Mark N.
1974 "Police Culture: A Response to Ambiguous Employment" in Administration of Criminal Justice in Canada. C.L. Boydell, C.F. Grindstaff, P.C. Whitehead. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited.
- Whitehouse, Jack E.
1973 "Police Socialization: A Longitudinal Examination of Job Attitudes in an Urban Police Department" 20 Administration Science Quarterly. 207-228.
- Whittingham, M.D.
1984 "Police/Public Homicide and Fatality Risks in Canada: A Current Assessment" 3 Canadian Police Chief. 4-8.
- Willis, Paul
1981 "Notes on Method" in Culture, Media and Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-1979. eds. Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis. London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Wilson, James Q.
1968 Varieties of Police Behaviour: The Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Wilson, James Q.
1969 "What makes a better policeman" 223 The Atlantic Monthly March.

- Wilson, James Q.
1969 "Dilemmas of Police Administration" 28 Public Administration Review.
- Wilson, James Q. and George L. Kelling
1982 "Broken Windows" The Atlantic Monthly. 249:3,
29-38
- Wilson, S.J.
1982 Women, The Family and the Economy Toronto:
McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.
- Yinger, J.M.
1965 Toward a Field Theory of Behaviour. New York:
McGraw-Hill.

END

28.02.92

FIN