THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF
POLICE UNIONISM:
THREE CASE STUDIES FROM BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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The Historical Development of Police Unionism: Three Case Studies from British Columbia

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ABSTRACT

There is a paucity of research literature on police unions and the evolution of police-labour relations in Canada. Traditionally, inquiries have focused on the more overt activities of the police such as the exercise of police discretion by patrol officers and the jurisdictional arrangements for policing at the municipal, provincial and national levels. In recent years, however, there has been an increased emphasis on the police labour movement, particularly in the U.S. where police unions originated.

The present study was designed to examine the origins and development of police unions in three municipalities in the Province of British Columbia, Canada. As a backdrop to the analysis, the evolution of police labour unions in the United States and Canada are contrasted and compared and the similarities and differences between events in the two countries identified and explored. Police labour unions are also contrasted with other labour organizations in the two countries.

Following a discussion of the structure of policing in Canada, the events and personalities surrounding the creation and development of police unions in Vancouver, Delta and Matsqui are explored. Materials on each
department were gathered through archival research and interviews with police personnel at the managerial and line level. The role of economic and regional factors in police-labour relations in the three municipalities and the influence of certain "key players" are examined.

Among the factors which played a significant role in the development of police unions in the three municipalities were the issue of wage parity, the view of the municipal government toward the notion of police unions and economic restraint. The findings from the three case studies also indicate that the expertise of the negotiators for the union and for management, working environment, and the size of the police department had a significant impact on police-labour relations in the three municipalities. The implications of these findings for future police-labour relations and the role of police unions are discussed.
DEDICATION

TO MY LOVING PARENTS
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Criminological research, particularly in Canada, has generally focused on the more traditional issues surrounding the police and policing systems. The issues of police unions, police labourers as a unionized entity, and the police labour movement itself have, at best, been studied intermittently. The paucity of police labour studies in this realm reflects a preference to examine more overt police issues such as police patrol work, and the exercise of police discretion (Ericson, 1982; Davis, 1975).

The onset of the 1960's, however, produced a trend towards studying police officers as individuals with the same common needs as other marketable labourers. Although this demystification process of viewing police officers as a distinct labour entity and subsequently studying them as such evolved during this decade, the issue of the "police labour movement" was not strictly a phenomenon of the 1960's. The police labour movement, or development of a form of labour representation by the police, had its beginnings at the turn of the 20th century in North America, during the early stages of the development of law enforcement organizations.
Labour groups in North America have generally expanded from small localized associations, to organizations with a national and, on occasion, international scope. This has resulted in increased membership and increased power to lobby for the benefit of the membership. The basic organizational objective has been to provide adequate representation of members on issues dealing with labour relations, i.e. salaries, working conditions and benefits. Representatives were elected and were governed by a variety of legislative ordinances, on a variety of governmental levels (e.g. municipal, provincial, federal).

In both countries private sector unions (unions for employees working in the private industry) developed prior to public sector unions (unions for employees working for government agencies). "Public-sector unions have their origin in the same conditions that cause private employees to unionize" (Juris & Feuille, 1973, p.10). Being part of the public-sector, police unions appear to have followed a similar evolution.

The first attempts by police officers to incorporate a structured form of labour representation in the United States met with resistance (e.g. Boston Police Strike of 1919). "Police officers ... were seen as unique public
employees with certain moral and social obligations" (Kornfeld & Dawson, 1981, p.1).

It would appear that both in Canada and the United States police unions evolved from fraternal associations. Their goals, which included improved economic benefits and job conditions, were similar to other occupational groups of the time (Salerno, 1977). The American unions have experienced a more tumultuous history.

This thesis will trace the historical evolution of police unions in both the United States and Canada and then consider the origins and development of unions in three municipal police departments in Province of British Columbia.

In Chapter II, a description of the police labour movement in North America from its origin to current times is presented. The history of the police labour movement, in the United States and Canada is provided through a comparison of the police union movement in both countries. Their evolutionary development will also be examined in the context of other labour organizations in order to delineate characteristics which may be either similar or divergent from other labour groups.

More specifically, policing in Canada on a national level will be outlined, describing the role of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and its mandates. This will be
followed by a discussion of the provincial police
departments in Ontario and Quebec and the local municipal
departments in the Province of British Columbia.

As the three municipal police departments which
provide the case studies for the thesis are located in
British Columbia, a brief history of policing in the
Province will also be presented.

In Chapter III the methodology used in this study is
presented. Data for the study were obtained from a
variety of sources, including journal articles, government
documents, relevant statutes, Labour Codes, journalistic
publications and unpublished manuscripts. In-person
interviews with police personnel involved in managerial
functions and elected representatives of police labour
unions in the three departments under study were
conducted. The major issues concerning the instruments
selected in collecting the said data will be critically
examined with particular reference to their application in
criminological research.

The potential problems encountered in using these
particular methods, as well as the criteria used for
selecting the three departments, will be critically
analyzed.

In Chapter IV the data gathered in the three police
departments are presented. The evolution of the labour
movement in each of the three organizations is examined, focussing on the factors which played a prominent role in their development. This includes the role and influence of economic and regional factors in police labour relations, as well as the influence of certain "key players" in the police labour relations process.

In the concluding Chapter, a brief summary of the factors which influenced the development of the police labour movement in British Columbia generally and more specifically in the three departments is presented.

Police unions are discussed and contrasted with the general "labour union" realm. The most pertinent and critical issues to be faced by police unions in the coming years will then be discussed along with the possible impact of such developments as civilianization and the increase in use of professional negotiators. Finally, the basic premise that police officers, while being professionals, must be seen as labourers and police unions as a mechanism to enhance the work environment will be reiterated.
American Police Unions

Police labour associations in the United States grew out of the loosely structured framework of benevolent associations, fraternities and social clubs during the late 1800's. These police groups, however, were mainly concerned with social and recreational activities rather than with specific labour issues (e.g. New York City Police Benevolent Association, 1892, Rochester Police Locust Club, 1907; see Juris & Feuille, 1973; Forcese, 1980).

The transformation of these social clubs to police labour associations or unions occurred when these groups began to expand their activities into "labour" issues and to concern themselves with the labour aspects of police work. The inadequacies of social clubs and fraternities to improve effectively the labour status of police lead to an attempt to encompass a more formalized structure within these police groups. The first effort to bring members of a large urban police force into a union in an attempt to secure increased compensation occurred in 1919, in Boston (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1944, p.1).
It should be noted that the Industrial Revolution in the United States in the 1850's spawned the labour union movement and by the end of the 1800's, blue collar workers in several sectors of the economy had formed national unions (Austin, 1949; Stearns, 1975).

The inadequacy of the police social clubs of the time to address labour issues such as wages and work hours, precipitated the emergence of more formally structured police associations (Levi, 1977). Although the Boston Social Club received a charter from the American Federation of Labor, the attempt to form a police union was quickly suppressed by local government. The police force was ordered to cede their charter with the American Federation of Labor which resulted in the Boston Police Strike of 1919 (Forcese, 1980). This police strike was to strongly influence the development of police labour unions both in the United States and Canada for the next half century.

Negative public reaction to the police strike resulted in the American Federation of Labor unilaterally revoking charters "of police locals and other large city police forces that had been interested in unionism..." (Forcese, 1980, p.81). The strike led to a commonly-held view by both the general public and government that police labour unions were immoral. The Governor of Massachusetts
Calvin Coolidge (cited in Ayres, 1977, p.63) stated "There is no right to strike against public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." and President Woodrow Wilson (cited in Ayres, 1977, p.63) stated "A strike of policemen of a great city, leaving that city at the mercy of an army of thugs, is a crime against civilization." Indeed, the police were viewed as a distinct labour entity but within a paramilitary organizational structure, and to some, as civilian soldiers (Rubin, 1978).

The American courts upheld the public and governmental attitudes which prevailed at the time by sympathizing with the government's enactment of effective legislation inhibiting the formation of formalized police unions (Rubin, 1978).

The history of the police labour movement is thus very distinct from other labour organizations. Throughout the history of the police labour movement, the words "police union" and "police association" surfaced. Most present-day police departments prefer to refer to themselves as having a "police association", attempting to remove any stigma associated to the word "union" (I. Stabler, personal communication, August 16, 1986). Historically trade unions have been reserved for blue collar workers while groups of employees traditionally referred to as "professionals" have developed group
oriented "associations" whether they are labour orientated or not. In essence, however, it could be argued that whether the individuals refer to the organization as a "union" or as an "association", if their goals are the same (to assist and represent police officers in dealing with labour issues), they are the same.

As early as the mid 1800's, then, the police were classified as a distinct and unique labour entity. As Reiner (1978, p.264) notes, "The typical police social philosophy encourages an internal solidarity and suspicion of outsiders which separates them from the labor movement and aligns them with more conservative forces." The police are an "essential service" in the sense that their withdrawal of services creates a hazard to public safety. This places the police in a category with firefighters and medical personnel. As Kornfeld & Dawson (1981, p.1) suggest in discussing the labour movement in general: "One of the last bastions of resistance to the movement was the unionization of police officers who were seen as unique public employees with certain moral and social obligations".

During the next two decades, few inroads were made in the acceptance and legitimization of police labour unions. In 1944, there were a total of 198 city police departments in the United States, although only 15 had achieved union
status while 38 more police departments had made attempts to unionize, but had been blocked by local city councils (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1944).

Those police officers who had achieved union status were powerless. Although allowed to incorporate into a union, police officers were still governed by a paramilitary organizational hierarchy, and, without any legal recourse their demands were made at the mercy of the higher police administration.

During the 1950's, police benevolent associations became more labour orientated. These groups began to serve as "lobbyists for securing improved police welfare and benefits" (Burpo, 1971, p.6). At the same time, municipal and civil servants began to turn their attention toward their own labour struggles. As governmental employees began to achieve bargaining rights, police associations acquired these advantages as well (Fogelson, 1978; Wagner Act, 1935). The police labour movement was more akin to the public service labour movement than to the private sector, primarily because they usually shared the same employer—the government. In addition, a new breed of police officers began to emerge. These young police labourers had not experienced the economic depression of the 1930's and were reluctant to accept the authoritarian structure of police departments. The development of
police labour organizations in the United States was further enhanced when three strong police labour leaders were elected to their respective associations in the eastern United States (Levi, 1977). American police officers soon realized that there was an inherent need for such a formalized organization to act on their behalf on issues relating to police-management relations. Fogelson (1978, p.97) notes that there was the widespread belief among officers that only a union "could mobilize the political and economic resources to put pressure on city councils".

In the late 1950's and early 1960's Civilian Review Boards emerged. They were perceived as police "watch dogs" (Juris & Feuille, 1973, p.19). The response to these boards by police was characterized by considerable resistance. Increased dissatisfaction and the belief that loosely fragmented police benevolent associations were not adequate to meet police officer's needs resulted in the consensual view that civilian review boards were simply another means of control. The police perceived the civilian review boards negatively and the American unions "successfully thwarted" these boards in New York and Philadelphia (Juris & Feuille, 1973, p.155). The constraints placed upon police officers by the late 1950's, coupled with the turbulent social and political
environment pursuant to the early 1960's resulted in a dramatic increase in the militancy of an otherwise ideologically conservative police profession. Bopp (1971, p.8, p.17) suggests that the "general social atmosphere triggered the police militancy of the 1960's" and that "police activism is inextricably bound up with the black nationalists and student radical movements".

While the American police labour movement was not a distinctive phenomenon of the 1960's (Rubin, 1978), it was a decade of progressive changes which contributed greatly not only to the increased militancy of the police but also enhanced the rapid development of more formalized, structured police labour associations.

Several factors unique to the policing environment of the 1960's produced a greater police militancy within the ranks which advanced the police labour movement. The 1960's saw increased public hostility towards the American police, which further enhanced their cohesiveness as a group (Juris & Feuille, 1973). The police had few economic rewards while witnessing the success of other public employee groups as a result of their unionization (Juris & Feuille, 1973). Increased crime rates, a widespread perception of increased danger, and unfavorable
rulings from the Supreme Courts (who upheld decisions to limit police discretion) enhanced their group solidarity (Levi, 1977).

In Detroit, for example, the police faced racial problems. They were still seen as a paramilitary organization. Their turnover was high and they were unable to fill their allotment. These factors increased police dissatisfaction (Levi, 1977). In Atlanta in 1968 crime and violence were on the increase. Police were discontented and sought increased weaponry and higher pay (Levi, 1977). In the infrastructure of the police there were several factors which contributed to police discontent: poor personnel practices; promotional patronage; and an absence of legitimized grievance procedures (Juris & Feuille, 1973).

The police were expected to be the means of social control and, failing that task, the social environment of the 1960's left the police at odds with the citizenry, their superiors and their employers. "The civil rights movement and the gains made by minority groups through civil disobedience served as examples to the police" (Salerno, 1981, p.15). As a consequence, the police became more demanding and aggressive in their labour pursuits, using strategies such as work stoppages and the familiar "blue flu" (police officers would phone in sick
and as a result there would be a lack of police presence on the street) in order to achieve their goals.

The following are two examples of police militancy. In the spring of 1967, one-third of Detroit's patrol force participated in "blue flu" (Levi, 1977, p.91); and in October of 1969 in Atlanta a wildcat slowdown occurred and was referred to as "Operation No Case". Police officers "refused to make arrests for minor violations and engaged in a traffic ticket slow down" (Levi, 1977 p.135). Burpo (1971, p.11) suggests these strategies worked; within a five year span (1964-1969) American police salaries rose 38 percent. The Police Benevolent Association achieved long overdue bargaining rights in 1963. The Detroit Association achieved similar results in 1965 (Levi, 1977). The turmoil of the 1960's in the United States resulted in the American police becoming more militant. By 1971 American "police labour associations had become legally acceptable ...and police employee membership in a nostrike union had become a constitutional right" in the U.S. (Levi, 1977, p.44).

By the early 1970's, the police labour movement finally became established and a number of labour issues emerged. The leaders of the police labour groups were inexperienced, however, and police labour associations had to contend with the "no strike clause" which was adopted
in most states. This left the police at a tremendous disadvantage in the labour bargaining sphere as no formalized method of resolving impasses existed.

In the mid-1970's, the U.S. government began to introduce wage and price controls. This undermined the bargaining strength of the police associations as it restricted their ability to negotiate for wage increases in excess of the governmental wage controls (Lewin & Goldenburg, 1980). The by-product of these constraints was a series of police strikes throughout the United States (Ayres, 1977).

Increased professionalism among the ranks accelerated the police labour movement in the early 1980's and police labour leaders, created professionalized police labour associations. The ever-progressive weakening of the paramilitary structure of police organizations enabled police associations to encroach upon previously held managerial prerogatives such as manpower allocation, promotional policy and grievance procedures.

Today, in the United States, there are national organizations such as the Fraternal Order of Police. While most police unions do not associate with other trade unions, since the 1960's, the Teamsters (The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers Union) has organized several police departments,
including New Orleans (Forcese, 1980, p.82). Police in the United States are also represented by several other trade unions, including the Transport Workers Union (Forcese, 1980). Presently the majority of police labour associations in the United States are highly structured and organized labour groups.

The Police Labour Movement in Canada

The Canadian police labour movement originated from police fraternal associations. The oldest such association is the Vancouver City Police, formed in 1918 (Fisher & Starek, n.d.). "Declining real income and contemporaneous unionizing of other municipal employees provided most of the stimulus for police in Vancouver... to unionize at this time" (Fisher and Starek, n.d., p.4). During this time, there was a trend towards the development of police labour groups in other parts of Canada. In December of 1918, forty police officers in St. John, New Brunswick went on strike after being refused permission to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. Six members actually stayed on duty and there was no violence reported (Grosman, 1975). During the notorious Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, during which
the city was crippled by striking labourers, the police voted in support of the strikers but remained on duty on instruction of the strike committee (Grosman, 1975).

These attempts at joining organized labour proved futile for the police and Canadian police departments today are not associated with other labour unions (with a few exceptions, i.e. Atlantic affiliation to Canadian Union Public Employees) (Jackson, 1986). The same factors that prevented the American police from associating with organized labour occurred in Canada. In fact, most police unions in Canada operate very independently from one another.

There were few significant developments in the Canadian police labour movement until the mid-1940's. The Wartime Labour Relations Act, enacted in 1944 (Order-in-Council, 1944), granted several groups of government employees union certification (Fogelson, 1978). This act recognized the union as the official and legal labour representative of a particular group of labourers. Many local governments began to grant the right to bargain collectively with their municipal employees. This, in itself, had a significant impact on the development of the police labour movement in Canada.

In 1945, the Vancouver City Police became a certified association and, in 1946, obtained their first
collective agreement (Fisher & Starek, n.d., p.5). This development was due to increased militancy on the part of the police and the fact that employees of municipal governments had obtained collective bargaining rights (Fisher & Starek, n.d.). At the same time, other large Canadian metropolitan police departments in Toronto and Montreal became certified (Fisher & Starek, n.d.).

Although Jackson (1986) notes that official recognition of the police labour movements in Canada was granted freely, there were exceptions. The Montreal police, for example, went on strike in 1946 in order to obtain bargaining rights (Arthurs, 1971). Generally speaking, however, the mid-1940's appeared to be a favorable political climate for the emerging police associations.

During the 1950's, municipal and civil servants gained more bargaining rights while, at the same time, large numbers of police officers were becoming extremely dissatisfied with the "no strike" clause in their contracts as it placed them at the mercy of the government (Fisher & Starek, n.d.).

The bargaining process for police officers was in its infancy. In some jurisdictions, police officers had the right to strike; however, in others, strategies were
required to address the "essential services" designation and to compensate for the inability of the police to strike.

Despite the fact that police labour associations were recognized as legal bargaining agents, the associations did not have any recourse in situations where labour negotiations had reached an impasse. Police union associations were still at the mercy of government/employer interests. One exception to this was the Vancouver City Police Union Association which was able to bargain via compulsory arbitration.¹

During the 1960's, officers became less willing to accept the paramilitary structure of the police organizations. In the early 1960's, concerns with inadequate wages, inflation, and increased public pressure for law and order, created general dissatisfaction among police and served to increase militancy (Fisher & Starek, 1980, p.43). Grosman (1975, p.41) argues that this increased police militancy was precipitated by "low morale, cynicism, and administrative adherence to unrealistic rules and regulations..."

In the Province of Quebec, the Labour Code of 1964 and the Police Act of 1968 granted the Montreal police the right to collective bargaining, although they could not take legal job action and were subject to mediation and
binding triparte arbitration (Forcese, 1980). Police unionism expanded rapidly in the 1960's in the Atlantic provinces and, in 1965 the Ontario provincial police were granted the right to establish an association (Forcese, 1980).

In 1969, 3700 police officers went on strike in Montreal. This strike proved to be one of the most significant events in police labour relations since the Boston police strike of 1919. The strike was triggered by several external and internal factors.

The Montreal City Police were the only large metropolitan police department in a "francophone" province. Relationships between the police and the public were strained as the police were forced to deal with both student riots and the Quebec separatist movement (Arthurs, 1971). In addition, the police were faced with prolonged arbitration proceedings, a consequence of what was perceived by officers to be insufficient wage increases and a rolling back of on-the-job benefits (i.e. return to one-man patrol cars) (Arthurs, 1971).

As a result the Montreal City Police no longer had wage parity with Toronto. Not only had the Montreal city police officers been asked to settle for less than their colleagues in other police departments. There was a particular concern over the fact that they were being paid
less than their "anglophone counterparts" (Arthurs, 1971, p.99). To worsen matters, just prior to the ruling, a Toronto police officer had been killed in a one-man car (Arthurs, 1971, p.97), which only served to strengthen their fears and desires to have two-man patrol units.

During the Montreal police strike "there were 34 armed robberies, 456 burglaries, 2 deaths in strike-connected incidents, ... and looting in excess of one million dollars..."(Burpo, 1971, p.13). Unlike the Boston police strike, which had hindered the development of police unions, the effect of the Montreal strike was different. The Boston strike had occurred nearly 60 years earlier when prevailing attitude had been to quash the police union movement. In Montreal, however, the public was exposed to such a degree of violence and destruction, the absence of police presence demonstrated how vulnerable the general citizenry were without them. In a sense, the strike demonstrated the necessity of the police and the realization that strikes must be averted. In order to end the strike, Montreal City Police were granted wage parity with Toronto. The Montreal police strike showed both the judicial system and police management the strength of police associations and the power they could wield.

In an attempt to avert what had occurred in Montreal, the Ontario Police Act was amended in 1969. The
new Act provided for neutral arbitrators and more equitable, formalized dispute resolution committees. In addition, Section 28 forbade the membership from belonging to a "trade union" (Ontario Police Commission, 1981, p.19).

The pragmatic interpretation of the amended Act was that it provided a means for hearing police labour complaints while still upholding the traditional belief that police labour associations must not become strong unionized "trade labourers". By the end of the decade, most police forces in Canada, with the exception of the R.C.M.P., had been granted collective bargaining rights (Kornfeld & Dawson, 1981).

During the 1970's, police associations became more professionalized in their labour relations techniques and maintained a certain degree of militancy (Jackson, 1980). In 1971, Canada experienced its first legal police strike in Nova Scotia when "Fifty-six policemen walked out when a pay settlement that was recommended by a conciliator was turned down by City Council" (Forcense, 1980, p.90).

There are additional examples of the labour-related militancy by the police. In Nova Scotia, police officers refused to cross a picket line, and in Saanich, B.C., in 1978, police officers reported for duty ungroomed and in plain clothes (Forcense, 1980). In 1975, wage and price
controls became a major issue in Canada (Christensen, 1980) and provincial governments imposed freezes on wage increases. The whole realm of labour negotiations was altered. These restrictions made "cost issues" only negligibly negotiable. The police associations felt that if monetary items were not negotiable they would focus on non-monetary items, i.e. manpower allocation.

During the 1980's, there has been continued growth and development of police associations. Police labour relations are still distinct from other labour organizations due to the provisions for police arbitration. As Scott (1980, p.159) points out "One must consider the welfare of the employee, the employer, and the public in negotiations". Police labour leaders have become more experienced in the field of labour relations and therefore a more sophisticated system of bargaining has emerged.

Another discernable trend is that the Canadian Police Association has begun to lobby Parliament on relevant issues. For example, for the first time in Canadian police labour history, Canadian police lobbied Parliament on the issue of capital punishment (Forcese, 1980).

Despite advances in the police labour movement, most Canadian police labour associations have remained
conservative and have not adopted sophisticated negotiating strategies evident in other spheres of labour relations. Instead, in "piggy-back" fashion, police labour associations have consistently reaped the benefits obtained by the independently larger metropolitan police forces. In Canada, as Jackson (1980, p.11) notes, the "large city police forces run police labour relations".

Comparative Analysis

Having presented a general overview of the historical evolution of police labour movements in both the United States and Canada, it is important to consider the similarities and differences between the police labour movements in these two countries.

Historically, in both Canada and the United States, the police labour movement emerged from nebulous social fraternities. Seemingly harmless in their initial intent to formalize a system of labour relations, both countries witnessed police labour unions involved in political confrontations as early as 1919. Negative public reaction to the 1919 incidents in the U.S. and Canada effectively diffused any potential for more formalized police labour unions.

Opposition to police associations continued into the 1960's. In the United States, the Supreme Court upheld
the notion that police organizations were paramilitary structures and quashed applications made by police labour groups. Similarly, in Canada, several jurisdictions formulated legislative statutes to impede the formalization and recognition of police associations.

By the mid-1960's, governmental and judicial bodies in Canada and the United States began to shift in their views of police unionization as a consequence of the increased militancy and professionalization of police organizations, and as a result of changing societal values. Police militancy grew stronger as police associations became increasingly more formalized and more vocal in their demand to be recognized as a legitimate labour body. This need was initially met in the late 1960's when both Canadian and American governments granted government employees the right to apply for union status. As a "body" of government employees, police labour organizations successfully achieved unionized status.

Overall, the 1960's was an important period in the evolution of the police labour movement. Governmental and judicial recognition of police labour organizations during this period not only enhanced overall the police labour movement in both Canada and the United States, but it also set the stage for the legitimization and formalization of police labour unions.
Economic and political developments during the 1970's produced yet another major shift in the police labour movement. During the mid-1970's both countries imposed price and wage controls for all government employees due to inflation and a widespread economic recession. These restrictive controls led police associations to focus less on monetary issues such as wage increases and to encourage the exploration of non-monetary issues, such as the deployment of manpower. These non-monetary issues were seen as an encroachment on managerial rights of the upper echelon of police organizations and thus created a significant rift in police organizations. Thus, the 1970's resulted in professionalized, formalized, police associations headed by strong police leaders.

Today, police associations in the United States have become strong labour organizations and many are closely affiliated with labour organizations, including The Teamsters Union (Forcese, 1980). In comparison, Canadian police associations have remained localized, adhering to smaller, more independent union structures within each geographical jurisdiction. Although several police associations in the Atlantic provinces are affiliated with
unionized labour (i.e. Canadian Union of Public Employees) generally speaking, Canadian police associations maintain a distinctive distance from outside labour groups.

From a political standpoint, American police labour associations have outdistanced their Canadian counterparts. It has only been since the early 1980's that Canadian police associations have adopted a political agenda for change by actively lobbying government. Their American counterparts have favored this form of dramatic, yet effective, avenue for change for at least two decades.

The preceding cursory analysis of the police labour movement in the United States and Canada provides a framework within which to discuss the current structure of Canadian policing and the origins and development of police associations in three municipal police departments in the Province of British Columbia.

The Structure of Canadian Policing

The Constitution Act of 1867 empowered the Federal government with the responsibility to create the standards of legislative authority for policing in Canada. It assigned to the Provinces the responsibility of enforcing these legislative standards (i.e. the enforcement of the Criminal Code of Canada). The organizational structure of
Policing in Canada may be divided into three jurisdictional levels: Federal, Provincial, and Municipal.²

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, founded in 1873, is considered the national police force in Canada. There are approximately 18,000 serving members whose jurisdictional responsibilities include the enforcement of all Federal statutes (i.e. Customs and Excise Act, Migratory Birds Act, Narcotic Control Act) and legislative authority to enforce Provincial and Municipal statutes, regardless of the Province (D. Howarth, personal communication, October 3, 1988).

The practice of contracting with the R.C.M.P. by the Provinces and Municipalities evolved primarily due to economic factors. For example, smaller communities located in remote areas of Canada saw the advantage of contracting with the R.C.M.P. as opposed to creating their own municipal police force. This phenomenon, however, is not limited to smaller municipalities. In fact, several larger communities contract with the R.C.M.P. (D. Howarth, personal communication, October 3, 1988). A unification and centralization of training police officers, establishing police administrations, and the daily operationalization of running a police force are left in the hands of the contractee—the R.C.M.P.
Despite being the largest police force in Canada, the R.C.M.P. do not have a police union. From 1918 to 1974 they were forbidden by Statute to form any type of association aimed at furthering members' interests (Order-in-Council, 1918). It was not until 1974 that this clause was finally repealed (Order-in-Council, 1974). During the mid-1970's officers began uniting in an attempt to form some type of union or association to bargain. Their basic grievances at the time included: salaries, working conditions and disciplinary procedures (Province, May 24, 1974; Vancouver Sun, May 6, 1974).

However, the R.C.M.P. have remained a paramilitary organization whose only avenue for redress of labour issues is the The Division Staff Relations Representatives system (DSRR) (Hardy & Ponak, 1983). Established in 1972, the DSRR system is similar to the British "federation" system whereby elected police members sit on boards and conduct open discussions on matters of concern with police management and with the Treasury Board (the R.C.M.P.'s employer). Recent applications (1986) by the members of the R.C.M.P. in Quebec to unionize have proved futile (Canada Labour Relations Board, 1986).

There are two existing Provincial police forces in Canada: The Ontario Provincial Police (O.P.P.) and The
Surete du Quebec. Both forces serve the more remote communities of their respective provinces. Both of these provincial police forces have police associations. The O.P.P. Association was founded in 1965, while the association of the Surete du Quebec was formed in 1968. Although the respective provincial governments recognized their right to form a police association, they were mandated not to affiliate with outside organized labour groups.

The largest metropolitan police forces in Canada are located in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. They are also situated in the highest wage earning areas, and as such, these three police departments have traditionally assumed the lead in the labour relations arena (Fisher & Starek, n.d.). All have had recognized association status longer than the smaller police departments and, due to their size, have wielded considerable power and had a great impact on police labour relations.

Although small, independent police associations may belong to larger provincial organizations, they play only a peripheral role in negotiation of labour issues (I. Stabler, personal communication, August 16, 1986). For example, the British Columbia Federation of Police Officers includes all police forces in the Province with the exception of the R.C.M.P. in British Columbia.
However, the member departments of the British Columbia Federation of Police Officers negotiate their labour contracts independently.

On a national scale, the Canadian Police Association may be viewed as a "passive" labour association. It appears that this national association focuses primarily upon police issues of national concern as opposed to police labour issues. The C.P.A. was founded on the philosophy that police associations should not be affiliated with labour organizations. (P. Jamieson, personal communication, April 6, 1987). Their mandate is clearly conservative. It was not until the early 1980's that the C.P.A. took a public stance on a national police issue the death penalty, and actively lobbied for the re-introduction of capital punishment being imposed when a police officer is killed (P. Jamieson, personal communication, April 6, 1987). Overall, the organizational structure of policing in Canada varies tremendously as do their respective police labour associations.

In the Province of British Columbia, the R.C.M.P. have been contracted to police all of the Province except the following areas: Vancouver, Victoria, Delta, New Westminster, Port Moody, Matsqui, Nelson, Central Saanich, Saanich, Esquimalt, Oak Bay and West Vancouver. The
authority for policing in the Province of British Columbia is found in the Labour Code and the B.C. Police Act. All twelve police departments have union status, the last having been achieved in 1972 (see Appendix A).

With the exception of the R.C.M.P., all police officers in British Columbia receive centralized training at the Justice Institute of British Columbia. All officers also belong to the B.C. Federation of Police Officers. Despite police departments being affiliated to the B.C. Federation of Police Officers, each has maintained independent status in labour negotiations. Jamieson (personal communication, April 6, 1987) suggests that most police departments in the province were granted union status freely.

The Vancouver City Police Association is the oldest in Canada, having been certified in 1945. As the largest police department in the Province of British Columbia, it has traditionally influenced police labour relations province-wide. Interestingly, there exists a tradition of parity within the Province of B.C., whereby smaller police departments have negotiated "mirrored" wage contracts to the Vancouver City police.

Vancouver City Police has traditionally been the forerunner in the Province and other police departments have competed to meet Vancouver's salary, this trend is
changing. Vancouver once influenced the labour negotiations of surrounding police departments (i.e. Delta). Today these police departments are now impeding Vancouver's negotiating powers as management is beginning to question whether or not Vancouver should follow their negotiation achievements. This phenomenon may create an adverse effect on the police labour movement of British Columbia. In the future, the more loosely formalized, loosely structured police labour associations may set the precedents on wage and benefits issues, and other labour issues which in the past were established primarily by Vancouver. In fact, the idea of amalgamating all police departments in British Columbia for the purpose of contract negotiations has once again resurfaced (British Columbia Federation of Police Officers, 1987).

Having presented a general overview of the organizational structure of police labour associations in British Columbia, the next chapter will introduce the three departments under study and the methodology used to gather the data for the study.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The reliability and validity of social science research is contingent upon the appropriate use of rigid social research methods. The methodological techniques used for this thesis center on documentary analyses of primary and secondary sources and in-depth interviews.

Bailey (1982, p.325) has argued that "... if one is interested in learning how some contemporary event or institution came into being, a historical approach is indispensable." Implicit in this contention is the view that documentary literature and interviews with persons who held historically significant positions in the community under study are indispensable for any historical analysis. For the present study, a variety of documents were utilized in capturing the essence of the evolution of the police labour movement both in the United States and Canada: scholarly books, journal articles, government documents, relevant Statutes and Acts, journalistic publications, and unpublished manuscripts and miscellaneous mimeographs.

The documents examined included primary source materials (e.g. police board minutes), secondary source materials (e.g. The Vancouver Sun newspaper) and solicited source material (e.g. Conflict and Cooperation in Police
Labour Relations). Relevant Statutes and Acts (e.g. labour codes) provided additional legalistic information, particularly with respect to the establishment of the police labour unions. The above noted documents were obtained from a multiplicity of sources:

- UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
- GOVERNMENT OFFICES
- THE JUSTICE INSTITUTE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
- GREATER VANCOUVER REGIONAL DISTRICT (G.V.R.D.)
- MUSEUMS
- MUNICIPAL HALLS
- BRITISH COLUMBIA FEDERATION OF POLICE OFFICERS (A.G.M.)
- LOCAL NEWSPAPER OFFICES
- POLICE UNION OFFICES
- CANADIAN POLICE COLLEGE

In charting the evolutionary progress of police labour unions in both the United States and Canada, the use of documentary analysis seemed self-evident. In attempting to re-create any part of history, one should speak to those individuals actively involved in the social phenomena under study. As this thesis clearly stated, the origin of police labour unions dates back to the turn of the century. As most of these individuals are no longer living, this leaves the researcher with one possible data source--documentary research.

The problems with the use of a documentary analysis methodology are two-fold. The perspectives of social researchers will invariably influence not only the manner in which the research is presented but also the focus of
those characteristics the researcher perceives as important. In order to minimize this weakness, the analysis of several documents relating to the same theme may enhance the accuracy of the topic by providing a variety of perspectives. Information for this thesis was gathered from a variety of source materials; for example, labour journals and police journals were examined in an attempt to gain a holistic perspective on police labour relations (Ayres, 1977; Lewin & Goldenburg, 1980).

The availability of archival sources of Canadian material on police labour relations is much more limited than in the U.S. and appears to originate from a select group of researchers in eastern Canada (Forcese, 1980; Grosman, 1975; Jackson, 1986). The available Canadian literature is also more recent making it difficult to conduct an historical analysis.

Researchers examining police labour relations in the United States have tended to focus on large urban police departments. The lack of available research on smaller police departments tends to bias the findings. It is the larger police departments, however, that have generally assumed the lead in police labour relations in both the United States and Canada (Jackson, 1980).

In conducting research which examines historical materials, it is important to recognize that most
documents are written for some purpose other than pure social research. Primary resources, for example, are usually written for personal reasons, extrapolated through personal interpretative experiences. Primary sources therefore must be examined within their context and this diminishes their generalizability. In examining police board minutes, for example, one should not assume that the issues covered within these minutes deal exhaustively with the topic under study but rather reflect the various personal interests involved.

Secondary source materials are often compiled by organizations and/or field practitioners to document significant events deemed to be important by these individuals. For example, a perusal of the literature on police labour relations appeared to establish a scholastic tradition of focusing on police strikes and their subsequent effects upon police labour relations. The focus on this aspect of police labour relations tends to distort the overall perspective (Ayres, 1977; Anderson, Bartell, Gehlen, & Winfree, 1976).

Solicited source materials may also be suspect in terms of content. Depending upon the funding source, the researcher may need to highlight certain conclusions which enhance the source funders' philosophical/political orientations. "Case studies are usually characterized as
thorough examinations of specific social settings or particular aspects of social settings..." (Black & Champion, 1976, p.90).

Three case studies were selected for this thesis: Vancouver Police Department, Delta Police Department and Matsqui Police Department. In 1986, the Vancouver City Police department had 1026 sworn members policing a population of approximately 410,000 (P. MacDonald, personal communication, September 30, 1988). The city is one of Canada's largest and hence policing here may be described as metropolitan urban policing.

Delta, a municipality which was incorporated in 1879, consists of both rural and urban areas. It is situated in proximity to Vancouver. Its police department has 121 members who police an area of approximately 128 square miles, with a population of 78,000 (Delta Municipal Hall Records, 1986).

The third police department selected for a case study was Matsqui Police Department. Matsqui is located some forty miles from the city of Vancouver. Although Matsqui police do service some urban areas, their territory is primarily rural. The department is small and consists of 63 members who police a population of 51,450 (Matsqui Municipal Hall Records, 1986).
As documentation on the three departments was limited, extensive interviews were conducted with current and former members of the three departments who had been or who were currently involved in labour relations and negotiations (see Appendix B). Individuals representing the three facets of police labour relations—persons representing the employee, the employer and the public—were interviewed. Individuals presently serving as elected members on police labour association's executive committees, individuals involved in managerial positions, along with members of present and past police boards, who provided additional insight into the topic, served as respondents.

A recording device was used in order to facilitate the accurate recording of information. Of the 16 in-depth interviews conducted by the researcher, six were tape recorded (see Appendix B). Contact persons were used to facilitate the interviews. Due to lack of available documentary information on the case studies, preliminary interviews were conducted in an unstructured fashion.

Through the use of an unstructured interview' "...those features of the problem central to the respondent's thinking are identified more readily ... and there is a much greater opportunity to explore various aspects of the problem in an unrestricted manner" (Black &
Champion, 1976, p.365). The initial interviews relied heavily upon the use of "probes" (Bailey, 1982). As the researcher gained more data from the respondents in each of the case studies, the interviews became more structured. The interviews consisted primarily of open-ended questions in order to gain as much information as the respondent could provide on specific issues in police labour relations (see Appendix C).

The interview technique was used not only to delineate information with respect to the labour history of each case study presented but also because there was little material written on the precise subject matter of this analysis.

Except for maintaining a constant sensitivity to some general problems, investigators who select the interview as a method of data collection do so precisely because it invariably affords a chance to take advantage of the unexpected or move into unchartered areas (Black & Champion, 1976, p.357).

One of the major advantages of this methodological tool is that it permits flexibility both on the part of the interviewer and the interviewee. During the interview, preliminary questions may lead to more probing questions in order to ascertain the direct meaning of the interviewee's responses. Should a question seem ambiguous or convoluted, the interviewee may ask for clarification, thus reducing differential understanding and interpretation.
The issue of flexibility becomes extremely important when dealing with respondents of varying backgrounds. The interview schedule (order of questions asked) may be adapted to suit the particular requirements of the interviewee. For example, certain questions within the interview schedule may be inappropriate or unnecessary when dealing with a particular respondent (Black & Champion, 1976). As well, respondents may embellish their answers to include information pertaining to another question which had been set out by the interviewer. Thus the flexibility in the interview allows the respondent the privilege of responding fully and without interruption. This lends itself to a more complete and encompassing data base, including data which may not have been known to the researcher prior to the interview.

The second major advantage to the interview is the response rate. The interviewer may control the interview to enable full and complete responses to all questions posed before ending the said interview. Persons who may otherwise have been unwilling to answer or expand on questions included in a written questionnaire may be willing and eager to talk about those same issues during a personal interview. As Bailey (1982, p.182) notes "Many people simply feel more confident of their speaking ability than of their writing ability".
The issue of spontaneity in the interview is another important advantage. During the interview, spontaneous responses may be recorded and queried by the interviewer. Having established a degree of rapport with the respondent, the interviewer may illicit information which may otherwise have been overlooked or disregarded (Black & Champion, 1976). In the current study, for example, an abundance of information was obtained pertaining to the political personalities of individuals involved in the three departments and this material contributed valuable insight into how these personalities have impacted the police labour negotiation process.

For most professionals, time is money. The structure of the interview is such that it enables the respondent to choose the most convenient time for them to be interviewed and allows for flexibility when dealing with work schedules. In addition, the interviewer is able to record the exact time, date and place of the interview. When utilizing mailed questionnaires, these factors may not be as easily identified as the respondent may choose to answer the questionnaire over a period of time. Further, a respondent may pass on the questionnaire to a colleague without the researcher's knowledge or consent.

Although the use of the interview technique has certain unique advantages as a methodological tool, the
researcher must constantly be aware of the flaws inherent in using this technique as "... the social nature of the interview has the potential for all sorts of bias, inconsistencies, and inaccuracies" (Bailey, 1982, p.184).

In all forms of social research using the methodological interviewing approach, the most important hurdle to be overcome is insuring the validity of verbal responses. This assurance is paramount to the generalizability of the research findings. The validity of verbal responses may be established by ensuring the following interrelated issues are addressed: establishing rapport, reactivity, interview bias, memory fade, and measuring accuracy of data gathered.

At the onset of the research interview, it is imperative that the interviewer be able to make the respondent feel comfortable, at ease, and in tune with what the interview seeks to accomplish. By clearly outlining the researcher's objectives, the researcher's professional background, and intent of the interview, rapport is developed. In this study the researcher approached a total of 16 respondents, all of whom willingly agreed to personal interviews. The researcher's professional affiliation with the respondents enhanced the rapport established and their receptivity to more probing questions. It has been traditionally documented in social
science research that individuals within the police milieu because of their group solidarity and cohesiveness tend to limit access to outside researchers (Reid, 1976; Radelet, 1977; Vincent, 1979). In a study on police, Vincent found that "it took several years to build a working rapport with the men" (Vincent, 1979, p.111).

Inherent in the personal interview is the danger of reactivity. Questions asked to respondents may produce responses or opinions which are not factually based. Rather, in seeking to please the researcher, the respondents will expound on unfamiliar issues. Respondents may even alter opinions in order to receive favourable feedback from the interviewer. In the present research, respondents appeared to have felt comfortable enough to provide opinions when they could and state their ignorance on the subject matter if that was the case. For example, when one of the respondents was queried about a specific police labour association's origins he declined expressing an opinion as he indicated that he had no knowledge with respect to that particular topic (G. Peary, personal communication, November 25, 1986).

The issue of interview bias must also be addressed. Both participants in the interview are subject to differential understanding of questions/answers, personal prejudices (e.g. ethnic origin, dress, age, gender, etc.)
and interview environment (i.e. coffee shop, private office, etc.). Through the use of lengthy interviews (each interview conducted was a minimum of 30 minutes in duration) ambiguous questions and responses were immediately clarified. In addition, the researcher's knowledge of commonly used police jargon further minimized differential understanding and interpretation. Personal prejudices were overcome by having first identified gender and professional affiliation on the telephone prior to the actual interview. The interviewee was encouraged to select the time and date for the interview as well as the location in order to minimize personal inconvenience and to maximize interviewee receptivity.

A third issue in establishing the validity of verbal responses is the issue of time. In attempting to recollect historical events, respondents may unintentionally distort information due to memory fade. In the present study, the researcher attempted to combat the potential problems of memory fade using three techniques: speaking to more than one person on the same subject, locating documents to substantiate verbal responses, and utilizing non-threatening open-ended questions throughout the interview.

In establishing the validity of verbal responses, a researcher should be able to measure the accuracy of the
materials collected. Through the use of documentary analysis of supportive resources, the verbal responses regarding the historical data were unanimously substantiated. For information unsubstantiated by documents, repetitive interviews and similar interviews were conducted.

Another disadvantage of the interview technique is interviewer variability to responses. An interviewer may look at similar responses differently and record them differently from interview to interview. Whether the interviewer is "up" for the conversation may affect the types of data collected and the subsequent interpretation of the data. In this study, every attempt was made to minimize the problem of variability.

The third major disadvantage to the interview technique is the variations inherent in using an unstructured interview. This disadvantage is closely linked to the issues previously discussed. Cicourel (1964, p.99) has stated:

...The nature of responses generally depends upon the trust developed early in the relationship, status differences, differential perception, and interpretations placed on questions and responses, the control exercised by the interviewer, and so forth. The validity of the schedule becomes a variable condition within and between interviews.

In exploratory social research, it is imperative that: (a) the researcher ensures that any preconceptions
held are removed from the interview; and (b) open-ended questions be used in order to gather as much information as possible (Bailey, 1982); as such a structured interview will seriously jeopardize research findings of this nature. Taking this into account the unstructured interview may be able to provide a relaxed and non-threatening atmosphere during the interview.

When attempting to extract historical information from respondents, it is advantageous to provide a relaxed atmosphere in order to facilitate recollection by the respondent. Gordon (1969, p.49) notes "...To help the respondent remember facts accurately the interview must be sufficiently unstructured and flexible for the interviewer to be able to return to the same topic several times if necessary to stimulate the memory". According to Gordon (1969, p.49), the unstructured interview may be more valid if the "universe of discourse" varies from respondent to respondent.

Finally, the use of open-ended interview questions enables the respondent to digress from the target question in order to introduce new ideas, experiences, and other valuable information. For example, during the course of one of the interviews, a respondent introduced the phenomenon known as "whipsawing". By probing this issue further it became apparent that whipsawing was an acronym
for a significant phenomenon within police labour relations. The whipsawing effect occurs when one police union completes a negotiated contract, and several other police departments obtain "mirrored" contracts.

Social researchers inevitably face the problem of how to record the information being obtained from respondents. Some choose to make brief notations during the interview while others rely on memory recall to record information collected during the interview, while others utilize recording devices.

The current research utilized note-taking and tape-recording during the interviews. When interview environments were not conducive to utilizing a tape recorder, extensive note-taking was completed. On occasions when the interviews were tape recorded, cursory note-taking was completed in an unobtrusive manner. The use of the tape recording device proved non-intimidating to the respondents because of the degree of rapport and trust placed upon the interviewer. On one occasion, for example, one of the respondents queried the researcher on the reception of the recording device and physically move his chair in order to enhance the reception of the recording device (P. Jamieson, personal communication, April 6, 1987).
While the disadvantages to the interviewing technique as well as the use of documentary analysis may diminish the generalizability of the research findings, it is important to recognize the exploratory nature of this thesis. The replication of this study may be accomplished by improving upon the research structure in the following four areas: 1) increase in case studies, 2) increase in respondents interviewed, 3) increase in funding for research, and 4) the use of a standardized recording apparatus.

The three case studies used in this thesis are located in British Columbia. Forcuse (1980, p.107) has observed that

British Columbia seems to offer the national situation in microcosm. We find some impressive examples of union-management cooperation, but also resort to strike threat, and situations of bitterly polarized adversary relations.

In order to replicate this study and enhance the data, a social science researcher could increase the number of case studies involved to gain a more in-depth perspective on a Province such as British Columbia by selecting all available cases in that Province. One could also select case studies from different geographical locations in Canada. Increasing the number of case studies would also strengthen the generalizability of any research findings. Similarly a researcher could
strengthen the validity of the data obtained by interviewing a higher number of respondents in the field of police labour relations.

The aforementioned factors are usually dependent upon funding. In conducting social science research one must acknowledge the fact that funding has a major impact on the research structure. In most cases it restricts the researchers data base, simply because of the constraints it places upon a researcher. This thesis was not supported by any funding. In order to gather data, the researcher selected case studies in close physical proximity to the researcher while still attempting to gain a variety of perspectives on the topic. The impact of funding also limited the number of individuals interviewed. Access to funding support would enable an interviewer to locate and query individuals in different geographical locations. This would enhance the comparative analysis of the status of police labour relations in Canada and the United States.

There are two other areas which should be considered in the replication of this study: the use of a structured interview schedule and the use of standardized recording apparatus.

Using this study's findings future research can expound on the data obtained. The issues raised in this
thesis could be analyzed in detail through the use of a more structured interview schedule. Using this technique, data could be more easily compared from interview to interview and this would reduce interviewer variability.

The replication of this study may pose a potential problem to future researchers in that the current research was conducted by an affiliated member of the professional milieu under study. Though the researcher was not directly related to any of the departments used as case studies nor involved in police labour relations, there is the possible risk of researcher bias. One should always be cognizant of the possible existence of researcher bias whether there is occupational affiliation or not. Access to certain documents (i.e. Police Board minutes, B.C. Fed. annual agenda) may not be readily available if affiliation does not exist and therefore may impede the progress of a more sophisticated research project.

In conclusion, this thesis is both descriptive and exploratory. Black and Champion (1976, p.78) state that "exploratory research has as one of its chief merits the discovery of potentially significant factors that may be assessed in greater detail and depth at a later date and with a more sophisticated type of research design".
CHAPTER IV

THE POLICE UNION HISTORIES OF VANCOUVER, MATSQUI AND DELTA

The Vancouver City Police Department

The Vancouver police department was established in 1886. Thirty-two years later, in 1918, the Vancouver Police Federal Labour Union was chartered by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (Fisher & Starek, n.d.). Two of the causal factors cited were "Declining real income and the contemporaneous unionizing of other municipal employees provided most of the stimulus for police in Vancouver...to unionize at this time" (Fisher & Starek, n.d., p.4). The formation of Vancouver's police union coincided with attempts to unionize in Montreal and Toronto (Frankel & Pratt, 1954), a police strike in Saint John, New Brunswick (Grosman, 1975). These events preceded the Winnepeg General Strike and the Boston Police Strike by one year (Forcese, 1980; Grosman, 1975).

Between 1918 and 1945 Vancouver experienced informal collective bargaining (Fisher & Starek, n.d. p.4).

During the pre collective bargaining era from the end of World War I through the end of World War II, municipal employers(sic) in a number of Canadian municipalities permitted their employees to lobby or formally consult with them concerning wages, hours and working conditions ("Universe", p.20).
The Police Association would submit its demands to the Chief Constable who in turn would present their demands to the Board of Commissioners and to City Council ("Universe", p.20).

The Wartime Labour Relations Act of 1944 granted municipal employees the right to apply for certification (as a labour union) (Fisher & Starek, n.d., p.5). It "established a national framework of labour relations..." ("Universe", p.20). The Vancouver City Policemen's Federal Labour Union, Local no. 12 was certified on August 6, 1945 (D. Bolt, personal communication, November 14, 1986). In 1956 they adopted the name of Vancouver Police Union. They negotiated their first collective agreement in 1946 (Fisher & Starek, n.d.).

From the onset "the City of Vancouver typically granted its police force wages and benefits which somewhat exceeded the wages and benefits it paid to its other major civic groups..." ("Universe", p.20). Although parity with other police departments traditionally had an impact on police labour relations, in Vancouver a battle of wage "supremacy" with Vancouver Firefighters played a significant role in these negotiations. During the first five years of negotiations, Vancouver police officer's salaries were surpassed by the Vancouver Firefighters. Vancouver police wanted neither to strike nor use a strike
as a method of exerting pressure to achieve a minimum of parity with Vancouver Firefighters, which left them in a weak position. (Fisher & Starek, n.d.)

In 1949 the Union added a "no-strike" provision to its constitution and the government instituted new legislation granting "compulsory arbitration" as a means of resolving disputes once an impasse occurred. One of the first arbitration awards in 1954 granted the union the right for its officers not to wear winter clothing during summer months ("Universe", p.33). For almost 20 years (1950-1970) the Vancouver City Police Union relied heavily on arbitration in its contract negotiations. In a monetary sense, this practice appeared to have been successful. "Vancouver and Toronto police have been rivals for the highest Canadian City police salary, partly because both police forces reside in Canada's two highest wage areas" ("Universe", p.21). Vancouver City police were the highest paid from 1953 until 1966 (inclusive) ("Universe", p.21).

Along with other urban police departments during the mid-1960's, Vancouver experienced labour turmoil. There were several factors which promoted discontentment in the negotiating process. Relying on arbitrated settlements was beneficial, as long as arbitrators were in agreement to Vancouver's pay scale as the country's trendsetter.
Another reason why Vancouver relied too heavily on arbitration has been suggested: "...the city and union experienced ten consecutive arbitrated settlements during the 1960's. The union's bargaining committee was much less experienced at collective bargaining than the city's professional negotiators, so it opted for arbitration during the 60's" ("Universe", p.51). This impeded the evolution of experienced labour relations personnel among union officials. By relying on arbitrators to settle disputes, union members were not actively involved in the negotiating process, thereby limiting their expertise.

While the Union's negotiating team was usually made up of five members and the Union President, the City had professional negotiators (P. Battershill, personal communication, March 19, 1987). Vancouver threatened to strike in 1967 and 1969, ("Universe", p.56), primarily as a result of being dethroned from the position of highest wage earners by the Toronto Metropolitan Police.

Traditionally, police unions have rarely negotiated multi-year contracts. This is primarily because other police departments could then make gains in one-year contracts which would make it very difficult to have "catch-up" clauses in order to stay at-par with other police departments. The 1969 contract encompassed a 22-month period. One of the most significant results of
this contract was that Vancouver police officers dropped from being the highest paid, to being in the top three, and finally to being forty-second in Canada ("Universe", p.59).

Dissatisfied with the current method of labour negotiations, both parties sought an alternative. The expertise of the officials who represented the employer increased, while the Union remained stagnant in labour relations. The organizational structure of police labour negotiations which was implemented in the 1970's was called mediation-arbitration, more commonly expounded as "med-arb".\(^3\)

Although med-arb was used solely by Vancouver as a police union method of negotiating, it was also used by the California Nurses Association in 1971 as "...an alternative to strike action for a particular set of negotiations..." (Dunlap, 1973, p.65).

The "Blair Award" reinstated Vancouver as the highest paid police force in Canada, and the rationale based on this award caused some consternation. Starek (personal communication, July 10, 1987) suggested that "people remember that rationale". In a sense, the position of Vancouver's police officers as "top paid" was reestablished in the Blair award.
On a political level, the 1970's witnessed a tremendous increase in the professionalization of the police in Vancouver (e.g. higher educated recruits joining; better training; and specialized sections with qualified "experts"). A new Police Act was enacted in 1974. This Act was implemented with input from union executives. Jamieson (personal communication, April 6, 1987) suggested the governmental philosophy of the era was to "sell before you implement".

At the time, it was considered the best police Act in the country. The involvement of the B.C. Federation of Police Officers in the discussion process of the new legislation and government solicitation from the Police Unions of B.C., resulted in these organizations being recognized as legitimate and as professionals representing the police.

The next major development that contributed to the professionalization of the police was the formation of the Justice Institute of B.C., a centralized police academy, whereby police officers from all departments (excluding the R.C.M.P.) in British Columbia would receive their training. This training would also involve courses in police labour relations. The B.C. Fed were once again involved, having input on the selection of the director of
the police academy (P. Jamieson, personal communication, April 6, 1987).

Although this involved the B.C. Fed and thus all departments, Vancouver traditionally was the provincial trendsetter, and as the largest police department, had the largest voice in provincial policing affairs. While the smaller departments negotiated mirror contracts with Vancouver, Vancouver tended to implement mirrored contracts with other urban police departments on a national scale: "Vancouver police agreements have contained many of the provisions that police contracts in Canada's other major cities have contained" ("Universe", p.44).

The latter part of the 1970's saw changes in legislation to deal with employees in essential services. The "right to strike", in reality, became superfluous. Vancouver threatened to strike in 1974 during their contract dispute, however, the government appointed an arbitrator, which successfully negated their right to strike legally ("Universe", p.61). The primary concerns the union had to deal with in the late seventies were the "wage freezes" and the Anti-Inflation Board.

The whip-sawing effect continued until 1983. Martin (personal communication, April 6, 1987) suggests that
what may occur in the late 80's is a reverse whip-sawing effect. As the cost of policing escalates and the "freeze" on wages continues smaller departments are unable to maintain parity, and Vancouver may suffer by being compared to those departments.

The move towards non-monetary issues created an expansion in the issues subject to negotiation. This was not based "Merely on a limitation of monetary issues [rather]...the quality of member that is now coming into the police service that is more intelligent, more inquisitive, more challenging is more demanding of expanding their participation..."(H. Starek, personal communication, July 10, 1987).

Starek (personal communication, July 10, 1987) suggested that the changes in the past twenty years have basically been in sophistication of the issues, which he attributes to the quality of the individuals entering the ranks. An example is the indemnification clauses in collective agreements. Traditionally, "economics" was the key factor. In the 1980's, social issues may emerge as a focus of union attention.

Starek (personal communication, July 10, 1987) gave an example of one such issue. In the mid-1970's when economics was the key focus on union activity, an employee assistance program was initiated by management. "It's
unfortunate in a way that the union themselves didn't focus on that and join with management into jointly looking after the kinds of things that very definitely impact on their membership." It is likely that during the latter part of the 1980's, the increasing expertise of union leaders will lead to a tendency to expand from non-monetary issues to social and managerial issues.

The Matsqui Police Department

The British Columbia Provincial Police serviced the community of Matsqui from pre-Confederation days until 1950. At that time the R.C.M.P. assumed responsibility for the Province, including Matsqui, located some 40 miles east of Vancouver in the Fraser Valley.

Within five years, on January 1, 1955, Matsqui decided to form its own police department. Concerns such as "community control and accountability" led to this development ("History of Policing", 1982, p.4). The general sentiment expressed was "that the community had outgrown policing the RCMP could provide, and it was time for a municipal force. Councillors were convinced Matsqui was not receiving the service for which it was paying" ("History of Policing," 1982, p.4). Vanderhoek (personal communication, November 20, 1986) also suggested that one
of the mitigating factors in the formation of Matsqui's own police was that the community wanted their own police because the provincial government would not build a police station in Matsqui having selected instead the neighbouring community of Abbotsford.

Shortly after the formation of the Matsqui Police Department, the members attempted to form a police union. There were three factors which appeared to have enhanced the development of this union: (1) the parity issue spawned by Vancouver City Police Department, (2) the lack of leadership of the Matsqui Police Chiefs, and (3) the previous police experience of its membership.

The parity issue which surfaced at the onset of Matsqui's police formation was, throughout police union history, a key factor in police union objectives. In December of 1956, Matsqui lagged behind Vancouver in wages. The membership approached their employers, the Matsqui Police Commission, requesting an increase in wages. They received a fifty dollar Christmas bonus (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20, 1986). The Matsqui Police members had no means of formal negotiation and therefore could not dispute this decision.

In 1957, the members opted to form a union, shortly after the Police Commission's decision on the parity issue. There is little documentary evidence on the cause
of the frequent change in command of the Department Head. During the first six years of Matsqui Police, three Chiefs commanded the Department, the first of these was suspended and relieved of his duties after one year. Following this, the second Chief of Police requested to resign in 1959, and the third Chief was only in command for 2 years (Abbotsford, Sumas & Matsqui News, February 1, 1961; "Chief Vandusen," 1961). This lack of consistency in police leadership may have assisted the initial development of the union.

Another mitigating factor was the members themselves. Traditionally, Matsqui hired members with previous police experience (G. Leukefeld, personal communication, January 14, 1987). These individuals were for the most part seasoned veterans. They may have seen the development of a new police department as a means of improving their present status. They obviously brought to Matsqui their previous experiences, not only in the realm of police work, but also in labour issues.

Matsqui's first attempt to form a union was rejected. The Police Commission at the time opposed the formation (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20, 1986) and the request for certification (i.e. union status) was ultimately rejected in Victoria by the Labour Relations Board. (Matsqui Police Board Minutes, 1958). Matsqui was
denied certification over a legal issue—they lacked a proper Constitution and set of "by-laws" (I. MacDougal, personal communication, November, 1986). On June 30, 1958, the union became certified ("Matsqui Police Collective," 1958) and was called the Matsqui Policemen's Association Local No. 7.

Interestingly, there was no publicity surrounding the formation of the union, no public support, no support from other police departments and no support from other outside labour groups (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20, 1986). It would appear that, unlike the formation of other police unions, particularly American police unions, the certification of the Matsqui police union was completed relatively smoothly. Vanderhoek (personal communication, November 20, 1986) has noted the Police Chief at the time was not anti-union. Hence the only resistance had been the objection by the police commission at the time. The fact that Matsqui members sought certification legally and that it was within their legal right to do so may have quashed any further objections by the local police commission.

The first binding contract between the union and the municipality was signed on the 10th of June, 1959. It consisted of 17 clauses dealing with issues such as work week, stat-holiday pay, service pay, holiday pay, court
pay allowance, call-out pay, uniform allowance, etc. Two other clauses were also incorporated into the contract. Section 13 set out standards for promotion. Although the clause stipulated that the decision of the employer would be final "other things being equal, effect shall be given to seniority in rank".

Section 14 entered into the disciplinary realm of policing and specified seven reasons whereby the "employer reserves the right to discharge any employee". They were:

1) drunkenness
2) dishonesty
3) proven incompetency
4) absence without leave
5) refusal to obey any lawful order
6) flagrant abuse of any of the employer's equipment used by the employee in the course of his duty
7) conduct unbecoming any police personnel

("Matsqui Police Collective," 1959, p.5)

Phil Jamieson (personal communication, April 6, 1987) suggested that until the introduction of the British Columbia Police Act in 1974, police officers were basically employed at the "pleasure of their employer". That being the case, the seven sub-clauses contained in Section 14 would have had little effect on the protection of union members. This Section was an obvious weakness in
the contract from a union perspective. On the other hand, Section 13 of the same contract dealt with a seniority clause which effectively encroached upon management's prerogatives regarding promotion.

The first signs of turmoil in the Matsqui Police Association emerged only a few short years after its formation. The Abbotsford, Sumas, and Matsqui News (February 1, 1961, p.1) reported in February 1961 that while "Matsqui Police Ask Wage Hike" the "Municipal Council has asked Attorney General Robt. Bonner to inquire into the possibility of the R.C.M.P. taking over the policing in the municipality".

While the Police Association was attempting to seek higher pay, their employers were seeking their replacement. Leukefeld (personal communication, January 14, 1987) suggested that the Municipal Council used the threat of an R.C.M.P. take-over as a negotiating tactic until 1978.

To counter the Municipality's attempt to obtain the service of the R.C.M.P., the Police Association mobilized public support. "This was the subject of a lot of media attention in Matsqui at the time..." (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20, 1986). A town meeting was held at the Legion Hall in Abbotsford. Police officers attended with their families and friends, city
council, police commissioners, etc. This was the only public demonstration in opposition to the plan (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20, 1986). Ottawa, however, rejected Matsqui's request for policing services on the grounds that the R.C.M.P. would not provide service for a locale with a population over 15,000 (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20, 1986).

Once the R.C.M.P. issue had been resolved, negotiations between the Matsqui police union and local police commission commenced. Vanderhoek (personal communication, November 20, 1986) described the relationship as a "friendly local atmosphere...the police board and union would take each other out to dinner each year after the contractual negotiations were resolved". During the 1960's Matsqui had achieved wage parity with Vancouver, although not for all of the employee benefits). "It was a sort of understanding that we would be a matter of fifty cents or whatever behind" (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20. 1986). Similarly, Leukefeld (personal communication, January 14, 1987) stated that "they [police board] had this deathly fear of actually coming right out and saying you have parity with Vancouver".

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The Police Board Minutes also reflected the amicable relationship throughout this period: March 15, 1964 "agreement finalized", October 9, 1964 "union letter requesting negotiations and to invite commission to dinner", October 27, 1966 "union requests parity", December 19, 1966 "came to an agreement" (Matsqui Police Board Minutes).

Since 1967, Matsqui's police department has grown and expanded, forming new specialized duties including plain clothes officers, a Major Crimes Unit and a Dog Squad ("History of Policing," 1982). These new developments have enhanced the overall morale of the police membership, creating new opportunities for advancement.

In comparison to unions in large urban police departments, particularly in the United States, the history of the Matsqui Police Union throughout the 1960's was atypical. One of the main reasons for this may have been the "policing environment": the rural community of Matsqui was primarily agricultural and was relatively immune to the social turmoil experienced in the policing environments of urban areas. Matsqui itself sits in the heart of an area referred to by locals as the "Bible Belt".

By 1965, Matsqui's labour contracts were beginning to parallel Vancouver's contracts in items such as sick leave
and service pay clauses ("Matsqui Police Collective," 1965). The union was also examining contracts of other police unions in surrounding areas and developing more sophisticated negotiating strategies ("Matsqui Police Collective," 1967). These developments were enhanced by the formation of the British Columbia Federation of Police Officers in the early 1960's (P. Jamieson, personal communication, April 6, 1987).

Although most of the union contracts were one-year in length, a three-year contract was negotiated covering the time period from 1967-69. In 1970 wage parity was achieved with Vancouver. The rate of pay negotiated was $755.00 monthly for first class constables ("Matsqui Police Collective," 1970). The Vancouver Police Union, negotiating after Matsqui, received $748.00 from January 1, 1970 and then a raise to $762.00 July 1, 1970 (Vancouver Policemen's Union, n.d., mimeograph).

In the early seventies, the Matsqui Police Union sent representatives to Victoria, B.C. to support another police department in that area (G. Leukefeld, personal communication, January 14, 1987). Members from each police local of the B.C. Federation of Police Officers attended, and the threat of picketing arose at that time (G. Leukefeld, personal communication, January 14, 1987). This disturbance was shortlived and Matsqui continued to
run an independent police association. In fact, most of the police unions in British Columbia operated independently.

In 1973, the Matsqui police were housed in a new police station. A member who had previously served in the R.C.M.P. (non-unionized) who joined Matsqui during 1970-1972 stated Matsqui was "way ahead", that operations were "smooth sailing" and, apart from paying union dues and attending union meetings, things went smoothly in the department with respect to the existence of the police union (F. Michelski, personal communication, November 17, 1986). As time went on it would appear that instead of the development of negotiating expertise by union officials perhaps even before the mid-1970's the whip-sawing effect had begun to occur (D. Morrison, personal communication, June 29, 1987). The Matsqui Police Association would wait for the Vancouver Police Association to negotiate or would negotiate a "mirror contract". This was vividly illustrated in the 1976-77 contract whereby Article 2 "wages" Schedule "A" states:

(1) The rate of pay in Schedule "A" shall be set at 13.00 below the rate for comparable ranks in the City of Vancouver ($153.00 below in the case of Corporal), when the rates of pay in the Vancouver Agreement are conclusively settled, after reference to the Anti-Inflation Board. This shall be retroactive to April 1, 1976 for all present members of the association ("Matsqui Police Collective," 1976).
Another such example was found in Section 10, widow benefit "the definitions to be used in clause 9.3 shall be those incorporated into the Vancouver police agreement dated May 27, 1976 ("Matsqui Police Collective," 1976).

In 1979, the Matsqui Police Association went to arbitration. In labour relations this means that both parties could not resolve the issues which had surfaced while bargaining and that the union sought an arbitrator, who was appointed. The decisions by the arbitrator were final and binding. The resulting decision was called the "Greyell Award" (Greyell, 1979).

The facts surrounding this Award were a turning point in the history of the Matsqui union. As Vanderhoek (personal communication, November 20, 1986) suggested "things went smoothly until about 78-79". In August of 1979 the union went to arbitration (Matsqui Police Board Minutes, August 22, 1979). The resulting award was parity with Vancouver. The arbitrator stated "A study of other awards in public interest disputes leads me to the conclusion that the 'prevailing standard' for similar occupational groups outside the employer's employment is the criterion to (sic) which I must give the most weight." (Greyell, 1979, p.3). The Union stance at the time was adamant on parity, and once this was achieved, the main thrust of the association has been to maintain parity.
The stage had been set in 1979 for tumultuous negotiations between both parties. It was best illustrated in the Greyell Award. The union alleged the employer (police board) had not bargained "in good faith" (Greyell, 1979, p.21). Greyell (1979, p.24) depicted the union and employer's breakdown in negotiations as follows:

I do not mean to condone the Municipality's apparent refusal to meet and discuss the other amendments to the Collective Agreement sought by the union. In my view, by refusing to meet and discuss these issues, an unfortunate atmosphere of confrontation developed between the parties at an early stage and continued thereafter. I can only trust that both have learned from this unfortunate experience and that in future years the parties will develop a more sophisticated approach to their collective bargaining process.

Since 1979, there has not been a negotiation that has not involved conciliation or arbitration (G. Peary, personal communication, November 25, 1986). "There's been some very, very bitter feelings between the police board in the negotiations... since the last 6 or 7 years, some form of legal thing but I sincerely believe it's because of the personalities on both sides..." (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20, 1986). Ironically, the two key players in Matsqui police labour relations--the chairman of the police board (the mayor) and the president of the police union--have retained their respective positions for nearly a decade (T. Vanderhoek, personal communication, November 20, 1986).
In the case of the Matsqui Police Department, the interpersonal dynamics of the relationship between both parties spawned an adversarial relationship which was not conducive to smooth negotiations. As the President of the Police Union, Leukefeld (personal communication, January 14, 1987) stated:

It kind of goes with whoever is chairman of the board, ... if you've got a good relationship, hell you can go for years and everything will be just rosy but then as has happened in the last six years, we started off o.k. and from there on everything went downhill.

Leukefeld (personal communication, January 14, 1987) admitted "the mayor and I had totally different points of view." This has also been experienced in Saanich, British Columbia with the former mayor. George Peary (personal communication, November 25, 1986), a member of the Matsqui Police Board for the last six years, suggested that relations were not good, and had little room to improve since both parties only met in conference for negotiating key issues. He stated an attempt was made to have meetings with both parties in less adversarial circumstances although this suggestion was never implemented.

As Matsqui's population increased during the 1980's so did its police force. The costs of policing also escalated; hence monetary issues surrounding policing became high-cost items in any municipal budget.
From the perspective of the police board the problem is one essentially of tactics employed by the police union. That is, their idea of negotiating is to come in and seek as much as they can in fringe benefits and working conditions and then demand the same pay rate as Vancouver gets (G. Peary, personal communication, November 25, 1986).

In 1986, relations between the police association and the municipality deteriorated even further. The Police Board opted for a labour lawyer as their representative at an arbitration hearing (known as the Bird Award). "...The board mounted a very persuasive and sophisticated economic argument and the arbitration board in fact agreed with the police board and the Matsqui police union no longer enjoys parity with the city of Vancouver" (G. Peary, personal communication, November 25, 1986).

The Matsqui Police Union sought public support during their negotiations, using advertising space in the local newspaper quoting their increases in 1985-86 consisting of 0% and 2% and showing the mayor and council's increases of 3%, 17% and 25%. The headline on the front page of the October 1, 1986 issue of the Abbotsford, Sumas & Matsqui News read "Matsqui Police Battle the Boss" (McIntosh, 1986).

Peary stepped down from the Police Board after the '86 negotiations, as he had served his full term. In an article dated October 29, 1986, Peary ("Peary's," 1986) stated he regretted that relationships had deteriorated,
but commented on the public campaign of the police union by stating, "The ads were full of misinformation and 'lies'."

The future of Matsqui's labour negotiations may change in the course of the next few years. The onset of a new mayor, and hence a new Chairman of the Board and a new Board Executive Member may promote a different style of negotiating. The influx of professional negotiators (labour lawyers) on both sides may remove the personality conflicts in the realm of police negotiations and create a more amiable atmosphere in Matsqui.

The Delta Police Union

Unlike the Matsqui Police Department, which is fairly recent, Delta's Police date back to the 1890's. During that time, one police officer was hired for the summer to police the area of the fish canneries. Although the Municipality of Delta spans a large area, the density of population at the time was situated along the Pacific Coast and consisted primarily of a fishing community. Delta's community has since expanded over the years and in 1960 consisted of both rural and urban areas.

Accessibility to data concerning Delta's police history prior to the early 1960's was limited. The Delta
Municipal Police Association established its Constitution and By-laws on May 31, 1960 and one month later, on June 28, 1960, obtained certification (D. Bolt, personal communication, November 14, 1986). At the time, Delta Police consisted of approximately fifteen officers and, similar to Matsqui, it was suggested that its formation was prompted in large measure by the lack of wage consistency with Vancouver City Police (G. Angus, personal communication, December 3, 1986). The prevailing attitude was that "...we're all doing the same job, we should get the same money" (G. Angus, personal communication, December 3, 1986).

Another contributing factor which ensured the development of a police association was the desire to improve the general working conditions of the fifteen officers who had to police the four geographic terrains found within the Municipality of Delta (G. Angus, personal communication, December 3, 1986).

There was scattered opposition to the formation of the police association from the municipality and from the police chief who commanded the Delta Police Force from 1952-1980. Although Angus suggested the Chief did not oppose the union formation and supported the principle of parity, Ivens (personal communication, March 13, 1987) suggested that during the era of the Association formation
Chief Smith ran the organization with an "iron fist", and was very much an "old style" policeman.

With respect to the municipality (and police board), there was not so much an opposition to the union formation as a general feeling of apprehension as to the possible impact (perhaps in terms of dollars) of its existence. It would appear that labour relations had run very smoothly in Delta and there was a certain fear that the development of a union would alter this amicable relationship (G. Angus, personal communication, December 3, 1986).

The union's primary goal was parity with Vancouver and within three or four years this was achieved (G. Angus, personal communication, December 3, 1986). The general feeling among the officers was that formalized police labour relations were a right and that the ensuing police association would become the voice of the members (D. Morrison, personal communication, June 29, 1987). In reality, the association would act as a negotiating tool to obtain improvements in working conditions, including better equipment and training, which would thereby enhance the level of policing in the municipality (G. Angus, personal communication, December 3, 1986).

Ivens (personal communication, March 13, 1987) suggested the reason why the relationship between the
Board and the Membership has always been amiable is two-fold: that it was based on a small town foundation and that neither parties ever took extreme positions. What is interesting about Delta's uniquely favorable police labour relations is that as relations evolved, successful issuance of wage parity with the City of Vancouver consistently accompanied the labour negotiations. It appeared that the Board's philosophy was to grant parity. Morrison (personal communication, June 29, 1987) admitted that if Delta did not achieve parity, relations would have broken down.

The good working relationship between Delta and its police board may have been enhanced by the union leadership, described by one observer as "middle of the road" (G. Angus, personal communication, December 3, 1986). The President of the Delta Association held that position from 1961 to 1971 (G. Angus, personal communication, December 3, 1986); in comparison to the long term position held by the President of the Union in Matsqui where negotiations were not smooth.

Delta's Police Association has never gone to binding arbitration or mediation over wage issues (I. Stabler, personal communication, August 16, 1986). Since it would appear that the parity wage issue was a priority, if not the priority, in labour negotiations (and parity was
successfully attained), less significant issues (such as plain clothing allowance) became the focus and concern for mediation remedies.

Another negotiating feature which the police board and association agreed upon was negotiating costs. Morrison (personal communication, June 29, 1987) stated "We wait to see what Vancouver gets. It's less costly for us and no tension with the board." Hence, both parties awaited Vancouver's settlement and then proceeded with their negotiations. Morrison (personal communication, June 29, 1987) added "We never had one iota of trouble but it didn't mean we always gave in. We had to think of the tax payers."

The Delta Police Association's "middle of the road" label was exemplified by Stabler, as a union executive member, did not refer to the organization as a "Union" but an "Association". Although Delta followed Vancouver, they did not perceive themselves as 'radical' as Vancouver (I. Stabler, personal communication, August 16, 1986).  

The organizational structure of Delta's negotiation process is quite unique. From the onset of its formation in the early 1960's until 1980, the Chief played a major role in the process. The Chief represented the members
and liaised with the police board and hence acted as a mediator.

The Police Board had trust in the Chief and the Board relied on mayoral expertise in negotiations. This relationship was altered in 1980 when the G.V.R.D. (Greater Vancouver Regional District), a centralized master bargaining association, became involved in Delta's police negotiations. Stabler (personal communication, August 16, 1986) suggested that, for Delta, there may have been two reasons for this change. First, the Chief who had been acclaimed as their unofficial spokesperson at this time, was ready to retire. Second, a possible question of ethics was raised. If the Members were to get an increase in wages then subsequently so would the Chief.

The introduction of the G.V.R.D. as negotiator had an impact on the role of the police board. Ivens (personal communication, March 13, 1987) described the organizational structure of the negotiating process during the 1980's in Delta:

The police board were not really involved in day-to-day management, but rather served in an overseeing role on fiscal and administrative matters. The G.V.R.D. and police association would prepare a contract, the board would examine it and return it to the parties with any amendments. The board then submitted a budget to council. The advantages to this structure were that it removed any personality frictions in the negotiating process and buffered both the Chief and the Police Board. The
disadvantage was that the Board did not really know of small items that may have been important to the Police Association.

The implementation of the Compensation Stabilization Committee by the Provincial Government approximately three years ago set guidelines for wage increases. For example, at one point, the guidelines were set at a three percent increase maximum (I. Stabler, personal communication, August 16, 1986). This in effect changed the sphere of bargaining. It was no longer open for negotiation. Both the Association and the G.V.R.D., however, appeared to have coped with this issue. Ivens (personal communication, March 13, 1987) was surprised that there were not more confrontations because of the economy and restraint. He suggested "the attitude of the police may have been to change with restraint". It would appear that the Police Association accepted (albeit reluctantly) the wage controls and felt that in "freeze times, bargaining is easier--you'll only get three percent anyways" (I. Stabler, personal communication, August 16, 1986).

In Delta, in the later part of the 1980's, this may mean a move towards increasing negotiations on non-monetary issues. Ivens (personal communication, March 13, 1987) suggested two issues of importance which in future negotiations may likely cause some debate. First, the issue of seniority: The Police Association proposes
to base promotion on the sole criteria of seniority whereas the Board want to premise promotion on a combination of training, capability, and seniority. The second anticipated problem involves the issue of cumulative sick leave. "This issue was locked in by the previous board and may be extremely costly in the future" (B. Ivens, personal communication, March 13, 1987). At the time that issue was negotiated there were fewer members in the department and hence it was less costly.

In sum, Delta appears to have had extremely good relationships between its Police Association and Board. A large part of this non-confrontational relationship, however, rested on the promise that the Delta Police Association was granted wage parity with Vancouver.

Summary

The histories of the Police Associations in Vancouver, Delta and Matsqui are unique. There were several factors which played important roles in the evolution of these unions. One of the main features involved in the police union agenda was the negotiation of contracts, i.e. the collective bargaining process. The words "negotiate" and "bargain" immediately denote some sort of communication process between individuals.
One of the primary factors in the three case studies was the interpersonal dynamics in the negotiating process. These included both external factors (such as the Compensation-Stabilization Committee) and internal factors (such as the expertise of the union executives in labour negotiations) (see Figure 1). As Juris and Feuille (1973, p.119) suggested "...collective bargaining is diverse in character and results... each relationship is unique". A large part of this uniqueness was attributable to such internal factors as the personalities of the individuals involved in the process. Gallie (1978, p.247) also suggested that "...ideology will affect the strategies used to obtain objectives".

On a hierarchical scale, the first persons involved were the individual members (police officers themselves).

It is plausible to argue that the initial orientation men had towards the job will be related to their attitudes to police unionism. People joining primarily for extrinsic considerations could be expected to be more concerned about having a strong representative body, capable of defending or advancing their material interests (Reiner, 1978, p. 166).

Starek (personal communication, July 10, 1987) stated that the philosophical orientation of recruits has changed over the last twenty years in Vancouver, and as a result, the individual officers are beginning to demand action on social issues rather than purely economic ones. Stabler (personal communication, August 16, 1986) argues that in
Figure 1. Police Labour Negotiations in British Columbia
Delta, as a union executive elected to be the voice of the membership, there were times when the more senior personnel were concerned with security and benefits (i.e. pension plan), the younger recruits were seeking more monetary gains. This also appeared to have occurred in Matsqui "...it's the usual situation the older guys are looking for benefits and the younger guys are looking for money in hand" (G. Leukefeld, personal communication, January 14, 1987).

Hence, all three elected union presidents must deal with a negotiating process with the membership and attempt to provide a collective agreement acceptable to the majority of their membership. Presumably, because union executives are usually elected for a two-year term, if "negotiations" at this level were not acceptable, they would not be re-elected.

The size of the membership may also have an impact on the process. Matsqui is a small police department where all members personally know the other officers. In a large organization such as Vancouver, however, the union executives are likely not to personally know every individual officer.

Ayres & Wheelan (1977, p.684) stated that "all significant players affect others". The second group of "players" in the negotiating process and evolution of
police unions are the elected union executives. 

"...if a police union has leaders or representatives who are skilled in the interpersonal arts of political negotiations, the union's ability to obtain its goals is enhanced. (Juris & Feuille, 1973, p.76). The backgrounds and personalities of union officials appear to affect the labour process. In the three departments studied, each elected their own union officials, most had unrestricted renewable terms of office, and all three had union officials who had served several terms of office in various capacities. An example of the impact of union official's perspectives in the labour process was clearly depicted in one of Vancouver's labour contracts. Union executives opted for and agreed upon a clause that would increase the benefit clothing allowance paid to plain clothes officers. The general membership rejected this "cost-item." At the time the union executives were all in "plain clothes" positions versus the majority of the rank and file officers working in uniforms ("Universe", p.39).

In Matsqui, one of the union's executives was also on the Executive of the Provincial Association of the B.C. Fed. Peary (personal communication, November 25; 1986) saw this as detrimental, as he felt the union executive felt obliged "to spout the party line...whether or not
it's supported by the membership...is sometimes a question mark..."

Both Vancouver and Delta negotiate their contracts with a master bargaining team under the umbrella of the G.V.R.D. (Greater Vancouver Regional District). Hence the police board oversee the negotiations but are not (in reality) actively involved in the day-to-day negotiating process. In Matsqui, the process is still very much localized and thus they are in a weak position. The personal orientation of each of these players towards policing and labour relations will effect the type of relationship that develops. In Matsqui, as stated previously, relations between the police board and union executives are not amicable. Although the impact of causal relationships is difficult to document, with the change in police board members, the relationship between the police board and union in Matsqui may improve in the future.

In Delta, the relationship has been amicable, since the police board supports the notion of parity with Vancouver. Ivens (personal communication, March 13, 1987) stated that the acceptance of the Compensation-Stabilization Program could affect relations. This does not appear to be a problem in Delta as Stabler (personal communication, August 16, 1986)
further added that this was inevitable and hence negotiations occur within the realm of the statutory limitations. This did not occur in Matsqui, Peary (personal communication, November 25, 1986) stated the union "...were denying the reality of the compensation stabilization board even though we pointed that out to them, they said to hell with it let Peck cut us off if he dare..."

In Vancouver, the expertise of union leaders has been established. Training in labour relations is provided which covers critical negotiating issues and skilled union leaders have been promoted from within the ranks (Kornfeld & Dawson, 1981, p.11).

Bell (personal communication, November 12, 1986) suggested that negotiating in Vancouver (a large area) is more difficult. The issues are not necessarily more complex but any benefits negotiated are higher cost items in terms of dollars only due to the sheer amount of police officers involved. Also, there is some "distancing" involved. The Chief is not seen by the members daily due to the size of the department. This may be an advantage. Although Vancouver's union president occupies the position on a full-time basis, the other members of the executive do so part-time and Bell perceived this as an advantage as they are still in touch with the rank and file.
Arbitrators have had a major impact on the evolution of police labour unions in British Columbia. Bell (personal communication, November 12, 1986) suggested that arbitration usually works in favor of the employee as arbitrators are usually sympathetic to the employee.

There were two Awards which greatly impacted upon union philosophy, one in Vancouver, the "Blair Award" and one in Matsqui, the "Greyell Award". Mr. Blair re-established the Vancouver police as the highest wage earners in Canada in 1971 (Fisher & Starek, n.d., p.39). "While looking at these various aspects of today's situation, one has also, in the Arbitrator's view, to keep before him the principal of maintaining the Vancouver Police Force where it rightfully belongs, namely, on the top level among Canada's police forces in terms of wages, fringe benefits, and working conditions." (Blair, 1975, p.7). In other words, "the arbitrator adhered to the principle of maintaining Vancouver police on the top level among Canada's police forces" (Vancouver Police Board, 1975, p.1).

The importance of this statement by Mr. Blair is that years later people still refer to the Award and the philosophy of maintaining Vancouver as the highest paid
department in British Columbia, and perhaps the country. Starek (personal communication, July 10, 1987) stated "it causes consternation--people remember that rationale".

In Matsqui, the issue of parity with Vancouver has always been one of the most important issues in negotiations. The Greyell Award granted Matsqui parity with Vancouver in 1980. The rationale given by the arbitrator was as follows: "A study of other awards in public interest disputes leads me to the conclusion that the 'prevailing standard' for similar occupational groups outside the Employer's employment is the criteria to which I must ... have most regard is comparability with those other police forces..." (Greyell, 1979, p.3-4).

Peary's (personal communication, November 25, 1986) commented similarly on Matsqui's situation: "...they have to understand, it was an arbitration board that gave them parity and it was an arbitration board that took parity away." Thus, because arbitrators are usually in positions to rule on major issues in police labour relations, their decisions will have a tremendous impact on the evolution of police unions.

Policing is overseen by the Provincial government of British Columbia. Legislation relating to policing will obviously impact upon all police officers. The prevailing
attitude towards police unions in government will affect the process. It is extremely difficult, however, to identify precisely those individuals whose orientation towards policing affected the development of unions. The government of the early seventies, however, strove to improve police professionalism with the creation of the Justice Institute and by asking for input by police union leaders (P. Jamieson, personal communication, April 6, 1987).

Labour lawyers who represent both union and employers impact the system by the perspectives presented during a variety of phases in the negotiating process. The rationale used to either promote or negate an issue such as wage parity can influence not only the present negotiations, but future ones as well (e.g. if, for example, the rationale is used that Vancouver should be paid at parity with Toronto say in 1986, what occurs in 1990, when Toronto are below Vancouver in salaries?).

While all three police unions have functioned under the same legislation, their growth and development have varied. Vancouver's history is much lengthier than either Delta or Matsqui. Vancouver has had a greater impact on Provincial labour relations, as most departments follow Vancouver's trends. At the same time, Vancouver has been influenced by trends set by other large urban police departments in Canada. Matsqui has suffered in its
attempts to obtain wage parity with the larger police departments, such as Vancouver. By remaining independent in its struggles in labour negotiations, Matsqui has not been able to maintain wage standards equivalent to Vancouver's. Unlike their U.S. counterparts, none appear to have struggled too stringently for the establishment of a union, nor did they experience the hostile confrontations evidenced by some of the American police union counterparts.

By refraining from associating with outside labour groups, police unions in British Columbia have gained a legitimate position as representatives of the police community in general. After having discussed the historical development of these three police unions, the next Chapter will focus on the issues they will likely face in the future.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

This thesis has addressed the historical development of three police unions in British Columbia. Chapter I provided an introduction to the topic. In Chapter II, the historical evolution of police unions in both Canada and the United States were presented and then compared and contrasted in order to delineate a clear working framework upon which a sophisticated discussion of the evolutionary process of police unions was ascertained. A comprehensive review of the methods used to gather the data included in this thesis was presented in Chapter III.

In Chapter IV, the origins and development of police unions in the municipalities of Vancouver, Matsqui and Delta, British Columbia were examined and compared within a historical framework. The key findings inferred from this analysis were: (1) the origins and historical development of the three police unions under study were less turbulent than those of their American counterparts; (2) the issue of wage parity in police union negotiations played a significant and major role in the subsequent development of police contracts; and (3) the interpersonal dynamics of the relationships between key players involved in the union negotiation process impacted significantly on the subsequent outcomes of these negotiations.
Chapter V draws the police union issue together with other "trade unions" in order to show the evolutionary process from a more encompassing perspective within the general labour environment. From the resulting data, future perspectives will be discussed and re-emphasized: the pros and cons of wage parity, the possible impact of professional negotiators, the recent phenomenon towards non-monetary issues in contract negotiations, and the reasons why unions have tended to focus selectively on certain policing issues.

Although this thesis did not examine exhaustively the issue of police unions in relation to other labour unions, one should be cognizant of the parallel development of police unions and other outside labour groups.

The development of a labour oriented worker began at the turn of the century; however, the increased militancy in the 1960's in both the United States and Canada evolutionized its labour unions, in particular, the police unions. Levi (1977, p.2) suggested "Agency growth, increased bureaucratization, deterioration of material and social standing, changing social and economic conditions--in other words, the same forces unionized private sectors experienced--combined to produce new outbreaks of militance among government workers."
The labour movement in North America is divided primarily into two distinct groups: public sector and private sector. Public sector unions consist of governmental employees whether municipal, provincial or federal. Private sector unions encompass employees in "private" industry, such as the autoworkers unions. As Levi (1977) and Juris & Peuille (1973) suggested, both public and private sector unions organized for the same inherent reasons, e.g. employee benefits, increase in wages, improved working conditions.

The police, following the public sector movement, made similar labour union inroads. "The typical police social philosophy encourages an internal solidarity and suspicion of outsiders which separates them from the labour movement and aligns them with more conservative forces" (Reiner, 1978, p.264). "...Generally the public sector unions are not strident and militant. They tend to go along with trends; they don't establish trends" (G. Peary, personal communication, November 25, 1986). In addition, there are three branches to public sector bargaining: the police union, the employer, and the public (tax payers). Salerno (1977, p.9) states the significant differences between the public and private
sector are twofold: "the non-profit nature of most public services..." and "...the political atmosphere underwhich bargaining takes place".

In essence, the evolution of police unions appears to have developed in parallel with the labour activities of other government employees, particularly employees in essential services such as firefighters and nurses. In the end, however, there is a "... uniqueness of police labour relations. ...A modern grievance system and the expectations of young police officers and, on the other hand, the needs and requirements of a highly authoritarian and structured organization" (Downie & Jackson, 1980, p. 4). Peary (personal communication, November 25, 1986) summarized the issue:

They're a union but they're not a union because they don't quite have all the same benefits and when you're in a crisis situation and you direct someone to do something it's not the sort of thing that there can be any question about. There has to be an immediate compliance and you get into the union thing where they say no I'm not going to do it, I'll launch a grievance.

There is somewhat of a paradox with the idea of police unionism. "Police associations, or most of them, are not unions in terms of behavior, orientation, or perception--their own, the public's or management's" (Jackson, 1986, p. 134).

Particularly in Canada, police union representatives are perceived not merely as a labour group, but as
spokespersons on a variety of policing issues. They appear to be recognized in a more legitimized and professionalized manner than their American counterparts.

They are asked for their input by government with respect to legislation; they speak up, and are asked to speak up, on public issues, not only by the press, but by politicians and policy makers. There is no doubt, too, that they are perceived differently than other unions by the public, probably in great part because most of them do not call themselves unions or, usually, act like unions (Jackson, 1986, p.99).

Despite police unions differing from other labour unions, in some respects they do inevitably face many of the same issues as labour unions in their quests for improved benefits and improved working conditions.

Morrison (personal communication, June 29, 1987), in discussing the Delta police situation, stated it was less costly for all parties in Delta to wait and see what Vancouver were given in a contract and then to negotiate their own contract. Leukefeld (personal communication, January 14, 1987), referring to Matsqui's 1986 contract negotiations whereby the municipality had a labour lawyer represent them, stated: "Financially to us [police union] its devastating". For a small organization, like the Matsqui police union, escalating costs may have a tremendous impact on the labour process.

What it boils down to is the fact that money talks. I mean the municipality here has unlimited resources, financial resources. They spent something like 97,000 some odd dollars on this last
arbitration. Well, there's no way in God's earth that we could ever afford to spend $90,000 on an arbitration. It cost us somewhere around $24-$25,000. That left us gasping for breath (G. Leukefeld, personal communication, January 14, 1987).

The main problem here is the fact that the Municipality appeared to be always in a superior resource position and could force unions into costly arbitration that may offset any awards. For years the British Columbia Federation of Police Officers have considered amalgamating to form a master bargaining team, the increasing costs of lawyers being the primary concern. The issue was discussed at the 1987 Annual Conference of the British Columbia Federation of Police Officers. The problem outlined during this conference was that, although it would be more cost-effective for the smaller unions to form a master bargaining team, Vancouver would not likely benefit. It was pointed out that if the "reverse whip-sawing effect" began to impede Vancouver in their contract negotiations, the notion of a master bargaining team may eventually be implemented.

There has also been some discussion on the issue of regional policing-amalgamating the municipal police forces of Delta, New Westminster and the communities of Surrey and Langley, presently policed by the R.C.M.P. If this
regionalization were to occur, the parity problem experienced by the smaller police departments would disappear.

The issue of parity, however, is one which is definitely not unique to the three case studies presented in this thesis. Other police departments, as well as other occupational groups such as firefighters, hold dearly to the same premise. It would seem only logical to request that employees in identical occupations earn the same wages, when groups of employees attempt to improve their lot, particularly financially.

All the departments involved in this study have attempted throughout their history to obtain some sort of wage parity with another police department. The opponents of wage parity contend that employees living in rural areas, where housing is more affordable, should not be paid on the same scale as police officers who work and live in higher cost-of-living areas. They further suggest that lower crime index rates reflect not only the amount of work but also the degree of occupational hazard. They also purport that smaller communities have less financial resources to pay for policing services.

These arguments are countered by the fact that, particularly in British Columbia, there is centralized training for all police officers at the Justice Institute
and that, if police officers are equally trained and perform the same functions, they should therefore be paid equally. They counter the argument of residing in low-cost housing jurisdictions by emphasizing that, in the R.C.M.P., members are paid equally irrespective of their geographical location.

Although some smaller jurisdictions may have a lower crime rate than in the urban areas, this is not always necessarily true. Crimes per capita do not necessarily reflect officers' case loads. Hence, consideration must be given to the number of officers and to their duties. In smaller jurisdictions, where varied specialized sections do not exist, for example, officers' case loads may be quite high.

The degree of danger that police officers face is very difficult to measure statistically. Although there may be higher incidents of violent crimes in urban areas, violent crimes do occur in rural areas and often in remote areas, where police officers often do not have access to assistance.

Along with the possibility of master bargaining teams and regionalization, there is the trend towards hiring labour lawyers as "professional negotiators". In Matsqui's case, having an impartial third party to negotiate for police labourers may eliminate detrimental
personality conflicts which have existed in the past. Conversely, this practice could lead to a breakdown in the "grass-roots" level of negotiations.

The utilization of professional negotiators will ultimately impact on the labour negotiating process. As the use of outside labour lawyers increases, the interpersonal dynamics of the negotiating process may be altered with the presence of objective third parties. Although unions often are seen in an adversarial role by employers, both factions recognize the advantage to negotiate efficiently and to resolve surfacing disputes as quickly as possible in order to reduce overhead costs and to perpetuate amicable relations. Labour lawyers may interrupt this delicate balance, seeing the monetary advantages in introducing lengthier negotiation processes, thereby escalating tense relations, increasing the "red-tape" of successful negotiations, and may cloud the issues with prolific legal jargon.

As a result of introducing labour lawyers, the increased use of the courts in Canada may be necessary to resolve fractious labour disputes (as evidenced in the United States). "Reliance upon the courts... limits the opportunity for compromise. The mediator's or impasse panel's function is to make peace; the judge's function is to apply the law down the line" (Schacter, 1981, p.28).
Harvie & Lawson (1978, p.30-31) in discussing the police union movement in the U.S. stated,

We ought to expect that police unions will resort to court action when either their ability to engage in collective bargaining is questioned, or when certain issues have reached impasse. This is congruent with a general trend in our society towards "legalism" (a trend towards using the courts to establish the directions that organizations take--increasingly seeing judges as social engineers and policy scientists).

Canadian police unions have not to date utilized the courts in order to resolve labour disputes.

In Canada, police officer grievances, or demands, collective or individual, tend to be dealt with in a less confrontational, more regulated and comprehensive system of compulsory, binding rights or interest arbitration, or a qualified and regulated conciliation-strike procedure rather than through the courts, which are often the only recourse of the American police officer or union... (Jackson, 1986, p.91).

In future, with the influx of labour lawyers, the subsequent sophistication of legal arguments in contractual disputes and the anticipated trend towards the use of the courts rather than mediators for solutions, Canadian police labour unions may face a "cost impact" never before experienced. The impact on Canada's smaller, independent unions may be even more substantial. Without a master bargaining team, these smaller unions would not have access to the funding required to take these matters to court. With a team in place, municipalities would be forced to spend time and money in court, a most
undesirable avenue to justify, particularly in an age of restraint. Should professional negotiators be utilized strictly as "consultants" in the labour negotiating process, this harrowing development may likely not occur.

As discussed in previous chapters, a variety of reasons exist as to why police unions are expanding into the realm of non-monetary issues. Economic restraint and the expectations of younger officers joining the rank and file constitute the primary reasons for focussing on management rights issues. Civilianization is an increasingly non-monetary issue being raised by police unions today. The increasing replacement of sworn police officers previously occupying certain positions by "civilians" has become a significant concern. Although there have not been any recorded incidents of "lay-offs" in police services in British Columbia, the possibility of this is real. The issue of civilianization was discussed at the British Columbia Federation of Police Officers fall meeting in 1986. Three different police union representatives raised the issue of civilianization and its potential detrimental impact on future policing services. One of the said union representatives anticipates a grievance involving this issue (British Columbia Federation of Police Officers, 1986, p.2-3).
Deployment of manpower, a long-held management right, is an issue which has been challenged recently by several police unions in their desire to have the 12-hour work shift entrenched in labour contracts. Few policing agencies have achieved this to date. Although some may consider this a "working conditions" issue, it reflects the ability of managers to schedule an increase of manpower during peak crime periods. Interestingly enough, Vancouver has not used 12 hour shifts whereas Matsqui and Delta have; even certain larger municipalities that are policed by non-unionized R.C.M.P. have 12 hour shifts.

There are, and have been since the early seventies, certain issues which were not "labour" oriented that police unions have raised, such as providing input into the formation of the Justice Institute of B.C. and the 1974 Police Act of British Columbia. This has produced concerns with the new Labour Code of B.C.: The Industrial Relations Act. A clear depiction of the difference in militancy between the police unions in Quebec and British Columbia is reflected in this issue. As a result of the proposed amendments to the B.C. legislation, the British Columbia Federation of Police Officers submitted a paper prepared by Dermod Owen-Flood (1987, p.11) on behalf of the Association in 1987.

We are supportive of a reform of the Police Act which protects the rights of all persons involved
and thereby enhances police officers' confidence in the discipline process. We are more than willing to participate in any subsequent consultative steps which may be taken in terms of the amendments of the Police Act.

The article outlined areas of concern to the police and also emphasized the input they provided in the formation of the 1974 legislation, "which in their eyes was deemed a very good piece of legislation" (P. Jamieson, personal communication, April 6, 1987). The submission depicts a very conservative stance. It presents issues of concern and requests possible input. In contrast, the citizen complaint process in Quebec was publicly criticized by the unions.

The "S.Q." (Surete du Quebec), Quebec's provincial police force, have created a union fund in order to pursue unjustified complaints against the police (Quebec, Le Soleil, June 13, 1988). The "S.Q." claim many complaints against the police are totally unjustified and that because of the existing complaint process, members are required to justify their actions when they are simply doing their jobs (Quebec, Le Soleil, 1988). Whether this is in fact the case, the method used by the police union, by first going public and by then creating a police union funded committee to sue unjustified complainants, appears to be significantly more militant than the activities of their West Coast counterparts.
Although police unions have more recently addressed non-monetary issues, there are many areas concerning the effectiveness of police and policing strategies which the police unions in the three departments do not appear to have focused upon.

An example of one such issue is the whole realm of community policing or crime prevention. These programs have blossomed in the last decade to include Block Watch programs geared at enhancing strategies such as crime prevention by environmental design. Although these programs often rely on community volunteers and may appear to be removing police involvement by a return to "grass-roots" level of community policing, this is not necessarily the case.

There are several plausible reasons as to why police unions have neglected to deal with these issues. First, police unions have a primary mandate of ensuring the membership's basic needs are met. Crime throughout the twentieth century has been constantly on the increase; hence, job security has been a non-issue. Even if community crime prevention programs are successful in reducing crime, there will still be a need for a formalized means of social control, i.e. the police.
Although civilians can assist in the capacity of volunteers, they do not (nor ever will) have police powers.

The second main concern with these types of programs is salaried civilians. If police salaries are at an acceptable level, the rank and file will not be concerned about this issue. As well, in terms of municipal budgets, in times of economic restraint community programs will be seen as expendable, so ultimately they do not pose a threat to police.

Third, although police labour relations expertise has developed tremendously over the last two decades, the direct impact on policing of specific programs (in a long term sense) may not be perceived by the labour unions. In other words, police officers may not be looking at the projected impact that these programs will have on future allocation of manpower, police budget, etc.

Finally, although it is the large urban police unions that have the most impact on police labour relations, it is the rank and file (uniform) officers that have the largest (and loudest) voice in policing. Their sheer numbers guarantee that their concerns will have the most significant impact in police labour relations. Therefore, as long as the rank and file policemen do not perceive these issues; such as community crime prevention
programs in relation to civilianization; as a concern, they will likely not surface as important issues in the police labour relations environment.

If we attempt to anticipate the evolution of police unions on a national level, in the future, the possible future impact of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms may require close scrutiny. At present, most police unions do not have the right to strike. If this prohibition is, deemed "unconstitutional", the resulting impact may prove significant upon the unions. Unless society faces a major labour crisis (or social revolt as in the 60's), however, it is unlikely the right to strike privilege will have any pragmatic impact.

As stated previously, in Canada, "large city police forces run police labour relations" (Jackson, 1980, p.11). With this in mind, analyzing those departments' evolutionary steps will likely produce the most realistic trends in future police labour development. As noted, Quebec police unions appear to be more militant than Vancouver. In discussing the issue of "militancy" of the police or as Stabler (personal communication, August 16, 1986) stated that when discussing "radicalness", one is measuring this in terms of the police "universe", not in terms of a total labour perspective.
Kornfeld & Dawson (1981, p. 12) have presented a "forecast for police labor relations in the 80's":

(1) more unionization of police and more affiliation with organized labor

(2) increase in collective bargaining legislation

(3) greater militancy...

There has not been an increase in unionization recently, however, almost every police department in Canada is unionized, with the exception of the R.C.M.P. Attempts have been made to unionize the R.C.M.P. in Quebec. Although to date, these attempts have proved futile (G. Delisle, personal communication, December 18, 1986).

There has not been a closer affiliation with outside unionized labour. From the perspective presently advanced in British Columbia, the development of such an affiliation is extremely unlikely. To a certain extent, there has been an increase in collective bargaining legislation, likely a result of the increased sophistication of the issues.

Finally, there has not been increased militancy in the police labour movement during the 1980's. It is extremely difficult, however, to predict future trends in the police labour movement from a global perspective.
Regional differences as a result of the provincial jurisdiction of policing have been re-emphasized in this thesis.

In order to fully comprehend the present status of police labour relations in British Columbia one must consider the historical context. The analysis of three case studies has clearly shown the divergence of relations in the labour process. Although issues are often universal (such as the wage-parity issue), there are a host of other facets which are unique and specific to each police department. These stem from a variety of factors such as the size of the department, the orientation the police board has adopted towards policing, and the labour skills of police union executives.

This thesis has examined the development of police labour unions in the United States and in Canada with particular reference to three municipal departments located within the Province of British Columbia. The static cog in this evolutionary wheel has been the police officers themselves. A stark, yet intrinsically sensitive reality in the progressive nature of police unions and union members, is the new "generation" of professional police officers as labourers. "He is a salaried employee
in a bureaucratically structured organization, with an interest in defending his economic rewards, status and work conditions" (Reiner, 1978, p.4).

To date, the tenets of police professionalism and police labour unions have been mutually compatible. In attempting to maintain the perception of police professionalism, officers have been cognizant of the potential impact of the methods utilized in pursuing labour related issues.

In future, certain critical issues may result in the disruption of this delicately balanced dichotomy. Police officers may be forced into opting for actions which are not mutually compatible with both orientations.

As the dust settles, the mystique surrounding the police profession is increasingly diminishing as the concept of police as human labourers (with all that a labour position entails) becomes increasingly entrenched in Canadian society.
1A labour term referring to two disputing parties. When an impasse is reached; a board, or arbitrator, under legislative authority makes a ruling on the contractual disputes which is binding.

2The National Harbours Police, while being recognized as a federal police force, has limited powers in that their jurisdiction only extends to Canada's thirteen national ports. Despite having the right to strike, as well as legislated bargaining powers, ensconced in the Public Staff Relations Act (1967) the National Harbours Police have limited impact on the Canadian police labour movement simply because of the small number of officers (Fisher & Starek, 1978).

3Mediation-Arbitration is a labour term referring to a process whereby disputing parties use both methods of resolution. The obvious first stage is mediation. Should the issues not be resolved the parties then enter into arbitration. The advantage to this two stage process is that the same individual acts as both mediator and arbitrator, being thus thoroughly familiar with both disputing parties' positions.

4By this one may assume Stabler was referring to strike votes held by Vancouver police officers historically.
# APPENDIX A

## Certification Dates

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<tr>
<th>Police</th>
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<tr>
<td>Victoria City Police</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<td>Esquimalt Police</td>
<td>1957</td>
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<td>West Vancouver Police</td>
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<td>Port Moody Police</td>
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<td>Nelson Police</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Saanich Police</td>
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APPENDIX B

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Recorded Personal Interviews


Leukefeld, George, Corporal. Matsqui Police Department, Matsqui, British Columbia, 14 January 1987.


Non-Recorded Personal Interviews

Angus, George, Chief Constable. Delta Police Department, Delta, British Columbia, 3 December 1986.


Delisle, Gaetan, Sergeant. Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Montreal, Quebec, 18 December 1986.


Martin, Peter, Constable. Central Saanich Police Department, Saanich, British Columbia, 6 April 1987.


Stabler, Ian, Corporal. Delta Police Department, Delta, British Columbia, 16 August 1986.

**Personal Communications**


MacDonald, Penny, Constable. Vancouver Police Department, 30 September 1988.


APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Sample Questions.

1) What is your role or involvement in police labour relations? (or was)

2) How do you perceive police labour relations have changed over the years?

3) The negotiation process--what is the impact of the power and politics of the players?

4) How did police labour associations originate? i.e. Why were they formed?

5) R.C.M.P.--the advantages and disadvantages of a union. Why the push for it in the 70's and presently in Quebec?

6) What other persons the researcher could interview with additional insight into the topic.

7) The structure of the B.C.FED, its origins and role.

8) The whipsawing effect.

9) The influence of Peck and the compensation-stabilization issue in the 80's. (the non-monetary trend).

10) The effectiveness of using a unified bargaining team with the B.C. FED.

11) Why the case studies' unions remained independent?

12) The role of the police board in British Columbia.

13) The issue of PARITY--how it developed and its present status.

14) The issue of professional negotiators.

15) What factors lead to the breakdown in negotiations.
16) The role of the Chief in the interactive process.

17) Strategic plans in the negotiation process. i.e. How open are union executive members to their membership?

18) The amalgamation issue with the B.C. PED.

19) The general public's attitude towards the police and police unionization.

20) The philosophies of police board members and negotiators.

21) The role of Vancouver City Police as a trend setter in the province of B.C.

22) The organizational structure of police unions.

23) Was there any resistance to the formation of the police union?

24) The changing expertise in the labour negotiation process.

25) Feelings of police association members to outside labour groups.

26) What characteristics affect the bargaining process?

27) How have things in police labour relations changed over the past 20 years?

28) What other factors apart from economics affect the trends in police labour relations?

29) The impact of the Justice Institute.

30) The role of management in the negotiating process.

The wording of the questions varied during the course of the interviews to account for cases whereby the respondent did not need prompting on a particular subject or when a particular subject needed to be probed further. This list is a sample of the issues discussed.
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Matsqui Police Board Minutes. (1979, August 22). Minutes of Meetings of the Matsqui Police Board.


Public Staff Relations Act. sc1967, c72.


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