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**POLICE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION:  
EXPECTATIONS FOR A CHANGING WORLD.**

by

Irene Dagmar Froyland  
M.A., University of Western Australia, 1986.

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the School  
of  
Criminology

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## **Abstract**

The education level of those involved in policing has risen in the Western World but little research has focussed on the objectives of that education or on the expectations held for it by opinion leaders in the area.

This research examines the need for policy on police education and develops an hermeneutic form of policy analysis designed to identify opinion leaders and elicit their expectations on the objectives of police education. The approach is demonstrated in an application in one Canadian province.

The opinions of police and police recruits are reported, together with those of scholars, local politicians, the public and others in the justice system. All groups agree in expecting a change in attitudes and values and an improvement in skills with people and decisionmaking ability from the educated officer. There is less agreement in other areas.

Hermeneutic analysis is presented as having potential for researching policy where there is no single policymaker and where opinions have not been firmed.

## **Dedication**

**To those who keep the peace  
and all those who support them.**

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I would like to record my gratitude to those who made this work possible and who were patient with my sometimes impossible demands.

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# OVERVIEW

In 1961 only 0.56% or 166 of Canada's 29,856 police officers had completed a university degree, but by 1986 5.55% or 3,185 had done so (Statistics Canada, 1961, 1986). In 1961, for every officer with a completed degree, 6.18 had "some university". If this was still true in 1986 then in that year as well as the 3,185 officers with completed degrees a further 19,683 officers had some university. In a recent survey of beginning recruits at the B.C. Police Academy 38 out of 50 claimed that their highest level of education completed was university. Whereas a high school diploma used to be the common education level for police officers, a university education is now increasingly common.

University degrees represent a significant financial investment for the nation and a financial and personal investment for each student, but what are the expected returns for policing, and for the individual? How will each be changed?

Part of the difficulty is that there is no widely accepted agreement on the objectives of this education and little guidance as to programs or courses. Police officers and potential police officers, choosing to enrol for any of a number of reasons, usually select an institution on the basis of its location and then having no guidance as to which program would best suit their future needs, select one on the basis of title (Justice Studies, Criminology) or on similar grounds. Universities have as their prime responsibility the

gathering and sharing of knowledge, and criminology and justice studies have been developed as academic disciplines. Although these might be the best programs for practitioners in the justice system there has been little research to determine this.

If each completed degree costs \$40,000<sup>1</sup> and each part degree \$20,000 then in 1986 university education for Canada's police had already cost \$521,000,000. Where is the policy that shaped this expenditure? What is its purpose? Who is the policymaker? As this is a public expenditure then surely there is a policy to justify it. If there is, then it should be available so that Canadians can know it, examine its details, consider the anticipated outcomes and evaluate them. If there is none then perhaps there should be, or at least there should be an analysis of the situation so that policy can be made.

As will be shown, the structure of policing in Canada is such that there is no single body or individual responsible for developing policy, particularly in areas like the education of officers. Many influence what finally occurs but there is no declared policy and no policymaker.

There are perhaps as many definitions of policy as there are policy analysts. A policy may be defined as an explicit statement that has four aspects, a party which makes and declares the policy, subjects for whom the policy is

<sup>1</sup> Funding for Canadian tertiary institutions varies with institution, year and province but \$40,000 for each completed 4 year degree would be a reasonable estimate based on the Simon Fraser University Fact Book. Incomplete degrees can vary from a single semester to four years but many individuals study for the first two years at a college intending to continue at a university. \$20,000 is used as a average cost for an incomplete degree.

made, a goal or purpose to be achieved and a means or method to achieve that end. When one sets out to analyze an existing policy, then these four aspects are explored. When one does analysis for a new policy or the modification of a current one, then questions are asked relative to all four.

Wildavsky however, proposes that policy is often not like this (1987). He sees it as much less purposive and hence policy analysis must be an interdisciplinary, historical, contextual, value-laden, problem oriented, democratic search. He cites examples of courses and strategies followed by the American government that are known and accepted but have never been set out or announced. He suggests that many of the most important choices are not made by government declaration but that a coherence of values among active participants can provide coordination, and "policy" develops as a function of these various apparently uncoordinated forces and apparently independent actors. Quade concurs when he warns us that the decisionmaker we seek is often an unruly mob (Quade, 1982) and Ekstedt suggests that it is not "always easy to identify the 'maker' of a particular policy since a number of persons at different levels of authority may be involved in its development and the identity of the 'real' decision maker may be obscured in the process" (Ekstedt, 1988, p. 104). Analysis of policy, then becomes a search for Quade's mob or Wildavsky's apparently independent actors, followed by the charting of their relationships and values, their activities and decisions. Analyzing decisions and identifying decisionmakers is an essential part of such policy analysis. Certainly any analysis that aims not only to analyze the "policy that is", but to develop recommendations for "policy that might be", will focus on decisions. Wildavsky talks of policy as a process as well as a product, as the process of decisionmaking and also the

product of that process (p. 387). He also believes that policies should be considered not as eternal truths but as modifiable or replaceable hypotheses so one who seeks to analyze policy looks not only for what is happening but also for why, since a shift in the why might result in a shift in the policy.

It is in the spirit of Wildavsky that this research is planned. It will be an analysis of policy on university<sup>2</sup> education for Canadian police and in the event that the policy is missing or inadequate, an analysis for policy recommendations that might be made. In the true Wildavskyian spirit it is accepted that this policy probably has no single source nor has it been declared, but with an activity as widespread and significant as the education of Canada's almost 60,000 police officers such an analysis is thought justified.

Policy develops within a variety of contexts and the analyst must be aware of these. In this case the relevant contexts are historical, geographic and cultural. Policy on the education of Canadian police officers has been and still is influenced by the history of Canadian policing and the history of the training and education of its officers. An analysis of policy on police education will include an analysis of this history.

Canadian policy is also influenced by related policy in the western world. Much as western nations like to see themselves as independent states, modern politics and modern technology have moved us towards a global

<sup>2</sup> Because of the confusion over the term "college" in North America, the term "university" will be used throughout this dissertation. This should be taken to refer to all tertiary institutions offering baccalaureate degree level courses whatever their official title.



village and the values and activities of one part influence the values and activities of all parts. Canada makes its own decisions but these cannot be isolated from similar decisions elsewhere, especially south of the border. Public debates in America are listened to and evaluated in Canada, and where the Canadians decide they are relevant, they are heeded. American debates on the education of police have been reported all this century and they have influenced the thinking of those who make decisions on the education of Canadian police. Because of their larger population and hence greater resources, the American literature is more prolific and it might sometimes seem that it is referred to too readily in this paper, but it is important and it is influential in Canadian decisionmaking. American decisions do not determine Canadian ones but they do influence them and the student of Canadian policies must be aware of their American contexts.

Canadian policy is also influenced by modern Canadian culture. The methods and philosophy of policing appropriate in the goldrush days are no longer appropriate in the Canada of today with its outreach immigration policy and its declared values of common rights and freedoms. A policy on any aspect of Canadian policing must be made within the context of modern Canadian culture.

This dissertation will examine Canadian policy (or the need for policy) on the university education of police in all its contexts, looking at what policy there is and researching what policy there might be. This will involve four main parts; exploring the question, finding a theoretical context and thus a method for the search, specifying the context(s) of the problem and applying the method developed to find an answer.

Exploring the question will involve looking at the training and education of police, at current debates on police education and at the need for either an analysis of existing policy, or an analysis for the making of policy if existing policy is inadequate. It will also involve looking at who does or might make policy on the education of police officers in separate police forces. Because of the influences discussed above this will involve some consideration of the question in America although this will always be only as needed to inform the Canadian debate.

Finding a theoretical context for the answer will involve finding a research approach that accommodates the undeclared nature of policy in this area and its possibly evolving nature. A case will be made that an hermeneutic approach is appropriate because of its focus on interpretation and understandings rather than fact and because the answer that it provides is not necessarily a final one but a workable solution to a practical problem. An hermeneutic approach to policy analysis will be developed.

Specifying the contexts of the problem will involve researching the development and organization of policing in Canada, its mandate and the perceptions of its future held by its decisionmakers. These are important not because this is a study of the future but because the predictions of the future made by decisionmakers now will influence their current decisions.

Finally, applying the method will involve demonstrating its application in a limited setting. It is proposed that the focus will be police in British

Columbia and particularly police in municipalities that do not contract their policing to the RCMP.

To summarize then, the focus of this study is to demonstrate a need for a policy on the education of police; to develop a method for identifying the significant opinion leaders and decision makers on the topic, and exploring their various expectations; and then using this method to collect data to develop an education program.

# **PART ONE THE QUESTION**

## **TRAINING AND EDUCATION OF POLICE**

**The ultimate aim of all police departments should be that all personnel  
with general enforcement powers have baccalaureate degrees.  
President's Commission, 1967.**

## CHAPTER 1

### Training of Police Officers

The image of police officers<sup>1</sup> held by those of the public who contact them only in an emergency is of slightly distant, highly trained, very powerful individuals with special knowledge and abilities. The fact behind the image is that all that is needed to become a police officer is to be selected by some government and to take an oath of affirmation or "be sworn". From the moment of taking the oath the individual is a police constable regardless of education or preparation. It is only a matter of local regulations that most police officers receive both immediate and continuing training.

Training is a recent development in policing. In pre-feudal England, "policing" was a community responsibility with the only formal requirement being preparedness in terms of equipment. Even Peel's famous 1830s "Bobbies" were selected carefully, and disciplined closely but received little actual police training. Early Canadian police too, might have been selected for their authority and integrity and occasionally for their military experience, but these qualities were fortuitous rather than required and little or no formal training was available for the officers.

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<sup>1</sup> Terminology in this area can be difficult. "Policemen" is no longer acceptable for obvious reasons and will be replaced by the term "police officer". For some this has connotations of individuals who have been promoted within policing but this will not be the intention here. Police officer will be used to refer to any individual sworn to police service regardless of rank or experience. Police officer is used rather than the popular alternative "law enforcement officer" so as to not preempt the law enforcement officer, peace officer debate which is the focus of chapter 13.

In spite of such beginnings standards of entry, training and education of police officers in the western world have been rising steadily throughout the whole century. Two reports demonstrate both the Canadian standards and their changes over nine years. "Selection and Training of Police Officers", a project sponsored by The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and researched and compiled by Robert J. Jackson in 1974 presented a detailed description of basic recruit training in all provinces. "Higher Education and The Police" written by Gerald Kilcup, the then Principal of the Justice Institute of British Columbia, and published by that body in 1983, updated this information and explored the relationship between training, education and the changing role of police.

On the matter of recruitment, there is often a wide difference between the stated minimum requirement and the actual characteristics of recruits accepted. Discussions with applicants and recruits indicate that competition has lifted the real standard far beyond the formal minimum. Kilcup summarized the formal requirements in the early 1980s when he said

At the requirement level in Canada there is little differentiation among police agencies (R.C.M.P., Provincial Police, Municipal Police) concerning minimum standards. The high school diploma coupled with physical requirements and supported by subjective tests, interviews and character investigations constitutes the standard procedure processing applicants for entry into the police service. (Kilcup, 1983, p. 11).

This formal requirement has changed little since 1983, but the actual level of those gaining entry is much higher. For instance with the possible exception of individuals who have other special qualities, almost all recruits in the British Columbia Police Academy at the present time have several years of university education if not a completed degree (Personal communication, Robert J. Hull, Deputy Director B.C. Police Academy, Dec 1990). This

fluctuates from group to group depending on competition for entry but has remained a relatively consistent standard for several years.

Training was extremely diverse in Canada at the time of the Jackson report. Programmes varied in content and length and were presented at many different institutions. Some forces provided their own training facility, some used the facilities provided by their neighbours and some used central government arranged programs and facilities (Jackson, 1974). By the time of the Kilcup report (1983), training tended to be more uniform and was provided by a smaller number of institutions. Kilcup suggests that all that divides these is the extent to which they attempt to integrate their program with "main stream; educational opportunities".

All three variations of the training institution have as a primary focus training in the technical/legal/physical aspects of policing, but they differ on the staff who teach these and the interaction of police trainees with others.

The first is characterized as the 'In-House Training Centre'. This model is reflected within a training experience developed, controlled and staffed by senior members of the police department and located within police owned facilities. Programs range in length from six (6) weeks to twenty-six (26) weeks ... .

Programs of this first type are usually closely connected to practice. They emphasize traditional methods and skills and are integrated into or followed by a period of supervised practical training.

A second model is characterized as the 'Centralized Police Training Centre'. This model is reflected within a number of provinces in which police training services are provided by a central police academy to a number of municipal departments and provincial forces. Programs range in length from fifteen (15) weeks to thirty (30) weeks

In these institutions other agencies besides the police are sometimes involved in teaching, but usually only in a support capacity and on a restricted range of topics.

The third Canadian variation is characterized as the 'Integrated Police Training Centre'. This model is reflected within a number of provinces in which police training services are provided within the physical environment of a community college, or as is the case in Quebec and British Columbia, a Provincial Institute. Programs range in length from thirty (30) weeks to three (3) years. While the major curriculum focus continues to belong to the technical/legal/physical continuum, some primary interventions into curriculum from the social sciences and humanities does take place. Police students are less isolated physically and do have the opportunity to experience intellectual enquiry through an interaction with other students in a less restrictive and more open environment. (Kilcup, 1983, pp. 12-14).

Of course police training programs change to meet the needs of policing and it should not be assumed that the details of the three types of training institution described by Kilcup in 1983 will hold exactly in 1991 although the general descriptions still do.

Thus although both entrance requirements and training in Canada vary with each service, the minimum standard is generally at least a high school diploma and a period of basic training in a police academy and the actual standard is often more than this.



## CHAPTER 2

### Training versus Education

It is not only in the area of basic training that changes have occurred. Most forces now provide opportunities for advanced and specialist training (Kilcup, 1983) and many encourage attendance at tertiary institutions such as colleges or universities. Because this advanced training is sometimes referred to as higher education, there can be a confusion of terminology.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines "to train" as "to bring to desired state or standard of efficiency by instruction and practice" and "to educate" as "to develop character or mental powers". One way to distinguish training and education is to describe them as opposite ends of a continuum.

Hoover used just that concept.

At the extreme left side of the continuum are instructors who discuss whether the police ought to wear silver or gold buttons. In the middle of the continuum are topics such as one-versus two-man patrol. At the far right hand side of the continuum are topics such as the management of discretion. (Hoover, 1975, p. 38).

He went on to propose that

heavy emphasis ... (be placed on) theoretical consideration in educational curricula, while delegating to agencies the responsibility to teach their newly employed personnel specific procedures unique to the numerous roles in the criminal justice system. (Hoover, 1975, p. 39).

This ends of a continuum distinction holds until one looks more closely at content. Dr Charles Ungerleider (1990, p. 129) uses Kohls' distinctions in his work on multi-cultural education for police officers. Kohls suggests that the

purpose of training is to provide practical, results oriented learning and suggests that it is usually applied in a context-specific context. According to him training focuses on developing competency in performing specific skills or meeting specified objectives, and education occurs when the learner develops mastery of one or more subjects. However having agreed to use Kohl's distinction, Ungerleider continues "It is also important to locate race relations training in its appropriate context as an educational approach.", thus immediately confusing the terms once again (Ungerleider, 1990).

Kilcup discusses the difference in the context of the liberal education/training debate although education is not necessarily liberal education;

... there is a considerable difference in the goals and objectives of a liberal education and those of technical or professional training. Training involves the absorption of practical and technical skills related to the performance of certain specific functions. The objectives are to provide individuals with 'how to' knowledge. ... Liberal education is much more complex. It involves a concern with theory and philosophy. It is more concerned with the ultimate questions of 'why?'. The expectations from formal education center on the selection/rejection orientation to concepts, theories and philosophies surrounding a body of knowledge and should be ethically neutral. (Kilcup, 1983, p. 42).

Another way to separate education and training is to do so on the basis of the institution and "teachers" offering the program, with training being offered at police academies by senior practitioners and education being offered at universities by academics. However titles like "college" mean different things in different places and some professors have been

experienced practitioners.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the distinction is blurred when colleges like Grant McEwen College in Edmonton or the Humber College of Applied Arts and Technology in Toronto offer associate degrees in Police Studies or Law Enforcement to recruits and potential recruits as basic police officer training, especially when these can be credited towards a baccalaureate. Similar blurring occurs when police academies, or colleges like the Canadian Police College, offer relatively short term courses that aim to educate the already experienced officer. Such programs could be considered a bridge between training and education.

For the purposes of this study, **training** will be taken to refer to the learning of the specific knowledge, skills, techniques and behaviours of an activity or occupation, taught to newcomers by experienced individuals and experts, usually in a specialist setting. Training as used here is occupation specific. Thus police training will be the teaching of police knowledge, skills, techniques and behaviours to recruits by experienced officers, usually in a police academy. **Education** will refer to learning that takes place in a university or tertiary college and that involves more generalized knowledge, the habits of analytical and critical thinking, and conceptualization rather than techniques and behaviours. "It is an attempt to deal in more philosophical terms with the 'why' rather than the 'how'" (Muir, 1986). Education is usually described as not specific to a particular profession, although this could be disputed in the case of doctors, teachers, engineers and lawyers, so where the term police education is used this will refer to the

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<sup>1</sup> In contrast to William G. Doerner (1985) who began as a professor, decided to become a police officer for a short time to improve his teaching and was so 'hooked' that he resigned his academic job to become a permanent 'cop'.

education of police in a university setting but will make no assumptions about focus or content. For ease of communication with a diverse group of people, throughout this research the terms "training", "police training", "education" and "police education" will be used as they are somewhat simplistically defined here. Subsequently consideration will need to be given to the extrapolation of findings to learning of an intermediate or bridging nature as discussed above.

## CHAPTER 3

### Police Education

**Education is the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge.  
D.J. Bell, 1979.**

The history of police education in Canada cannot be considered in isolation from similar movements in America where both discussions and decisions have been quite public. Because these developments in both nations have been widely documented (Carter, Sapp & Stephens, 1989; Goldstein, 1977; Kalinich, 1987; Kilcup, 1983; Muir, 1982; O'Reilly, 1977; Pope, 1987; Sherman et al, 1978) only a brief overview will be presented here.

In the United States, community riots, reports of increases in crime, and the apparent spread of public disorder have resulted in the establishment of numerous investigations and President's commissions and these have recommended, among other things, increased education for police. Such findings coincided with the beliefs of men like August Vollmer, an early 1900s Californian chief of police who later became a university professor. Vollmer had a vision of police as society's elite and believed that most difficulties would disappear if this were realized. Throughout his entire term in office (1905-1931) Vollmer advocated more education for officers. Whenever possible he employed university graduates. This resulted in a more highly educated California Police Force but his ideas did not receive wider recognition until 1968 when the Law Enforcement Education Program (LEEP) was established by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to

provide funds to both individuals and institutions for criminal justice education. In its early years, LEEP finances stood at around \$40 million per year for criminal justice education. With such funding the number of college level police education programs rose from 125 in 1965 to 1245 by 1976 (Froyland, 1989b). Some writers (Gaines 1978) express cynicism with respect to such proliferation of courses, their quality and whether or not the institutions were committed to the programs or to the ready funds. Such doubts seem valid in light of the dramatic attrition of programmes that occurred when generous funds were no longer forthcoming. Others are even more outspoken in their criticism; "The infusion of LEEP money has brought into being the greatest number of harlots the world has probably ever seen. (There were) an awful lot of hustlers, and some college presidents serving as pimps, all looking for this LEAA dollar" (Misner in Culbertson & Carr, 1981, p. 8). However LEEP did provide the impetus to change the beliefs of America's Vollmers into a generally accepted belief in education which now has the critical mass required to make it no longer a fad but a lasting fact<sup>1</sup> (Remington, 1990; Wilkins, 1990). In a study currently being reported, Carter and Sapp (1989, 1990a, 1990b) surveyed 699 of the largest law enforcement agencies in the United States, on education of their officers. They found that whereas in 1960 80% of all officers had no university education, by 1988 less than 35% were without at least some and 23% had four years or more. Further, the mean number of years of education for officers was 13.6 years. This contrasted favourably with the mean education level of 12.6 years for Americans over 25 years of age.

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<sup>1</sup> Indeed, many criminal justice and criminology programs which started in response to LEEP funding now seem more concerned with achieving recognition as academic disciplines than educating justice practitioners.

In Canada the situation is much the same and calls for education have been heeded.

The issue of education for police officers is a relatively new one. Prior to the 1970s minimal emphasis was placed on the level of formal education required to become an officer. Once in the Department, only basic training in such areas as the Criminal Code, traffic regulations, and firearms safety were provided to members. ... In order for problem solving policing to work, front line officers will have to develop a greater degree of autonomy over their work. This change will challenge the basic paramilitary culture of police departments. The only effective way to bring about this kind of change will be through the training and education of all police members.  
(Gerry Borbridge, Chief of Police, Calgary Police Service, 1990)

As Kilcup suggests "(t)he literature on higher education and training in Canada is limited, yet a number of writers have been addressing the issues for years" (Kilcup, 1983, p. 27). In 1974, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police sponsored Robert J. Jackson of the National Research Council to report on police education in Canada. He was to focus largely on recruit training but to include a review of university and college education in his report (Jackson, 1974). In 1977 Robert O'Reilly, in association with the Selection and Training Committee of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, prepared a detailed review of post-secondary education for Canadian Police Officers. In 1982 Graham Muir attempted to relate education of police officers to their publicly accepted roles (Muir, 1982). In 1983, Kilcup published his "Higher Education and the Police". In each case the author reviewed the state of Canadian police education, and made recommendations with respect to its further implementation. Alan Grant, in a study paper prepared for the Law Reform Commission of Canada, went so far as to say

There should be express legislation introducing schemes for improving formal education in the police service. This should include financial provision for full-time university study on a province-wide competition basis, and also for maintaining pension payments on behalf of such students whose seniority ought not to be interrupted by taking advantage of such educational opportunities.

There should be express legislative provision for the Provincial ministry responsible for education to co-operate with officials in the justice field, not only to provide educational programmes relative to law enforcement in the colleges and universities but especially for co-ordinating such public education materials for schools and evening institutes. Public education in law enforcement priority setting and in local policies for the delivery of police services would be an important part of changing expectations in this field (Grant, 1980, p. 66).

Because of recommendations such as these, police university education has become more common in Canada. Statistics Canada recorded that in 1961, only 0.56% or 166 of the 29,856 police officers had university degrees but by 1986, the figure was ten times that. Completed degrees were held by 5.55% or 3,185 of the then 57,385 officers. (Statistics Canada, 1961,1986). Statistics Canada do not currently publish information on officers with incomplete degrees, but if past figures are an indication many more police officers, around another 20,000, have some university experience even though they have not yet completed all requirements for a degree.

This education can occur at various times in the individual's career. For some it occurs before they begin policing, so the recruit entering police training has already made some progress towards a university degree and has often completed one. This is sometimes referred to as recruiting the educated. For others, often those who entered policing some time ago, their university education occurs after they have completed basic police training and usually after they have gained some experience. This may occur while the officer is on some form of paid leave to attend the university but is often undertaken on a part time basis outside of work hours. This pattern is referred to as educating the recruited. A third option is one in



which approximately the first two years of education are completed before recruitment and the remainder on a part time basis afterwards. A final pattern is for an officer to have completed a bachelor's degree and be undertaking post-graduate study while employed.

These represent very different study patterns and should really be considered separately. However the situation at present is mixed and this is introductory work on the topic. For these reasons it has been decided that no distinction will be drawn in the research or in the body of the work. The term "police education" will be taken to mean any one of these variations. At the end of the work, consideration will be given to how the conclusions drawn might fit each study pattern and what might be the implications for further research in each case.

For both Canada and the United States, six related forces seem, on the surface, to have contributed to this increase in the education levels of police officers. **First** of all, western societies still see education as a priority and the education level of police has risen with that of the population in general.

O'Reilly saw this as long ago as 1977.

"Educational standards in this country are becoming higher, more people are gaining a high school education and going on to college than ever before. This means a need for higher educational standards for policemen (sic), if we are to be representative of the community we serve and if we are to strive for greater professionalism" (Nadon in O'Reilly, 1977, p. 42).

**Secondly**, many police and police groups, including police unions, are attempting to have policing recognized as a profession. Although there is general agreement as to what this means, the term is difficult to define. In

his book, "Continuing learning in the professions", Cyril Houle quotes both what he calls "static concepts" or definitions

they 'involve essentially intellectual operations with large individual responsibility; they derive their raw material from science and learning; this material they work up to a practical and definite end; they possess an educationally communicable technique; they tend to self organization; they are becoming increasingly altruistic in motivation' (Flexner, in Houle, 1980, p. 22);

and "dynamic concepts" or sequences of steps,

men begin doing the work full time and stake out a jurisdiction; the early masters of the technique or masters of the movement become concerned about standards of training and practice and set up a training school; which, if not lodged in universities at the outset, makes academic connection within two or three decades; the teachers and activists then achieve success in promoting more effective organization, first local, then national - through either the transformation of an existing occupational association or the creation of a new one. Toward the end, legal protection of the monopoly of skills appears; at the end, a formal code of ethics is adopted (Hickson & Thomas, in Houle, 1989, p. 29).

He then presents his own 14 item list of characteristics associated with the professionalization process. This includes mastery of knowledge, problem-solving capacity, application of knowledge, formal training, and credentials.

The theme through all his discussion is that education, both pre-service and continuing, is the means by which the occupation will move towards professional status. Education is expected "to convey a complex attitude made up of a readiness to use the best ideas and techniques of the moment but also to expect that they will be modified or replaced" (Houle, 1989, p. 75).

It is worth noting that not all writers are positive about police professionalization. Blumberg (1976) calls it a mixed blessing and lists nine

potential problems. These include polarization and conflict, radical changes in departments, a return to tough and impersonal performance, tension between the movements to involve the community in policing and those to make the police more autonomous, and a tendency to falsify reports in order to maintain the esteem of the public on whom he believes professional status depends (Blumberg, 1976). Observers such as Foucault (1979,1980) point out that professionalization of the agents of the state tends to further the distance between the citizens and the apparatus of control. Such doubts seem valid when one realizes that "Professionalization" has two distinct meanings in the literature when applied to police. At times it means focussing on crime related activities and becoming more proficient at relevant skills. At others it takes on the more customary meaning of transforming policing into a self monitored profession in the way that medicine did long ago and teaching more recently.

However, if police choose to move towards professionalization, and police unions and associations tend to push for this, education is one of the levers they will use to achieve it (Carter, Sapp & Stephens, 1989).

**Thirdly**, the education level of members of "the professions" continues to rise. Teachers, who could teach with little training half a century ago now must have four years of education, and at some Canadian Universities (for instance The University of British Columbia) are being pushed towards a fifth. Nurses who were qualified after "in-house" training now need to complete a degree at a tertiary institution. Members of the US armed forces cannot hope to reach the senior ranks without a graduate degree (Massing, 1990). Not only will police need to be more educated if they hope to be

recognized as professionals, but this education will have to be ongoing throughout their careers.

**Fourthly** reformers and academics, agitating for an increase in police education levels in north America are gradually having an influence. This agitation takes the form of academic papers at conferences and in journals, and the reports of commissions and investigation committees, and is variously effective because policing is the responsibility of many independent governments and authorities.

**Fifthly** society is becoming more complex and policing with it. The officer who has society's authority to arrest and to kill, who has to deal with those on skid row in the morning and lawyers in court in the afternoon, who works in a system that is expected to calm unruly crowds one day and deal with stock exchange irregularities the next and all within the parameters set by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, has to have more preparation than Peel's Bobbies. Not only are the police aware of this, the public and the politicians are too and they are increasingly willing to support such education, and even to encourage it.

**Finally** the increase in education is related to competition for places in policing in times when employment is uncertain and difficult to find in many areas and policing is seen as a secure and generously reimbursed occupation. This final factor fluctuates with the economy and the population. Declining birthrates and competition from other occupations for the educated young adult already make it difficult for policing to attract and to keep good personnel in Germany (National Institute of Justice,

International summaries, 1990) and senior police in Canada anticipate the same difficulty in the near future (Personal communication, Robert J. Hull, Deputy Director B.C. Police Academy, Nov 1990). However gradual improvements in the status of police maintain policing as a desirable occupation and the upward trend in education levels of applicants continues for the present.

Less obvious, but still legitimate, "reasons" for this increase in education might include an attempt to develop police departments that are stratified with less educated officers doing the more routine work; competition for the limited resources (financial, status and power) available to the justice system; and university departments willing to offer any degree for which there is sufficient market to ensure continuing "customers" (John Hogarth, personal communication, April 1991). Some of these underpin this discussion and are reflected in the research. All are reflected in the debates that have accompanied police education throughout this century.

## CHAPTER 4

### The Debates

The move towards a more educated police service has not occurred without considerable debate, but sometimes it seems that an acceptance of the practice developed, while the advocates and the doubters were debating the principle. The debate has been on a number of fronts and is particularly energetic in the United States although much of it is relevant to most western nations.

There has been heated discussion on whether or not a requirement of university education for police discriminates against members of minority groups either legally or in practice. The legal doubt has been settled in the United States. Scott (1986, p. 24) reports a case in the American courts where such a plea was disallowed because "the intent to discriminate on the grounds of race has to be established in order to prove that an entrance requirement is illegal." It has also been refuted in practice over the long term. In their recent survey of education levels in 699 of the largest police forces in America, Carter, Sapp & Stephens found not only that Blacks and Hispanics were represented in proportions that compared favourably with general population distributions, but also that when education was looked at for each ethnic subgroup of the officers surveyed, Blacks and Hispanics were more highly educated than Whites. In the Black group, 28% had no college, 63% had some undergraduate credits and 9% had graduate degrees. In the Hispanic group the figures were 27% no college, 68% some credits and 5% graduate degrees. For the White group the figures were 34%, 62% and 4%

respectively. At the time of their study, women were significantly underrepresented in police groups but the women who were there had, on average, one year more of education than the men (Carter, Sapp & Stephens, 1989). Such figures require careful interpretation (P. Brantingham, personal communication, Nov 1990). It would be incorrect to assume that entering white males have lower education levels than entering white females, Blacks or Hispanics. The averages are calculated over the whole department in each case, and most still have a predominance of less educated white males above the lower ranks. It is likely that if officers in their first years of service were compared, the mean education levels would be more similar. Perhaps Carter and Sapp will oblige! The fact remains however, that criticisms that increased educational requirements discriminate against minority groups hold little substance, especially in the long term.

A second question for debate in the American situation has been the legal standing of "requiring" university education for police officers. There are two aspects to this question. The first is the question of whether police organizations have a legal **responsibility** in this area. Ronald Lynch thinks they do. He believes that it is only a matter of time before courts begin to be critical of the preparation of police officers and hold the employing body to blame, perhaps to their financial detriment, for mistakes that might be linked to inadequate education (Ronald Lynch, 1986, p. 168). So does Gerald Lynch when he says "Every city takes an enormous risk when it puts a person on the street armed with a gun and the authority and discretion to use it. We should take every step to ensure that those vested with that

authority are as prepared for it as possible" (Gerald Lynch, 1986). Carter & Sapp agree

Police administrators must be concerned with reducing liability risk, not only because it is an ethical responsibility, but also because of the pragmatic implications of resource management. It has been argued that an important factor in meeting both of these concerns is a formal college requirement for sworn police personnel. Such a requirement may reduce the risk of officer misconduct or negligence and reduce liability insurance cost. (Carter & Sapp, 1989, p. 163).

The other aspect of this question, still not entirely resolved, is whether or not a police department can **require** university education of either its officers or its prospective officers. This question rests, partly, on the possibility of relating education to performance and since it is difficult to develop a generally accepted job description for policing, this is not likely. On the other hand, as Scott maintains, "there is the erroneous assumption that a college education can be proved to be necessary for performing the tasks involved in any occupation" (1986, p. 11). He continues by reminding his readers that it is wrong to assume that education would have to be proven necessary to be fairly required. No-one can show that a university degree is necessary to perform the duties of a lawyer or a teacher, but everyone accepts these as requirements. Finally he notes that there might be a number of ways of improving performance in a job, but education is certainly acknowledged to be one of them and one with a greater chance than most others of succeeding. This has been tried in court, and although the decision is preliminary and will not necessarily apply in all jurisdictions and certainly not in Canada, the US Supreme court recently upheld the right of the Dallas Police Department to insist on a entry requirement of 45 semester hours with a C average or better (Sullivan & Victor, 1989).



Carter, Sapp and Stephens were told that disadvantages of university educated officers were that they were more likely to question orders, request reassignment and even leave policing (Carter, Sapp & Stephens, 1989, p. xxiii). These reflect the difficulties experienced when personnel change faster than the organization in which they are employed and can be expected to be less of a problem as the police organizations adapt to meet the challenges of the 21st century (Loree, 1989). Some might suggest that these are not in fact disadvantages but positive behaviours that should be encouraged.

The greatest conflict over police education has been between those who hold different views of policing. Few would argue with the Metropolitan Police Instruction Book, "The primary object of an efficient police is the prevention of crime; the next that of detection and punishment of offenders if crime is committed." (McDougall, 1988, p. 41). Again most would agree with Goldstein's qualities of an ideal officer;

1. Intelligence - the ability to make complex decisions.
2. Tolerance and understanding of cultural differences.
3. Values supporting controls on police conduct.
4. Self-discipline.
5. The ability to control one's emotions.

(Scott, 1986, p. 14).

However, there is disagreement when it comes to a consideration of the role of police. Ericson (1982) argues that the mandate of police is to reproduce the existing order. In his view police work as the most visible front line agents for ordering the population and for imposing social discipline. Further he agrees with Branton (Branton in Ericson, 1982) in suggesting that their roles have shifted from that of professional citizens to that of officials

exercising authority and power over citizens. Taylor (1983) proposes that a widely held view of policing is that of the arm of authority, specifically of the state. He asserts that in Britain, governments of both political persuasions have moved in the direction of policing by and for the state. Similar moves are suggested to have occurred in Canada where the symbolism associated with the Mounties has allowed the RCMP power they might not otherwise be permitted by the public, and Ericson claims that in recent years this power has sometimes been used to control political opposition and dissent.

These different views on the role of police have implications for whether or not police education is viewed as desirable. It is too easy to begin with the assumption that education is necessarily a good thing and to reason that police education is therefore to be encouraged. Ivan Illich (1971) argues that education becomes packaged in certification, resulting in neither justice nor learning. Further he sees education as strengthening class distinctions and increasing distance between people. Under such conditions police education would not necessarily benefit society and would best be discouraged.

Some views of the role of police are more task oriented and these too have implications in the education debate. Those who say that the task of the police is to catch criminals and that this is a function of routine tasks, long boring stake-outs, tip-offs, and being in the right place at the right time claim that an education will not help with any of this. Their opponents who claim that policing has to change and will change to meet the needs of a changing world, believe that the only way police will cope is if they are educated and become flexible, questioning and tolerant. Scott reminds us

that "(t)he National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for Police Officers developed the idea that more and higher quality education may be the key to producing the personal qualities necessary for police officers to develop and implement the new role for police institutions" (1986, p. 11). Unfortunately there is little middle ground between these two sides, even though researchers like Griffin maintain that it is only when education is combined with several years of practical experience that there is an increase in performance ratings made by superiors (university educated or not) (Griffin in Scott, 1986, p. 15). If we are to make judgements on the performance of educated and uneducated police we need an agreement on the criteria to use and this is where the sides differ significantly.

The debate becomes somewhat irrelevant in the face of the widespread and gradual increases in education of police that have occurred already. As noted above, more officers in both Canada and the United States are attending university, either before they enter policing or after the completion of their initial training.

Worden (1990) is sceptical of the possibility of relating education to performance and in his own research found few changes in either attitude or performance as evaluated by the public. He blames the theoretical assumptions on which much of the research rests and suggests improvements, but concludes "Not all of these propositions however, lend themselves to empirical evidence and policy decisions cannot rest on empirical grounds alone." (Worden, 1990, p. 589).

However Carter, Sapp and Stephens, in what is probably the most comprehensive recent survey of the literature, suggest that in spite of some variations in research approach some constant themes have emerged in the findings:

- \* College-educated officers perform the tasks of policing better than their non-college counterparts.
- \* College-educated officers are generally better communicators, whether with a citizen, in court, or as part of a written police report.
- \* The college-educated officer is more flexible in dealing with difficult situations and in dealing with persons of diverse cultures, lifestyles, races, and ethnicity.
- \* Officers with higher education are more "professional" and more dedicated to policing as a career rather than as a job.
- \* Educated officers adapt better to organizational change and are more responsive to alternative approaches to policing.
- \* College educated officers are more likely to see the broader picture of the criminal justice system than to view police more provincially as an exclusive group.
- \* The quality of police education varies significantly; this appears to co-vary with officer's attitudes and the effect of education on police performance.
- \* Law enforcement agencies have fewer administrative and personal problems with the college-educated officer compared with the non-college officer.

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- \* The "true" effects of higher education on policing probably cannot be empirically determined -- a qualitative, intuitive approach may be just as accurate.  
(Carter, Sapp and Stephens, 1989, pp. ix, x)

Carter, Sapp and Stephens worked in the United States and it is not certain that their findings apply in Canada. However they do indicate increasing acceptance and even encouragement for higher education for police in the United States.

Regardless of whether police departments can or should require education, or whether the further education of officers will benefit society or police more, or even whether their education can or ever will be related to their attitudes or performance, more police are studying at universities. This paper will begin at this point and ask the question; IF POLICE CHOOSE TO BE FURTHER EDUCATED, THEN WHAT SHOULD THEY STUDY?

## CHAPTER 5

### If Education then What

An increase in education of police officers seems to be inevitable in the present climate but this represents a significant personal and national investment and should not be encouraged without careful thought.

Funding for Canadian tertiary institutions varies with institution, year and province but \$40,000 for each completed four year baccalaureate and \$20,000 as an average for each partially completed one (based on the Simon Fraser University Fact Book, Johnston & Chan, 1989) would be a conservative estimate; and at this rate, the 3,185 completed degrees and the more than 19,000 partially completed ones held by officers in 1986 would have cost the state<sup>1</sup> around \$521,000,000 in institution costs alone. To this should be added the cost of degrees completed since this census, the financial and personal costs to the student and the cost of the training and employment of extra officers if each has a (four year) shorter career. It is not suggested, for one moment, that the education is not worth this cost, but it is up to police policymakers and police educators to ensure that it is; to debate not whether this education should happen but rather what should be its objectives and how these might best be attained.

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<sup>1</sup> "State" is used as a generic term in much the way Plato did in "The Republic", rather than as a specific national division.

When discussing the objectives or outcomes of police education there are difficulties in deciding what to measure (Hoover, 1975, p. viii). Three dimensions of measurement might be considered, observed behaviour, attitudes and values. The difficulty with the first is the variable nature of the police mandate (Carter, Sapp & Stephen, 1989, p. 9) and a failure to reach agreement on the characteristics of a good officer. The difficulty with the others is the problem of realistically measuring either attitudes and values or changes in attitudes and values for officers (Kitwood & Smithers, 1975), and again the failure of academics and practitioners alike to specify which attitudes and values to consider. But if police educators and those who make policy about police education cannot agree on what they want to achieve, then they cannot begin to decide how to achieve it.

Cuthbertson and Carr, in a paper prepared for the Joint Commission on Criminology and Criminal Justice Education and Standards, say that curricula for criminal justice personnel

did not emerge from a rationally defined model. At least three problem areas can be identified. First curriculum development proceeded without an analysis of the roles to be filled and the tasks to be performed by individuals who would be graduating from the various degree programs. Second, criminal justice program goals were seldom identified, and when efforts were made to identify goals a lack of agreement was often found. Third, a highly decentralized and fragmented criminal justice system with contradictory and conflicting expectations increased problems for systematic curriculum development. (Cuthbertson and Carr, 1981, p. 8).

This lack of a rational model is not characteristic of education in other professions. It certainly does not apply to law, medicine or teaching. In each there are variations of a basic model of education, but at least there is a basic model. One of the difficulties in the area of criminal justice is a lack

of consultation. Kilcup advocated it as far back as 1983. In their survey, Carter, Sapp and Stephens (1989) found evidence of some consultation between senior police and universities but not enough. They suggested that both the academic community and law enforcement personnel seemed interested in increased consultations but that each perceived the other as not wanting their input. This lack of consultation might well be related to the view sometimes held of universities that their academic independence precludes too close an involvement with either government or private enterprise. It might be a function of the recent nature of criminal justice education and especially of police education or of the small numbers of students involved initially, although this does not seem to have been the case when LEEP funds were "flowing". It might also be the result of a hesitancy on the part of policing as it reassures itself of its professional status.

Whatever the reason for this lack of consultation, it is likely to change. Senior police officers are now frequently university educated and so will be less hesitant to approach the universities with their needs. Further police officers or potential police officers represent increasing numbers of students in today's universities and with calls from politicians to become more relevant the universities, which were in fact always ready to consult, will be even more so in the future.

While there has not been much coordinated planning of police education programs there has been analysis after the fact. This has often consisted of attempts to categorize the various programs. In a paper presented to a conference on the future of criminal justice education at Long Island



University in 1987, Professor Dorothy Bracey of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice describes a three-way classification developed by Richard Pearson of the same college. The categories are Technical-Vocational, Professional-Managerial and Humanistic-Social.

\* "Technical-Vocational" courses are for students who expect to graduate with the skills appropriate for entry into policing, and tend to be taught by experienced practitioners rather than academics. A college or university offering this type of criminal justice education would have close and unchallenging ties with the criminal justice agencies and research undertaken by the faculty would attempt to meet the current needs of the field.

\* "Professional-Managerial" programs are for students who anticipate careers rather than jobs. The aim of such programs is to transmit that body of knowledge that defines the justice profession and to teach students to question the traditions and techniques of the field, but not its ultimate goals. It is intended for those who will administer, teach in and move between justice settings rather than specialize. Research in such schools of education is not intended to solve the immediate problems of the profession. It is applicable rather than applied but is still inspired by the needs of the profession and not the researcher's academic curiosity.

\* "Humanistic-Social" programs are programs in the liberal arts tradition and aim to have the student understand the criminal justice system rather than improve or join it. Students are expected to question the basic assumptions of the system and to develop habits of rational thinking, self-discovery and life-long learning and faculty undertake research aimed at studying the phenomena rather than serving the profession. For faculty, close ties with

the criminal justice system are considered a negative rather than a positive attribute.

This categorization is not unlike that used by Charles Tenney (1970). Tenney researched law enforcement higher education programs for the US Department of Justice's LEAA. He used a three way classification; training programs, professional programs and programs with a social science orientation. He recommended that police enrol only in either professional or professional-social science programs (O'Reilly, 1977, p. 29). Bracey however, considered that the program types are mutually exclusive and that any attempt to integrate them would be counterproductive. But Bracey's own approach to the question is an "humanistic-social" one that does not aim to be applied and so she presents no suggestions as to which program would be best for police officers or for any practitioners, or which a university should offer.

More frequently, categorizations are in terms of position on one or both of the training/education and the liberal arts/justice studies<sup>2</sup> continua but these are not orthogonal and even here confusion is common.

In the mid 70s Hoover made a comprehensive examination of police education curricula for the U. S. Department of Justice and reported

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<sup>2</sup> In practice there is no commonly used term for the alternative to a liberal-arts education for police, and "justice studies" while it certainly has deficiencies is useful for the purposes of the present discussion. Another term used frequently is "professionally oriented" but the author is avoiding this because of possible confusion with the "policing as a profession" debate. A professional approach is also used to mean one limited to police studies and not embracing an examination of the wider criminal justice system.

three primary deficiencies. First, most curricula include too many professionally oriented courses. Second, most programs place undue emphasis on curricula designed to train students to perform specific operational tasks. Third, there is a need for criminal justice educational programming to provide a broad theoretical orientation to the entire criminal justice system and process, rather than focus upon any particular component. (Hoover, 1975, p. ix).

Thus he was advocating education rather than training and a justice studies rather than a liberal arts education but he maintained that the justice studies approach had to be general rather than specific to policing.

Soon after this Herman Goldstein, an acknowledged leader in police literature, used the liberal-arts/justice studies distinction when writing "criminal justice ... is not sufficiently broad to encompass the many university level studies that are relevant to the police". He advocated a liberal arts education instead, although like Hoover he hastened to clarify this. He did not mean art, music, languages or literature in undue proportions, but history, economics, sociology, psychology and a study of the development of political institutions and movements (1977, pp. 295-297).

O'Reilly, researching Post Secondary Education of Canadian Police Officers for the Canadian Police College quoted Commissioner Maurice Nadon of the RCMP;

Educational standards in this country are becoming higher, more people are gaining a high school education and going on to college than ever before. This means a need for higher educational standards for policemen, if we are to be representative of the community we serve and if we are to strive for greater professionalism. The policeman of today needs to have a liberal education so that he is able to develop ways and means of dealing with these problems. (O'Reilly, 1977, p. 42).

O'Reilly himself went on to recommend that

although police officers require training in skills ranging from the simple to the most complex, they also benefit from an education similar to that received by most other professionals. That education which is most appropriate approximates what a university provides: a competent faculty with superior academic standing and research skills; a curriculum which is cognitively oriented as well as professionally oriented; contact with a diverse student body. (O'Reilly, 1977, p. 48).

Since discussions on police education so often call for a liberal-arts education it is profitable to consider what this might mean. The Greeks used "liberal" to describe activities suitable for a free citizen who had little concern with a livelihood and needed an education that was a preparation for leisure and general living (Ahlgren & Boyer, 1981). Stanton (1976) claims that the term was best known in America for its application "to the stagnant literary and theoretical curriculum of American colleges for the greater part of the nineteenth century" but now is being used to mean an education with the goal of creating questioning and open human beings who have the information necessary to control their own environments and who are thus less likely to react with ignorance and prejudice. Under such a definition, a liberal-arts education can be undertaken within many different disciplines.

The modern use of the term often does not imply the rigid split between preparation for leisure and preparation a career that was central to its early Greek use. Murchland (1982) proposes that liberal education should include some serious consideration of the work world, McInnes (1982) and Smith (1977) suggest an integration of liberal and professional education and Matthews (1981) calls for a core of liberal arts education in all university programs.

Winter, McClelland and Stewart (1981) attempted to determine whether a liberal-arts education is possible to achieve. They define such programs as emphasizing broad abstractions and basic principles, usually across several disciplines and believed that the result of such an education would be a student with skills in critical thinking and analysis, who knows how to learn, can think independently, and who demonstrates empathy, self-control, self assurance in leadership ability, maturity of adaptation, and equalitarian liberal values. They demonstrate that these skills can be developed in a particular type of college but failed to find them in other colleges to which some liberal arts courses had been added.

Not all writers support a liberal-arts orientation for police education.

Goodman (1982) suggests that society places little value on liberal education but believes that this is partly a function of the outmoded forms sometimes proposed. He believes that a liberal education that encompasses technology can be developed and that this would make it more acceptable to many. When the National Advisory Commission on Higher Education for Police Officers, which was chaired by Lawrence Sherman, strongly criticized **training** at universities and recommended that "Police officers should be educated in a wide variety of disciplines, including but not limited to the police education programs." (Sherman et al, 1978) others criticized this as "liberal arts elitist" (Felkenes, 1980) or too dogmatic (Dull, 1982).

However many scholars do support such an orientation and they criticize any education tied too closely to the field. In their examination of "Syllabus Design and Construction in Criminal Justice Education for the Joint Commission on Criminology and Criminal Justice Education and Standards",

Culbertson and Carr (1981) who were quoted above as suggesting that there has been no rational planning in criminal justice education, concluded discussion in their report by indicating that the reason criminal justice education has failed to impact on the system was that it was attempting, too slavishly, to meet its own needs and had become reactive rather than proactive.

Bell made the point even more strongly

The objective of liberal education is not to teach the individual all they will ever need to know. It is to provide individuals with habits, ideas, and techniques that will require them to continue to educate themselves. Education is the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge and aims to develop the powers of understanding and judgement. (Bell in Carter, Sapp & Stephens, 1989, p. 15).

Debate by academics on liberal arts or not liberal arts has quietened somewhat in recent years, and the terms have changed. "Inter-disciplinary" has replaced "liberal arts" but the prescriptions are still the same. Kalinich (1987) wants criminal justice programs to be truly interdisciplinary in both form and substance in order to foster critical thinking and conceptual skills, and David Farmer, the chairman of Virginia Commonwealth University suggests that "criminal justice should be the focus of a number of approaches and methodologies ... an interdisciplinary study ..." (Keve, 1990). However the final word has to go to Bynum

If there are doubts about the viability of the pursuit of a liberal arts approach in this age of high technology, one only has to look at the recent experience of the recruiting patterns in business. After a number of years of a hiring preference for those with MBA degrees, recent reports published in the Chronicle of Higher Education have noted that the patterns have shifted in favor of those individuals with liberal arts backgrounds. It seems that business leaders have come to acknowledge that the reasoning, writing and communication

skill inherent in a liberal arts approach are invaluable assets. (Bynum, 1987).

Throughout the long debate on objectives and content of Police Education, almost all writers have been university academics and the opinions have been their own. There are two notable exceptions to this. Culloo and McGoldrick (1980) established five panels representing chiefs of police, police officers, law enforcement educators and members of the community in New Jersey to canvass their opinions on objectives and content of police university education. They concluded that the first two years of study (sometimes called an Associate Degree) should be a liberal arts education with some justice studies in their specializations; but that the final two years should emphasize management, personnel procedures and public speaking. While there could be debate as to their findings ten years later, what is important is the consultation with the police community, the academic community and the community in general.

Carter, Sapp and Stephens consulted too. They looked beyond the literature on the objectives and content of police education to consult with the police community. First they asked officers with degrees about the factors that had influenced their choice of university. The principal factor, selected by 82.3%, was location. Then came cost (71.6%) and degree offerings (71.6%). Other factors, like university/agency relationship, familiarity with faculty or credit for their academy training each rated less than 34% (Carter, Sapp, & Stephens, 1989, p. 68). This author suggests that "degree offerings" probably does not mean "a degree that I know will make me a better officer", but "a degree that sounds relevant and that might increase my chance of being accepted into the vocation". It is likely that

few potential police officers consider that they are getting an education before they begin their career but rather that they are getting a piece of paper to enable their recruitment.

Carter, Sapp and Stephens then asked police decision-makers and agency representatives whether any particular degree was preferred when employing college graduates. Almost 60% of the agencies with definite policies that supported university education required that the major area of study be "job related" but this was variously defined. For about half it meant criminal justice studies but for the remainder it meant studies like business administration, sociology, psychology, the social sciences and even the familiar "general liberal arts". (Carter, Sapp, & Stephens, 1989, pp. xv, 72). In a summary of their findings from site visits (p. 78) the authors concluded

While clear preference for college-educated officers may be inferred from the findings, the nature of the educational experience was not as clear. ... Two particular issues emerged on this point: the need for diverse education and concern for the quality of criminal justice education.

This chapter began with Cuthbertson and Carr deploring the fact that curricula in the area of criminal justice did not derive from a rationally defined model. Looking back it would seem that, like Uncle Tom's Topsy, "they just grewed" and while to just grow might be quite acceptable for Topsy and for curricula in the early stages of such a massive change, as the numbers and the investment, financial and otherwise, grow more and more people will be looking at the outcomes. Unless some attention is paid to their expectations they may be doomed to disappointment and disappointed



policy makers might become less willing to lend their support to this massive and costly undertaking.

## CHAPTER 6

### Establishing the Research Objective

The call for consultation and planning for police education does not assume that this is the responsibility of a single individual or group. The idea that some policymaker<sup>1</sup> has the will and the foresight to rationally develop such an overall plan and then will be in a position to implement it, in a democracy where the control of policing is so decentralized is unrealistic. As Gershuny (1982) suggests only an idealistic youth could expect this.

It appears that experience of the real world of public policymaking turns the young, optimistic and radically inclined social engineer into a pessimistic reactionary in spite of himself. ... Incrementalists are frequently rationalists who have got older.

At the same time an acceptance of the status quo because no single individual or group could or would change it, is defeatist. This research will seek to develop and implement a method whereby the energy and will of those who make such policies in Canada and those who influence them in that process, are harnessed to develop a policy on the objectives of police education.

This will necessitate a number of steps. Thus far the discussion has attempted to establish the need for such an activity, to justify the research. The next step is to explore ways of finding an answer, to develop a

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<sup>1</sup> At this stage of the discussion there is confusion over whether this is decision making or policy making. This will be discussed in the next chapter and until then the terms policy and policymaker will be used even though at times it might seem more appropriate to speak of decisions and decisionmakers.

methodology. An idealist who would call for rational planning might assume a perfect solution, an answer there for the taking, and a structure and powers that do not really exist. The experienced researcher acknowledges the need first to explore the nature of the question and thereby the nature of the research which may lead to an answer. Time will be spent on developing a theoretical context for the question so a methodology can be developed.

Once a methodology has been decided the researcher will need a way to identify participants, both formal and informal, in the policymaking process as these will be the focus of the research. This will involve an examination of the structure of policing in Canada and a mapping of its decisionmaking. Particular attention will be given to members of groups who, while not policymakers still affect the process, albeit indirectly. Such groups might be citizens' groups, politicians or other sections of the criminal justice system.

Having decided on a methodology and identified the principle policymakers and their influences, the researcher will need to clarify the environment of their policymaking. This will mean looking at the changing mandate of policing in Canada and at past, present and future factors that might be influential. By this stage the researcher will be ready to explore four questions with the participants;

- What cultural and societal changes do you think will most influence policing over the next thirty or so years?
- How do you think policing will change over the next thirty or so years?
- If an officer today decides to undertake university education to prepare for this policing what should be the objectives of that education? How would you expect the officer be different as a result of this education?

- What should be the content of this education?

The research could look to the literature for best predictions of the answers to the first two questions but it is not the changes that are important but the perceptions of those changes as held by those who will make policy decisions and by those who will influence them. Instead the research will attempt to explore those perceptions and beliefs. Policies are made on the basis of beliefs about the available information more than on the basis of the information itself and so although the researcher will have to be aware of the factors that will be concerning the policymakers, the matter of the research will not be those factors but the policymakers perceptions of them.

It is thus necessary to recognize that this is not futurist research in the usual sense. Futurist researchers attempt to best guess the future but this research is about interpreting currently held beliefs, and about policies and decisions being made now. Ekstedt (1988, p. 138) suggests that "planning may be defined as the application of present knowledge to anticipations of the future" but it is also application of anticipations of the future to present decisions. The beliefs might be beliefs about the future, the policies and decisions might be influenced by perceptions of the future and these policies will certainly influence that future, but they are policies for now about current events. The officer educated now will likely work for another thirty years but the concern is for the education of that officer now.

Finally it is important to recognize the expertise of the various groups. Those who make police policy decisions and those who influence them should have a large say in deciding the objectives of police university

education. However they are not educators and once they have identified the desired outcomes of the education it should be left to the educators to decide how these outcomes might best be achieved. That is, a case can be made that police policy-makers should decide the objectives and then educators the content. Although questions about content will be included in those explored with participants in this research, the target of the research will be to identify objectives. It is intended that at a later stage these will be presented to educators to have them prepare a curriculum.

**PART TWO  
THE NATURE OF THE  
ANSWER**

**HERMENEUTIC POLICY ANALYSIS**

**Interpretation of messages is central to our existence.  
M.J.P. & R.B.A.**

## CHAPTER 7

### This is Essentially a Policy Study

**Do not ask "What is policy analysis?" as if it were apart from us. Ask rather "What can we make policy analysis become?" as if we were a part of this art and craft.**

**Aaron Wildavsky**

This research is really a study of policy and might be referred to by some as a policy analysis. Definitions of policy analysis differ with time and context but Carley (1980) suggests that the clearest way to define policy analysis is to distinguish it from policy science and meta-policy making. Under his description "policy science is discipline research; an academic endeavour pursued by an independent investigator who is free to choose the set of values which will be applicable in the research and who is actually divorced from the decision-making process ... . The policy scientist is often concerned with the pursuit of knowledge." Carley sees meta-policy making as taking a more general philosophical perspective on policy, examining the policy of policy making systems. Separate from both of these is policy analysis, analysis where the analyst works for government or private institutions interested in influencing policy making. The analyst's task involves a systematic investigation of alternative policy options and the gathering and display of evidence for or against each option.

Ekstedt (1989, p. 14) uses a different division. "Public policy implementation, policy analysis, organizational politics, policy evaluation and public policy making are all emphases within the general area of policy

science." He goes on to say " In distinguishing policy analysis from other forms of policy science, it is important to emphasize that policy analysis concentrates on an assessment of the decision (policy) itself. It seeks to identify those factors which contribute to the necessity for a decision as well as any other conditions which must be satisfied in order for the decisions to be successfully implemented."

Other scholars in the area use policy analysis differently and divide it into "analysis of policy" and "analysis for policy" (Ham & Hill, 1984). "Analysis of" studies focus on existing policy, usually attempting to describe the policy in place, examine its appropriateness and evaluate its implementation. Sometimes such studies go beyond the examination of a single policy and the analyst searches for patterns and relationships in related policies (Atkinson and Chandler, 1983). Culver's study on capital punishment in California (1983) and Poel's analysis of the determinants of legal aid in Canada (1983) are examples of analysis of policy.

"Analysis for" studies on the other hand explore the need where policy is lacking or no longer suitable. Here the analyst attempts to identify key decisionmakers; clarify the relationship between them (or as Ham and Hill, 1984 describe it, the web of decisions); explore all significant political, social or economic factors; and develop a policy or set of alternative policies which together with suggestions on implementation and possible impacts, are then presented for consideration to those who will make the final policy decisions (Atkinson & Chandler, 1983) . The purist holds that the analysts' tasks end here but in practice many go further and become advocates for a particular policy (Dunn, 1982).



Although these divisions are made they should not be overemphasized. The reality is that most analyses are a combination of several types. This is certainly true in the present study which could be described, using Ham and Hill's distinction, as a combination of an "analysis of" and an "analysis for" study but as principally the latter. Present practices and policies on police education will be described and evaluated in their current and historical contexts then this will be followed by an analysis for the development of a policy which can be presented to decision-makers for their consideration. This is necessary since, as is demonstrated above, an effective, over-riding policy is not possible.

To many, however, the term policy analysis infers not only analysis for the development of policy but the actual formation of the policy (or policies) and their evaluation on some criteria. For this reason, Ham and Hill notwithstanding, the present work will be referred to as a policy study, or as research for policy.

The terms policy and policymakers can be misleading. Policy is often taken to mean public policy or policy set by government but there is not single government or body responsible for the administration of policing in Canada and the policy analyzed here will be policy established, or not established, by various less central authorities and individuals. Policy does not have to emanate from a single authority to be policy. Quade (1982) warns his readers not to be fooled by the myth that there is a decisionmaker, when the power is often "an unruly mob". Nor does policy have to be publicly declared, to be effective and worthy of study. Wildavsky in his chapter

"Coordination without a Coordinator" (1987) proposes that policy can develop as a function of various apparently uncoordinated forces and various apparently independent actors. Ekstedt (personal communication, 1989) suggests that in some of the literature "policy is considered a long series of more or less related activities and their consequences for those concerned rather than a discrete decision." Of course the commencement of a policy analysis should not be taken as an indication that there is a policy to be analyzed. An analysis might reveal that there is in fact no policy on a topic.

All of this is particularly true in the present case. Preliminary examination of police education indicates that no policy has been publicly declared, nor is there a single authority or policymaker who would make that declaration. There have been many influences working in more or less the same direction but no specific policy has been widely articulated. Individuals and groups, sometimes interacting but often working independently have developed expectations and made decisions resulting in many officers seeking a university education but doing so with no clear idea of their objectives and little guidance on courses or programs. The focus of this study will be to identify the individuals and groups whose decisions and influences are believed by participants to have resulted in the present situation and to explore the relationships between them, and then by probing their perceptions of the present and expectations for the future, to clarify the diversity of expectations and develop recommendations. For the purposes of this dissertation the term policymaker will be used to mean any individual in an official policing or education capacity who makes decisions

believed to directly or indirectly shape the university education of police officers.

Although it might at first seem that because police education is preparing individuals for work in the future this is a future study in which the most appropriate methods would be those of the futurists (Allen, 1978; Carley, 1980; Helmer, 1970, 1983; Linstone, 1984, Tafoya, 1986) this is not actually so. As discussed briefly above, the officer who is being educated now will be policing over the next thirty years and the policies that concern us are policies for current education, being made now (or perhaps not being made now) by various individuals and groups but principally by police chiefs. Calgary Police Chief Gerry Borbridge made this very clear at a conference of police educators held in Calgary, Alberta in May 1990 when he said;

In order for police officers to be properly prepared to meet the policing challenges of the next century, police agencies must start to develop and implement educational and training opportunities immediately. (Gerry Borbridge, Chief of Police, Calgary Police Services, 1990)

It is true that today's decisions and policies will be modified by those in power tomorrow, but experience would indicate that these modifications will not be great for two reasons. When senior officers of the next generation are making decisions they will use as their guides the decisions and decisionmakers of today (Alderson, 1989). Further, organizations are complex and change slowly (Wildavsky, 1987). The multiplicity of policy making bodies in Canadian municipal policing, each with limited powers, makes for incremental planning and tends to restrict radical change.

In order to analyze current and recommend future policy on police education it is necessary to look not only at the current policymakers but beyond them. Decisions are strongly influenced by bureaucracies, by day to day interactions between individuals, by media reporting and by a complex network of political and social factors surrounding each policy-maker. Some influences, such as those of politicians and courts are easily identified. Other less formal influences, such as those of the media and citizens are more difficult to isolate and understand, but these are no less important. All must be explored and considered in an analysis of and for policy such as in the present study. This study will focus on policymakers and on those others who directly or indirectly influence their decisions. These might sometimes be referred to as policy influencers although the indirect nature of their influence will sometimes make most of them difficult to identify.

This research is therefore a policy study in which the search is for perceptions of tomorrow's society and tomorrow's policing as held not only by today's policymakers but also by those who influence them and the policy that is studied is the policy that is and might be made by those policymakers of today on the basis of those perceptions.

## CHAPTER 8

### Hermeneutics

**A complete, consistent, unified theory is only the first step: our goal is a complete UNDERSTANDING of the events around us, and of our own existence.**

**Stephen Hawking, 1988.**

In recent years, the more conventional approaches to both physical and behavioural research have been questioned. "Monologically based investigations, which allow the technological/technocratic mastery of the object, cannot account for the metatheoretical conditions underlying it: the subject of science cannot itself be completely objectified, nor can the object of the social sciences" (Bleicher, 1982, p. 69). This questioning is not yet widespread among physical scientists although some reputable researchers are certainly publishing their doubts (Gleick, 1987; Stewart, 1989). However in the human sciences, skepticism has been raised about the possibility and indeed the desirability of the detached objective researcher (Allen, 1979); and an emphasis on either observable, measurable behaviour or theoretical constructs has often resulted in scientific conclusions of limited pragmatic value. To overcome these problems some scholars have begun to use an hermeneutic philosophy as the basis of their inquiry.

Hermeneutics refers to the interpretative nature of the research. Hermes was the messenger of the Greek gods, who interpreted the gods to man and man to the gods. Interpretation rather than "truth" is the focus of hermeneutic investigations. The hermeneutic researcher eschews the idea of a truth to be sought and found. The Cartesian certainty (Warnke, 1987,

p.6) is presented as misleading myth. Packer (1985) makes this point when he cautions that as well as being the messenger of the gods Hermes was himself a god; he was the god of eloquence and cunning, roads and theft. Not a satisfactory CV for the bearer of truth! Bleicher (1982, p. 69) puts it another way when he suggests that hermeneutically oriented disciplines are not based on a system of logically connected statements making possible the explanation and prediction of events or on independently verifiable objective observations but rather on the extension of a communicative space. They focus on culture and human creations rather than on nature (Bleicher, 1982, p. 69), on understandings rather than on facts.

Hermeneutics was originally a set of techniques used to find the meaning of biblical texts but late twentieth century use of the approach is much wider. The biblical scholar who wanted to avoid dependence on dogma, had applied the techniques of hermeneutics in an attempt to find the meaning intended by the original author. From interpretation of religious texts, hermeneutics came to refer to all research involving interpretation of written texts, religious or otherwise, and then all scholarly pursuits in which the aim of the researcher was to reduce confusion and rationalize the irrational (Shapiro & Sica, 1984). In this way hermeneutics shifted from a technique for textual clarification to an approach for ontological inquiry, and from it developed a new philosophical movement (Bleicher, 1982; Bubner, 1988; Kaplan, 1987; Shapiro & Sica, 1984; Warnke, 1987). When researchers became disillusioned in their attempts to build an objective, theoretically nice knowledge structure some, particularly those studying human behaviour, turned to a more hermeneutic approach in which the emphasis was on attempting to understand that which was obscured by time, distance,

ideology or false consciousness. Their broad aim was to make such an understanding meaningful for life and thought (Shapiro & Sica, 1984).

Modern hermeneutics can be traced from around 1927 with the publication of Martin Heidegger's monumental philosophical treatise "Sein und Zeit", which focussed on "the understanding of understanding" and "the meanings of meaning" (Steiner, 1978). Heidegger emphasized two elements as significant in research, the searcher and the context. He used the example of a Van Gogh painting of a pair of rough peasant's shoes to demonstrate the place of the searcher in the search. The painting is simple; brush strokes, paint and canvas. The subject is simple; a pair of shoes and nothing else. But the experience of the observer gives the painting meaning. The aloneness of the shoes evokes aloneness experienced by the observer, their dirt and scruffiness awakes in the observer memories of weary homeward journeys with a hoe over the shoulder on late fall evenings (Steiner, 1978, p. 45). To emphasize the importance of context, Heidegger used the term "dasein", meaning "... 'to be there' and 'there' is the world: the concrete, literal, actual, daily world. To be human is to be immersed, implanted, rooted in the earth, in the quotidian matter and matter-of-factness of the world" (Steiner, 1978, p. 81). Through "dasein" Heidegger unites the future and the past. "At a naive level, Heidegger is expounding the psychological truism that past events are altered, are given meaning by, what happens now and will happen tomorrow" (Steiner, 1978, p. 107). Shapiro and Sica make this point when they say that hermeneutics represents "... efforts to understand the past in light of the present's exigencies, with an eye toward emerging values." (Shapiro & Sica, 1984, p. 4).

Heidegger's views differ from the cognitivism of Piaget<sup>1</sup> and the early Foucault (Dreyfus, 1984). These proposed that our practices develop from our individual belief systems, but Heidegger held that they develop from imitation and therefore from a somewhat common belief system, and are strengthened by usage. For Heidegger, interpretation is embodied in this usage or custom and the imitative nature of the learning makes for a commonness of practice. He uses the different socialization of Japanese and American babies to "explain" different group practices, different group discriminations and different group interpretations but claims that the significant experience is not individual but common experience, that custom is more important than individual belief systems. Heidegger's notion of understanding developed with his writings and he and Foucault moved closer together theoretically. "Later Heidegger calls the way a particular understanding of Being comes to be and pursues its course, 'its essence'. Thus to understand the essence of technology is to understand how we got this way, how technology works, and what it does to us. Those familiar with Foucault will recognize a striking parallel to what Foucault calls 'genealogy'" (Dreyfus, 1984, p. 79).

Modern hermeneutics was not solely the accomplishment of Heidegger. Gadamer made it the focus of his life's work too, and in fact Shapiro and Sica (1984) give Gadamer the credit for reviving hermeneutics in Europe and later America. Gadamer distinguished two forms of understanding, the understanding of truth content and the understanding of intentions; or

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<sup>1</sup> Ironically later hermeneuticists developed the notion of the hermeneutic circle and this parallels Piaget's notion of the adaptation as explaining the development of schema through assimilation and accommodation.



substantive understanding and genetic understanding; and he saw that the first was often sought when the second was more achievable, and more useful. "For the whole of his philosophical career and culminating in his magnum opus, Truth and Method, his concern has been to overcome the positivistic hubris of assuming that we can develop an 'objective' knowledge of the phenomena with which we are concerned" (Warnke, 1987). Under a positivistic approach any findings must be capable of both explanation and prediction, they must be repeatable and have all subjective influences and interpretation eliminated. Gadamer claimed that such substantive knowledge was often not possible and that the searcher should then turn to genetic understanding, or the understanding of intentions and motives. "In other words, it is when one cannot see the point of what someone else is saying or doing that one is forced to explore the conditions under which that person says or does it: what this person might mean, given who he or she is, the circumstances of the time and so on" (Warnke, 1987, p. 8). In this shift, Gadamer has made a significant move away from Heidegger's emphasis on common usage to a more individualistic approach, with an emphasis on achieving insight into the unique thinking of all individuals concerned.

Developing an understanding in an area is thus a continuing task in which understanding of the whole is built up from an understanding of all the parts and understanding of each of the parts is developed in the context of the whole. The parts that make up the understanding of the present are not just all the different individuals in the present, but those in the past and in the future. "The way in which we anticipate the future defines the meaning the past can have for us, just as the way in which we have understood the

past and the way in which our ancestors have projected the future determines our own range of possibilities" (Warnke, 1987, p. 39).

Shapiro and Sica suggest that hermeneutics is a philosophical activity or praxis that seeks to enable an understanding of what is distant in time or culture, or hidden in a peculiar context. That its broad aim is an understanding meaningful for life and thought, an edification rather than a construction. It may not be as rigorous a philosophical method as others but it is a philosophical movement that by its wide range of application is capable of bringing together "what is often left in pieces" (Shapiro & Sica, 1984, pp. 3-21).

## CHAPTER 9

### Hermeneutics in Social Science

**(T)he paradox ... is particularly true of scientific knowledge, which owes its progress to its clear methodological direction, but which, the more it relies on this methodological scaffolding, loses sight of the foundations on which it unavoidably rests.**

**Bubner, 1988.**

Although modern hermeneutics can be dated from the publication of "Sein und Zeit" in 1927, its application to the social sciences is more recent. Outhwaite (1987) suggests that after a long period of theoretical uncertainty in the social sciences and particularly in sociology, the combination of philosophy and social theory is a recent move that has resulted in new thinking about approaches and explanation. Both hermeneutics and realism have come out of this and these are to some extent complementary although Outhwaite implies that realism includes or transcends hermeneutics.

The hermeneutic approach can be viewed in relation to other modes of social and educational research using Bredo and Feinbers's (1982) three-way classification. They categorize approaches as either positivistic, interpretive or critical. Hermeneutics belongs in the interpretive category.

Rationalism and empiricism were, for a time, the dominant paradigms taught and used by researchers. "In 'The Sociological Imagination', C. Wright Mills (1959) challenged scholars in the human disciplines to develop a point of view and a methodological attitude that would allow them to examine how

the private troubles of individuals, which occur within the immediate world of experience, are connected to public issues and to public responses to these troubles." (Denzin, 1989). Denzin responded with 'Interpretive Interactionism' (1989) and others with phenomenology, grounded research, postmodern ethnographic research and naturalistic studies, to name a few. In their book 'Entering the Circle', Martin Packer and Richard Addison draw together interpretive investigation in psychology under the rubric of hermeneutics and attempt to begin the development of a framework for its future applications to the study of human behaviour (Packer & Addison, 1989).

Packer and Addison (1989) are as strong in their statements contrasting hermeneutics to rationalism and empiricism as Miller (1987) suggests many theorists are when he writes "For many hermeneutic theorists, this positivist demand is itself a spiritual disease, a worship of natural science that serves a social interest in manipulating people as if they were things" (p. 15), and again "In the social sciences the hermeneutic approach is the most important alternative to the covering law model" (p. 101). However, in this paper, the hermeneutic approach is presented not as an exclusive, rigid methodology but as a philosophy to guide the choice of the researcher. This notion will be expanded upon at the conclusion of the chapter.

The hermeneutic researcher takes human activity in its context as the basis of inquiry and works not so much with observed behaviours but with

opinions, emotions, interests, habits and attitudes. He<sup>1</sup> seeks to relate these via semantics or meanings into a whole and attempts to uncover the whole for each individual in the group, and for the group as an entity. The attitudes, opinions and so on that are the focus of the study are acknowledged as subjective and changing, hence the necessity of exploring them in context. The context might be their current physical context, but it is just as likely to be an historical context, or the context of power relationships or shared perceptions.

The findings of the hermeneutic researcher are temporary for two reasons. They are temporary since because of their subjective focus they are changing, but they are also temporary because they are incomplete. The researcher never has a final answer, only an answer for the present. The process of hermeneutic research is conceptualized as iterative or circular, as is that of most research, but whereas each study of the scientific researcher is an attempt to make a single round of the theory - application - theory circle, the hermeneutic researcher expects throughout the study to be involved in a continuing round of understanding - observation - modification of understandings - new observation - more modification ... . At some stage in this process the researcher "steps out of the circle" for a while to report, but this is made on the understanding that the process is ongoing and subsequent reports will probably be different. This iterative circle is at the core of hermeneutic investigation and it results in a gradual or incremental modification of findings.

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<sup>1</sup> In an attempt to avoid sexist language without using the clumsy "her/his" or the frequently incorrect "they", the author will alternate the feminine and masculine pronouns throughout this dissertation.

An hermeneutic approach is distinctive in its flexibility of method. In all research "... the problem confronting the researcher is to select the form of data gathering that most parsimoniously and appropriately leads to conclusions that solve the problem under investigation." (Blum & Foos, 1986, p. 169). When the problem of the researcher is the development of a model and/or a theory, the methods used are often quite different from the method of the hermeneutic researcher who is more concerned with the solution of a real life problem than with the development of a theory or the testing of an hypothesis. An empirical scholar might consider an objective, value neutral approach as essential and so begin with no expectations, or at least attempt to repress these, so that they do not shape the final findings. During the study she attempts not to judge, and where interpretations are unavoidable, she so details the basis for these that any reader would make the same decision. The intention is that any other researcher can replicate the work at any time since the individual characteristics of the researcher have not in any way influenced the conclusions reached. A rationalist scholar might have a similar philosophy, attempting an objective value neutral approach, with not only personal objectivity but also detachment from the context and the concerns and interests of everyday life.

Detachment and objectivity are the complete antithesis of most interpretative approaches. In research using an hermeneutic philosophy in particular, the searcher is acknowledged as central to the search and a participant in the activity. Because understandings and interpretations are central to social life and therefore central to the research (Denzin, 1989) the hermeneuticist considers a non-partisan approach to be impossible and

instead attempts to understand and state his pre-understandings and assumptions.

The actual method used by the hermeneutic researcher remains fluid and is tailored to each individual or group and each situation. An attempt to understand the concept of right and wrong held by a 16th century Catholic bishop, a 20th century Chinese child and a modern American Buddhist philosopher would see the hermeneutic researcher using different means with each group to achieve comparable ends. The method is expected to evolve with the work and to reflect the participants and the situation rather than be consistent, since the aim is understanding rather than consistency. Whereas for much research comparability and replication are important resulting in a uniform research method being used with all cases, the hermeneuticist is more concerned with finding a solution to the problem that prompted the research and is willing to adjust the method during the research in order to achieve this.

An hermeneuticist has a special approach to the participants in the research. They are not usually referred to as "samples" or "subjects" but together with the researcher are participants in the research. Traditionally subjects are chosen so that no individual has a greater or lesser chance of being selected than any other and so that no characteristic of the individual is significant in his selection except as representative of all others with that same characteristic, but the hermeneutic researcher often selects participants for their individual characteristics. The only requirement is that the researcher makes her reasons for choice quite clear and/or describes any probably

significant characteristics of the participants so that readers can interpret the interpretations of the researcher.

Hermeneutic research is different too in the judgements made of the "conclusions". These are not judged according to whether or not they enable the world to be described in objective terms. Nor are they expected to parallel the real world in something approaching an isomorphic relationship. Rather a report is deemed appropriate if it is coherent and if it is judged by those who identified the problem being researched as answering that motivating concern. The hermeneuticist begins research with a question or a problem and this remains the focus for the research and the standard against which the conclusion is measured. Such researchers are far more concerned with the solving of problems than with knowledge for knowledge's sake.

Although the term 'common sense' is rarely used in the academic search, this is the underlying philosophy of such work. 'Interpretive research' is always a praxis, a practical activity and is judged not on some external validity scale but in terms of whether or not it answered the practical or existential concern that motivated it (Heidegger in Packer & Addison, 1989c, p. 279). The aim is to correct a perceived imbalance between the practical and the theoretical, to restore the credibility of experience and interpretation, to balance the science of objective investigation with the art of creative research. (Froyland, 1990, p. 18)

The distinctive characteristics of the hermeneutic approach when applied to social science are its concern with an interpretation of subjective, changing human attributes and with all contexts in which these occur; the centrality of the researcher in the process; a fluidity of method rather than a consistency; its emphasis on findings that make sense and address the issue at hand rather than forward knowledge; and the acceptance of an answer that is



partial and temporary. It is important that the pre-understandings of the researcher be identified both before and during the research and that the process of the research is seen as being flexible but circular and iterative. Finally, given the flexibility of the research process, the report of an hermeneutic investigation is often different. It tends to be less linear than a usual report and has as its main goal the transmission of as much information as the reader might need to interpret and use the findings. The catchwords of the hermeneutic researcher might be "creative approach", "art", "meaningful" or "common-sense" while the catchwords of the more traditional experimental researcher would be "objective", "detached", "replicable" and "science".

It should be noted that the hermeneutic approach as used here is not intended as a new or fixed method, but rather as a philosophical approach to research that will guide the decisions of the researcher. As such it does not proscribe methods or techniques, merely guides in their choice. The hermeneutic researcher might thus choose from among the range of available techniques; interviews, questionnaires, the Delphi technique, cross impact analysis, discussion, observation, projection techniques, conference or any combination of these and others. The hermeneutic approach as outlined here is to be used as a guide to their selection not as a determinant. This will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 10

### Hermeneutics and Policy

**Since policy analysis is about people, a category in which I am forced to include myself, my experience matters**

**Wildavsky, 1979.**

The hermeneutic approach to research in social science has a philosophy and assumptions that make it especially appropriate to policy studies. Policy analysis draws on the methodology of social science but some analysts now believe that the social sciences have failed to achieve hoped for effects. Allen considers that they rely too heavily on causality, forgetting that real world events are affected by chance. He further suggests that the social sciences fail when they pretend that science can be value free (Allen, 1979, Ch. 1). Allen proposes that policy sciences need a more holistic approach than he perceives the social sciences can offer, an approach more focussed on the problem in hand than on applying a particular discipline or method. Perhaps the fault is not in the social sciences but in Allen's knowledge of them. An hermeneutic approach would answer some of his objections.

As discussed earlier, the study to be made here is not a search for facts about crime and policing. Nor is it concerned with abstractions. Policy on police education is made by various individuals on the basis of their perceptions of present and future policing and depends on their interests, opinions, knowledge, habits and attitudes, together with those of individuals and groups who influence them. The search is thus for the interpretation of facts and the meaning placed on them by the individuals concerned, and

this is exactly the focus of hermeneutic research. The hermeneutic researcher acknowledges that there are different sorts of understanding and that an understanding of the substance or content of truth that is so important to other researchers is often not possible or if it is possible is frequently less important, than an understanding of intentions (see Ch 9 above). This is a useful way to think about both analysis for policy and analysis of policy. In real life, intentions and outcomes do not always coincide and an analysis that looked only at the latter would be more academic than practical. In planning for, and evaluating policy it is important that the researcher recognize this separation and explore both, and to do this within an hermeneutic philosophy is most appropriate.

To be understood, the interpretation involved in policy analysis just as in hermeneutic research must be considered within the appropriate contexts, usually both historical and current. Policy decisions for public institutions are very much influenced by both the history of similar policies and the history of that institution. This is not to say that the happenings in pre-feudal or industrial England influence day-to-day decisions in Canada in any but a very general way, but the more immediate history of Canada and of the institution concerned do. Canadian institutions are influenced by a determination to avoid some of the errors of their European founders or of their neighbours to the south, by the Canadian ideal of powerful independent governments that was so strongly held at the time of federation, by the nature of Canada's explorers and pioneer families, by its multicultural heritage and so forth. No analysis of or for policy on any function or activity of a Canadian institution can be made without a consideration of the history of that institution.

The other relevant context is of course the present one. Analysis not firmly rooted in an understanding of current Canadian values, politics, economics and conflicts "might" be an interesting academic exercise but would have little meaning to those to whom the need for a policy analysis was apparent. In fact, Aaron Wildavsky, an erudite but practical student of policy analysis, says it should be an inter-disciplinary, historical, contextual, value-laden, problem oriented, democratic search (Wildavsky, 1987). The context of particular importance to the policy analyst is the network of organizations and the structure of power within which the decision-makers function. Particularly important are perceptions held by these decision-makers with respect to their own responsibilities and powers and the effect that the decisions and policies they make will have not only on their organization but on their position within it. An hermeneutic analysis would have an exploration of the context of the policy as an early step, and would consider the common wisdom on that context, the researcher's understandings of it and the policy-makers perceptions.

A deficiency in policy or an agreement that the current policy is no longer appropriate is often the motivation for a policy analysis. This is totally appropriate for hermeneutic research which aims at the solution of real-life problems. Indeed, when he warned "... where one wants to go depends on whether one is able to get there." Wildavsky (1987, p. 9) might as well have been an hermeneutic researcher as a policy analyst.

Another difference between hermeneutic and other researchers that is particularly appropriate to the policy analyst is their different attitudes on

the finality of their conclusions. The hermeneuticist acknowledges that in some areas of research, and particularly in those in which he is likely to be involved, there is no final answer only a partial and temporary one. As soon as the context changes, so will the answer (and probably the question). This does not mean that the pursuit of an answer is useless but only that it must be presented in a way that acknowledges its partial and temporary nature. Since the answer sought by the hermeneuticist is the answer to a pressing real life problem, the answer must be valid as a present solution to that problem in the current context but will not necessarily be so outside these parameters. The hermeneuticist sees herself as involved in an iterative process, sometimes conceptualized as an hermeneutic circle with a forward arc of projection or the presentation of ideas and a return arc of recovering or the modification of these. In this iterative process the very presentation of the answer changes the situation, necessitating the next step in the iteration or the next turn of the circle. The policy analyst, like the hermeneuticist, works in response to a pressing life problem and seeks an answer appropriate for now. All policy is to some extent temporary or changing, but justice system policy is very much so. It has so many contexts, from that of the National Constitution and the Charter of Rights, the courts and all levels of government to the bureaucrats in the local department. Some of these contexts themselves can change, and others are reinterpreted resulting in the need for policy change. The policy analyst knows that not only will the activity of the analysis and the endorsement of a public policy by the decision-makers change the situation but the whole social, economic and political context will change and as this changes so the policy will need to be modified. Any policy is appropriate for the present situation and context, but will need to be modified often. Thus the

hermeneutic approach seems a particularly suitable approach for policy analysts.

The place of the researcher in hermeneutic research parallels that of the analyst in policy analysis. Unlike other researchers, the hermeneuticist makes no attempt to be detached and instead acknowledges her place as a participant in the process and as one who will significantly influence the outcome. Wildavsky (1987) sees policy analysis as a social activity and social interaction as a legitimate and even preferred method. The policy analyst who analyzes current policy or analyzes for future policy knows that as soon as questions are asked and interest demonstrated, opinions will be developed, issues until then in the background will be more directly addressed and consideration will be given to reallocating resources. The analyst becomes a factor in the analysis.

Because of the involvement of the hermeneutic researcher in the research, it is important that his preunderstandings are identified at the commencement of the research and throughout the process as they change. The analyst too is involved and brings values, attitudes, prejudgements and assumptions to the task. These must be thought through and made clear to all involved at all stages of the work.

Again because of the hermeneuticist's preference for meaning over objective, verifiable validity, the method used in hermeneutic research is flexible and can be adapted to each individual participant or group of participants and to each situation. Such a flexibility is also appropriate in policy analysis where the answer sought must contribute to the solution of a

real problem. The analyst, like the hermeneutic researcher, begins with a well planned method but is prepared to adapt it as the analysis proceeds. However "prepared", really does mean that. The analyst, like the researcher, does not go in to the task with a vague idea and a "she'll be right mate" attitude. She must be extremely well prepared, having at her disposal a whole repertoire of methods and having considered every possible contingency and the appropriateness of each method or adaptation. The analyst, like the hermeneuticist, must be more rather than less prepared in order to be flexible but at least the hermeneutic approach, when applied to analysis, increases the chance of an appropriate conclusion.

The analyst uses as participants in the process, those individuals who are likely to have and share the knowledge needed to reach a conclusion. Indeed, in the words of Wildavsky (1987) "intelligence is interactive" and policy analysis is social activity. This is in contrast to the experimental researcher who is more concerned that the sample of subjects be either random or strictly representative, but it is appropriate within an hermeneutic philosophy. Again the approach is not an excuse to be careless in the selection of participants but is an attempt to put sense before science. To ensure sense, and an interpretation that is not idiosyncratic it is important that the analyst, like the hermeneutic researcher, has a plan and can justify the selection of participants. It is also important that the plan is flexible and does not determine a rigid selection when flexibility would enhance the result.

Finally the reporting method of the hermeneutic researcher is different from that of other researchers and might be more appropriate for the analyst.

The traditional reporting method is linear with reasonably standard sections; introduction, literature, method, results, discussion and recommendations. The hermeneuticist's approach is issue centred and attempts to focus on the problem and its solution and to describe the process in enough detail for the reader to make his own judgements of the researcher's recommendations. Because it is centred on the problem and its solution, the reporting method will be less linear and might be quite different for each study or analysis, except that it will always have as its focus the presentation of a meaningful solution to a real life problem.

For all of these reasons an hermeneutic approach would seem to be appropriate to policy analysis. Not only would it meet Allen's objections (1979) but it would go some way towards answering other criticisms made of policy analysis and policy evaluation (Cronbach, 1980; Weiss, 1979). Some of these are the result of the different epistemologies of the public servants or bureaucrats who commission the analyses or evaluations and the social scientists who do them. The former want an answer to everyday problems, the latter seek to extend knowledge. Hermeneutic policy analysis could reconcile this difference. The hermeneuticist views truth as ALETHEIA or "uncovering" (Packer & Addison, 1989c, p. 278) and acknowledges that it will never be complete or final, but that a partial answer that goes some way to solving the problem of the present is a good objective to attain, at least for now.

A further criticism of policy analysis and evaluation as done by the social scientist is the result of quite different time lines held by the consumer and the academic researcher because of their different epistemologies.



Academic research is often costly of time and money, and frustrating to the decision-maker who wants immediate and continuing advice. For the hermeneuticist, the study can continue for ever with the reporting done in stages, so long as its status is clear. Such a researcher knows that the situation will be changing and that the bureaucrat who acts on today's advice will need an update tomorrow. This exactly fits the hermeneutic circle concept.

Criticism has also resulted from different evaluation parameters. Social scientists often seek to examine the effects of policies on their targets in terms of the goals they are meant to achieve (Weiss, 1977) but the hermeneutic researcher thinks more along the lines of Michael Scriven when he says "I don't give a Goddamn what you tried to do, I'm just concerned with what you did." (Salasin, 1974). This latter approach is more in line with the public servant who is concerned with the reality in front of her and would make an hermeneutic policy analysis seem more acceptable than some others. Glass and Ellett (1980) present the case for judging policies and evaluation by the standards of logic, science and ethics, but these are judgements by the academic and of little use to the administrator. Packer and Addison (1989c) suggest that the search for epistemological security can never succeed and that the time of the hermeneutic researcher is better spent in the hermeneutic circle, attempting to find flaws and shortcomings, better perspectives, documenting the anomalies that remain puzzling and attempting to match "solutions" to problems.

Finally Cronbach who would be applauded by many a hermeneuticist as well as many administrators and bureaucrats, believes that evaluations should be

judged on function, use, questions prompted, long term effects, realistic final answers or next steps, good data or good communication. That is "an evaluation ought to inform and improve the operations of the social system" (Cronbach, 1980).

Many of the criticisms of policy analysis as done by academic researchers are answered if an hermeneutic approach is applied to the analysis instead, and if such an approach is accepted and adopted as the modus operandi of those who work in policy studies or at least of those who work in the applied as contrasted to the academic areas of policy.

## CHAPTER 11

### Police Education Policy: An Hermeneutic Study

It has been argued that not only is hermeneutics an appropriate approach for policy analysis but it has the potential for overcoming many of the difficulties for which that applied branch of policy studies is often criticized. As such it would seem a suitable approach to use in this project to develop a method for the study of policy on police education. Its possible application will be demonstrated in an hypothetical study outlined below.

#### Clarifying the Problem

The first, and according to Wildavsky (1989) most important step in a studying policy, would be clarification of the problem. This has been the focus of the preceding chapters but a summary follows:

- \* For a variety of reasons more police in western countries are studying at university. This is costly to the state<sup>1</sup> and requires a significant and costly effort on the part of the officers concerned.
- \* The precise expectations held for this education are not clear but different groups in the community anticipate different outcomes and some of these are quite unrealistic. Both education and policing are matters of public concern and public funding, and unmet expectations could have negative repercussions in the future.
- \* Part of the difficulty is that there is no widely accepted agreement on the objectives of this education and little guidance as to programs or courses.

<sup>1</sup> "State" is used here as a general term and is not meant to refer to a particular place or government.

\* The structure of policing in Canada is such that there is no single body or individual responsible for developing policy, particularly in areas like the education of officers. Many influence what finally occurs but there is no declared policy and no policymaker.

\* Police officers and potential police officers, choosing to enrol for any of a number of reasons, usually select an institution on the basis of its location and then having no guidance as to which program would best suit their future needs, select one on the basis of title (Justice Studies, Criminology) or on similar grounds.

\* Universities have as their prime responsibility the gathering and sharing of knowledge, and criminology and justice studies have been developed as academic disciplines. These might be the best programs for practitioners in the justice system but they are not necessarily so and there has been little research on the question.

\* The focus of this study then, would be to demonstrate a method of discovering the significant opinion leaders and decision makers on the topic and exploring their various expectations; and using it to collect data to develop an education program.

### A Theoretical Perspective

Policy studies are made from a theoretical position. An hermeneutic perspective would be used here for many reasons. Policing is a culture and one foreign to most educators and many policy analysts. Packer and Addison suggest that "cultures foreign to us can be reappropriated, comprehended and studied only in a partial manner" (1989, p. 1). In their opinion, the only way to do this is to use an hermeneutic approach.

Further, this study would not be about ascertaining the facts about policing or making predictions for policing in the future, but about discovering the perceptions of policing, and policing in the future held by those who are currently making decisions and policies. The facts would be a starting point for understanding these perceptions, but only that. Facts and information only influence decisions and policies as they become part of the gestalt or mindset of the policy maker. As Superintendent Chris Braiden told the police educators conference in Calgary in 1989 "The mindset of the leaders dictates what the reality of policing will be for the doers." (Braiden, 1989, p. 78). This mindset, or perceptual "whole" is influenced by the available information and by both direct and indirect interactions with others. It is influenced by conversations and direct observation and by printed material, television, reports and so forth. Although this mindset is so influential, the individual could rarely, if ever, describe it and is not usually aware of how it influences and possibly distorts perceptions of "the facts". For this reason, although the researcher would need to be aware of relevant information she would have to be more concerned with understanding interpretations and perceptions of this as held by significant participants. In this research it would be the task of the analyst to attempt to discover the mindsets of the decision-makers. Interpretation would be central to this work as it is to hermeneutic research and an hermeneutic perspective seems appropriate for the task.

The hermeneuticist's acceptance of the researcher as involved in the process is particularly appropriate in the analysis for police education as little of the information needed is available in written form and it must be obtained by interaction. The analyst would need to contact significant people and

groups to discuss their opinions and this would influence the thinking of these policy makers. Further the approach to each group might have to be somewhat flexible as they will differ in their availability and their willingness to give written or verbal comments. The analyst would have to be prepared to adapt the basic method of a written response followed by an interview (in some cases) and a conference, either because this approach is inappropriate or because circumstances make alternatives more reasonable. Always the guiding principle would be the use of whatever method or approach seemed, to the researcher, to offer the best interpretation of opinion. Involvement of the researcher and flexibility of method would thus both be critical to this research. Both are tenets of hermeneutic research, hence its use here.

Another characteristics of the hermeneutic approach which would be particularly applicable here, is the acceptance of a partial and short term answer. All public policy is somewhat temporary, including police policy. It depends on so many levels of policy making from the level of the national constitution through the Charter of Rights, the courts, all levels of government to the bureaucrats in the local department. Crime and law and order are political topics, and comments on the adequacy of policing and proposals for methods to improve this are sometimes made by politicians for their own political ends. Policy on police education could easily be influenced in this way. Because policing is not separate but very much part of the society in a democracy and because this society is changing, policing and police policy changes too. Any policy or policy recommendations that might come out of a policy analysis must be considered short term at best. They might be the best descriptions and the best recommendations for the

time but, as with all policy, they must remain "subject to change". They must also be considered partial and temporary because they depend on imperfect interpretations of opinions which although they might be adequate for preliminary discussion are still liable to be further discovered so that new descriptions and recommendations can be made. For these reasons the hermeneutic philosophy of knowledge would be particularly appropriate and the findings of the research would not pretend to apply to places or times other than those described. This does not mean that they would have no value outside of this context, just that the extrapolation would have to be tentative. In any case, the method of policy analysis developed here will certainly be appropriate in similar settings even if the findings have to be applied cautiously.

#### Clarifying the Context

Policy studies need to be made within the appropriate contexts. For the education of police officers in Canada the main areas of concern would be the historical context, the current cultural context and the organizational context within which the policy-makers function.

The historical context is important because it has shaped policing in Canada. Writers on the history of policing usually begin with the formation of Robert Peel's "Bobbies" in 1829 but looking beyond that at police in pre-and post-feudal England illuminates modern policing trends like the emphases on community policing and community responsibility. An examination of historical context in this research would begin with a brief look at "policing" in pre-feudal England but then focus more on the history of policing in Canada over the last hundred or so years.

Canadian policing is also shaped by Canada's national history. Its Aboriginal people, its French and English settlements, its multi-cultural development, the fierce independence of its separate colonies, observation of the policing difficulties of its neighbour to the south have all contributed to shape modern Canadian policing and particularly to form its power structure and decision-making processes. Canada's history would form part of the context considered in the proposed research

Finally the research would be influenced by the history of the police education debate in the United States where the matter has been discussed for an entire century. The literature on the topic includes reports of commissions, investigations and pronouncements from south of the border. The responsible Canadian policy maker is certainly aware of these and takes them into consideration. The proposed research would have to look carefully at the history of policing in the United States as well as in Canada, in an attempt to understand the context of the police education question.

As well as the historical context, the question would have to be looked at in its current context. Policies are made against a backdrop of society and in the case of Canada in the 1990s against the backdrop of a rapidly changing society. To understand the policy makers in policing it would be necessary to explore the main strands of this society and the changes that are most apparent. This would mean documenting not only the publicly discussed changes and concerns but, if possible, looking at the response of the police world to these topics.



To do this it would be necessary to look at the mandate of police, and at the legal underpinnings and structure of policing across the nation. As changes in Canadian culture contribute to changes in the mandate of Canadian police so they are followed by changes in the preparation of officers. Changes in the commonly accepted mandate of policing reflect and are reflected in changes in the legal and constitutional relationship of police and public as in the recent Canadian Charter of Rights. Examination of the structure of policing across Canada and of the policing organizations within each province would clarify the power network overall and provide some information on factors that might influence the policy makers in each department. Policing in Canada is undertaken by a number of different groups each with relative autonomy but each influenced by several other government and quasi-government bodies. Further influences are more subtle and might include community groups, the media, others in the justice system and so on. Policy is made not by a single individual or group but by a number of individuals and groups working more or less independently, but with many of the same influences working upon them. In order to interpret the replies of participants in the analysis, it will be necessary that the researcher understand the organizational climate in which the replies are made.

The policy study being outlined here would have, as a significant step, investigation of the historical, cultural and organizational contexts of policies on police education. This would begin in the literature and include replies given by participants in the study in both face to face interviews and written questions.

### Research Focus

In essence four "questions" would be explored.

- \* What cultural and societal changes do you think will most influence policing over the next thirty or so years?
- \* How do you think policing will change over the next thirty or so years?
- \* If police officers choose to study at university in addition to their basic training in a police academy, what should be the objectives of that education? How should the officer be different as a result of this education?
- \* What should be the content of this education? What subjects should that education include?

### Steps in the Method

The interpretative nature of the research might mean that the understandings developed will not be complete or final but by an iterative approach and using a flexible method with participants from different groups the researcher would attempt to improve understanding of opinions and perceptions as currently held. How long these understandings and opinions would hold cannot be estimated. Minor changes could be expected to occur continuously, especially as the researcher asked questions and convenes meetings, but major changes would depend on events and debates in both the public and private environment of each person. The hermeneutic researcher would begin research with a flexible plan that reflected his or her pre-understandings and move through the hermeneutic circle alternately modifying and testing those pre-understandings. In this instance a number of cycles would be proposed.

- \* Using literature on the history of policing, literature on societal change and its anticipated effects on city life, literature on the changing mandate of police in North America, reports of symposiums on policing in the 21st century, and early drafts of provincial and federal investigations of visions of the future of policing the researcher would develop pre-understandings concerning the context of the question and the structure of policy making for policing in Canada.
- \* On the basis of these pre-understandings initial participants in the study would be identified. These would be the individuals who make policing policy together with some of those who intentionally or unintentionally influence them.
- \* The researchers pre-understandings would be modified in discussion with representatives of these initial participant groups and a preliminary, open ended survey instrument would be drafted.
- \* The open ended survey instrument would be administered to the Advance Group, a group consisting of several people from each of the initial participant groups. The results of this preliminary application would be used to develop an instrument capable of more quantitative analysis.
- \* The draft survey thus developed would then be piloted on Ph.D. students in criminology at Simon Fraser University and modified where necessary.
- \* The final instrument would be administered to all participants using a snowball approach in which each respondent is asked to recommend others until either the recommendations are all people who have been previously consulted or they are so far outside the original parameters set for participants as to make them not relevant here. Markings on questionnaires would ensure that each respondent could be identified in terms of his or her relationship to the policy making process. Each questionnaire would

have attached a slip allowing respondents to indicate whether they are willing to discuss the topic further and whether or not they would like to be invited to a conference at the conclusion of the research.

\* The summarized results would be discussed with some of those agreeing to further contact in either an interview or a group discussion. The purpose of this further contact would be to clarify any surprising results, explore significant differences between groups, flesh out quantitative results and hear any opinions that have developed or changed since the initial quantitative contact. In most cases the discussion would be in a one-to-one interview but if preliminary contact with some of the prospective respondents revealed an interest in short, small group discussions this could be a productive way to develop and gather opinion.

\* A one day conference would be convened and all those responding invited to share and discuss final results. The conference would have many objectives. One is the sharing of results with participants, an activity reflecting the hermeneutic notion of "participants in the search" rather than "research subjects". Another is a modification of the findings in the manner of the Delphi researchers (Allen, 1978; Helmer, 1970, 1983; Linstone, 1984)<sup>2</sup> so the quantitative summaries would be presented to the group for further consideration. A third is that conferees, being those who had already contributed and who had expressed interest in the process and the results, would be offered an opportunity to take the process one step further and from the summary actually develop a program of police education. In the

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<sup>2</sup> The Delphi Technique meets many of the characteristics of hermeneutic research being an iterative method in which the researcher is very much involved and the opinions of the participants change as a result of the participation. Whether one calls this research a modified form of Delphi Technique or the Delphi technique an application of hermeneutic principles depends largely on the pre-understandings of the speaker.

manner of hermeneutic research decisions about the conference would be left until the preliminary steps of the research have been completed.

\* A final report would be prepared, describing the process and the results in sufficient detail for the reader to interpret the interpretations presented.

A project as proposed, would apply the principles of hermeneutic research to a policy analysis on police education and should give results that go some way towards answering the question; "What are the expected outcomes of police education?". Hermeneutic research calls for the researcher to identify her pre-understandings at the beginning and throughout the research and this is the content of part three of this dissertation.

# **PART THREE PRE-UNDERSTANDINGS**

## **THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM**

**Our system of justice is too important to be left to  
any one section of society, lawyers or police.  
It should be the concern of all.  
Sir Robert Mark, 1973 Dimbleby Lecture.**

## CHAPTER 12

### The Organization of Policing in Canada

**However distasteful the function, most people today acknowledge the need for policing. Policing should not therefore be regarded as inimical per se to human or civil rights: it is the only way to protect those rights for every one.**

**W. Clifford, 1981**

#### The Development of Canadian Policing

The unique relationship between organizations in the Canadian policing system; and the policy-making and power structure within and between these organizations is a function of Canada's history as an English dominated federation, its proximity to the United States and its national values and principles.

In pre-feudal times, peace-keeping in England was a collective responsibility, and peace-keeping meant just that, keeping the peace in the local community. Acceptable behaviour was defined by local custom not national law (Critchley in Terry, 1985; McDougall, 1988). But policing reflects society, and as communities changed from small rural collections of people to complex urban centres, the nature of policing changed from unpaid watches to paid groups of officers, and the values they enforced from an emphasis on hierarchy, community and contract to an emphasis on private property, individualism and legal equality. Coincident with this move towards individualism was the development of the state as a power and an increase in its involvement in public policy-making (McDougall, 1988). However since Magna Carta the English have been wary of allowing the state absolute

power and the developing justice system was structured to ensure that this would not happen.

The transition to paid police was not easy or swift but by the end of 1829 Peel had had passed legislation to establish the London Metropolitan Police Force (Emsley, 1987). The following years saw more national legislation to authorize police groups in most parts of Britain. These were largely organized along the lines of Peel's metropolitan force, with the values of local responsibility and local control always maintained. The state assumed responsibility for "the pursuit and apprehension of suspects, the gathering of evidence, and the preparation of cases" (Beattie, 1986, p. 35) but the power to implement this remained local. Not only were officers recruited and trained locally but they were organized to make them independent of politicians and political influence. In order to keep them impartial, the officers were not permitted to vote. They wore low key uniforms so they would not be identified with political police like the hated French police, and the emphasis was on a group of individuals who were strong and powerful but restrained (Emsley, 1987; Miller, 1983). From the beginning public service, self-control and the importance of gaining the respect of the public were stressed. The force's official instructions emphasised that its principal object was the prevention of crime, and that prevention rather than the detection and punishment of offenders was the best way to attain its secondary goals; the protection of person and property and the preservation of the public tranquility.

Canada was settled by traders and migrants from many nations, principally France and England, but in 1759 the British conquered New France and from



that date English law was (more or less) supreme. The principles that shaped English policing also influenced policing in Canada. After an initial period of military rule (1759-1764), a system of English-style justices of the peace was established, and each parish was required to appoint officers to enforce the laws. The route from these early law enforcement officers to the present three-tiered system has been documented in detail by Philip C. Stenning (1981a) for the Law Reform Commission of Canada and will not be repeated here except in brief outline to show how early influences have shaped twentieth century Canadian policing.

Prior to 1867, Britain's North American settlements each had local watches or constables, appointed under separate ordinances, but policing gradually came to be organized along the lines of the London Metropolitan Police and reflected the same values. In 1867 the first of these settlements joined to form the Dominion of Canada and over the ensuing years, as other provinces were formed they too became part of the Dominion. The Police of Canada Act of 1868 authorized the establishment of a Dominion Police Force to be deployed throughout the new confederation but this force had very limited jurisdiction. The British North America Act had divided responsibility for justice between the provincial and federal legislatures (Stenning, 1981a). Basically it gave "the federal Parliament (Ottawa) the authority to legislate 'criminal law, including procedure in criminal matters', pursuant to subsection 91(27); however pursuant to subsection 92(14), the ten provinces are responsible for the 'administration of justice'" (Normandeau & Leighton, 1990, p. 7). The act of 1867 might have given the provinces authority to establish provincial police forces but all did not do so immediately. However

"by the early twentieth century, the status of the police was essentially defined by statute (and statutory interpretation) in every part of the country. (The result was) a wide array of statutory provisions in each provincial, as well as the federal, jurisdiction." (Stenning, 1981a, p. 57).

In the last 45 years a series of reform bills that began with the enactment of the Ontario Police Act of 1946 has gone some way toward rationalizing and clarifying the situation but Canada's current organization of diverse police groups reflects its English beginning and its staggered formation as a nation.

A second influence on Canadian policing has been the United States. At various times in the last century the threat of "an American takeover" or fears of the anticipated lawlessness of American prospectors and traders has prompted the formation or strengthening of Canadian police forces. This is believed to have been a significant factor in the development of the British Columbia Provincial Police in 1858 (Okanagan Division, RCMP Veteran's Association, 1983) and several times has stimulated changes in the deployment, or a strengthening of the North West Mounted Rifles (later known as the North West Mounted Police, the Royal North West Mounted Police and finally as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police).

The American influence has not always been negative. McDougall makes the case that local politics in Canada had its source in the town meeting as it developed in the United States (McDougall, 1988) and that this stimulated Canada's system of municipal government. The growth of local government was different in each nation however. America had been formed by revolution, and an unwillingness to allow a central government to dominate is still strong. North of the 49th parallel the Crown remained the symbol of state, and Parliament was supreme. Here the local government had power,

but it was power delegated from above rather than power that grew from the grass roots. "(A)n elite controlled the strings of power and they were pulled through the traditional political institutions" (McDougall, 1988, p. 53). For policing the result has been local forces, apparently locally controlled but with parameters established by a higher level of government and often with real power being lost to the local citizen group because higher levels of government supply much of the funding and human resources and because Canadian municipalities depend for their existence and power on provincial and federal legislation. An additional explanation for this difference in the level of local citizen control is that it is a reaction against the corruption experienced in policing in the States (Moore & Kelling, 1976). Successive attempts to reform American police between the early 1920s and the late 1960s (Johnson, 1985) were noted north of the border and taken into account as regulations and new acts to rationalize policing were gradually drawn up. This is especially evident in the area of discretionary power where Canadian policy-makers seem to have contrasted the restricted discretionary power of the highly regulated London Bobby to the relatively unchecked powers of the New York Cop, and veered towards the former (Miller, 1983).

Finally, the discussion of police education in chapters three and four above, makes it clear that reports of President's Commissions from America are read and considered by Canadian policy-makers, and that Canadian academics researching and writing on policing are not limited by political borders.

A third and powerful influence on policing in Canada have been the principles and values the nation espouses (Rein, 1976). These are not easily specified nor is their influence readily mapped but they are there. Ekstedt suggests that "in Canada social order ideologically precedes individual freedom" (1989, p. 27) and that this accounts, in part, for the Canadian emphasis on crime control rather than due process. He reminds us of Margaret Atwood's statement that "Canada must be the only country in the world where a policeman is used as a national symbol" (Ekstedt, 1989). Multiculturalism is an officially promoted Canadian value and is contrasted, by Canadians, to the "melting pot" philosophy they see in place south of the border. In recent months this has influenced police regulations, and has resulted in the development of special recruiting programs within immigrant groups, and in Quebec a special native police unit (Vancouver Sun, Saturday 12 January, 1991). These are but a few of the Canadian values that influence its policing, but they demonstrate that there are influences other than history and geography.

### The Structure of Canadian Policing

While the structure of policing in Canada might at first seem straightforward, as Stenning (1981a) indicates the arrangements for its organization are in fact fragmented and diversified. Further, "since the constitutional authority to define this status resides in at least eleven legislative bodies in this country, differences can be expected" (Stenning, 1981a, p. 3). A brief overview follows, but for a more detailed account the reader is referred to either the publication "Legal Status of the Police" prepared for the Law Reform Commission of Canada by Philip Stenning in 1981 or the Ministry of Supply and Services Canada publication, "Policing in Canada" (1986).

Two legal principles govern the provisions for policing in Canada. The first is that under federation all powers not specifically given to the provinces reside with the federal government. This is important both because some scholars express doubt about the apparently clear separation of powers under the British North America Act (see below) and because changes in society sometimes mean that institutions that have been satisfactory since federation need to be reexamined. The second guiding principle is the British North America Act that intended a clear sharing of responsibility between federal and provincial governments. To quote Stenning

under the provisions of the British North America Act 1867 ... responsibility for criminal justice was divided between the federal Parliament and provincial legislatures. While Parliament was given powers to enact criminal law and procedure (section 92, paragraph 27) the administration of justice, including criminal justice, was generally understood to have been given to the provinces (section 92, paragraph 14). One cannot at this point state it much more categorically than that, because even after 114 years of experience with this constitution, the exact nature of this division of responsibility, and its implications for policing, have not been the subject of authoritative and definitive rulings by the courts. (Stenning, 1981a, p. 40).

The confusion is illustrated by the fact that in spite of the generally accepted view that the BNA Act only entitled the federal government to enact law and gave the provinces power and responsibility for enforcement, within a year of its proclamation the Canadian Parliament had passed legislation to establish a Dominion Police Force. Its powers were and are limited, but since 1868 Canada has always had federal police of some kind.

In practice, Canada has three levels of policing, federal, provincial and municipal (or city)<sup>1</sup>, employing at the time of the 1986 census 57,385 (53,980 male; 3,405 female) police officers. Police at the federal level "have a mandate to enforce Canadian laws, prevent crime and maintain peace, order and security" (Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1986). They provide investigative and protective services to other federal departments and agencies and on request assist all Canadian law enforcement agencies by providing services related to specialized police training, forensic laboratories, identification and information. Provincial and municipal police are responsible for enforcing the criminal code, provincial statutes and municipal bylaws.

The organization of policing varies between provinces and municipalities. Federal policing is undertaken by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and costs for this are met by the federal government. Each province has at one time, raised its own police force but currently all but Quebec and Ontario<sup>2</sup> have entered into contracts with the R.C.M.P. to undertake the task of provincial policing. Municipalities account for about 60% of all police employed and the arrangements under which this happens vary. In 1867

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<sup>1</sup> There are in fact a number of other "police" groups. These include, at federal level, C.S.I.S., and officers with authority in matters of taxation, excise, customs, Canada Post, ports, railways, fisheries and wildlife. At provincial level, special officers include game wardens and officers with authority under the liquor laws. Some officers have authority under municipal bylaws such as those related to buildings and health. Finally "police" is often taken to include private police and security agents. None of these officers are considered to lie within the parameters of this research.

<sup>2</sup> Newfoundland and Labrador have a more complicated sharing arrangement with the R.C.M.P. as does New Brunswick (Statistics Canada, 1986) but the details are not important here.

the provincial governments were made responsible for policing the provinces but now

Provincial legislation in most of the provinces makes it mandatory for cities and towns to maintain their own police forces once that city or town reaches a certain population (this population limit can range from 1,500 to 5,000 depending on province). Municipalities usually are given the option of creating their own municipal department, contracting for the services of the RCMP, contracting for the services of the provincial police force (eg RCMP, OPP, QFP) or entering into an agreement with neighbouring municipalities for the operation of a regional police force. Municipalities whose population is less than that prescribed by the above-mentioned "limit" usually have the option of maintaining their own force or, as is normally the case, being policed by the provincial police force as "rural" policing. (Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1986, p. 8).

One advantage of the sharing arrangements was that the provincial or federal government met some, and often most of the cost, but this has changed as contracts expire and are renegotiated. Renewals are not automatic and there is some doubt as to whether the federal government will continue the subsidy, especially in the present financial climate.

### Power and Responsibility in Canadian Policing

"Policing is an institution with politically determined abilities and handicaps which greatly affect not only how the law is enforced but also the substantive, procedural and administrative shape which the criminal justice system assumes as a consequence" (Grant, 1980, p. 4). This indicates some of the confusion and difficulty surrounding the topic of political independence. Because of the delicate balance to be maintained between government support and political interference in justice, lines of responsibility must be carefully drawn in policing. But because of the diverse and complicated organization outlined above, lines of responsibility as they operate in fact are not always what one would expect from reading

the constitution. Responsibility for federal policing rests with the Ministry of the Solicitor General. The Secretariat of that ministry is

charged with the development and coordination of all Ministry programs and plays a fundamental role in the activities of the RCMP by documenting official positions on law enforcement, national security policy and operations and major policing issues. ... (However) (t)he RCMP Act, 1959 provides the legal basis upon which the force is organized. Authority and accountability for executing the requirements of the RCMP Act rest with the Commissioner, supported by the Deputy Commissioner and divisional commanding officers (Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1986).

Within these parameters the principle of political independence of the police is strong in Canada as evidenced in recent situations in which Federal Parliament attempted to control RCMP investigations of its members but failed to do so.

In the provinces a government minister, either the provincial attorney general, the minister of justice or the solicitor general, is legally responsible for all provincial and municipal policing, including where this is contracted out to the RCMP. Usually a division of the ministry, such as a police services branch, is the administrative arm of this ministry, and policy and programs analysts within that division assume responsibility for developing specific programs. The situation is complex however if the policing is contracted out to the RCMP, as the provincial minister has responsibility for policing but the RCMP is answerable to a federal minister. "The contracts do not, however, expressly address this point and the current unsettled situation has recently been criticized in a Royal Commission Report which has suggested that, in the future, such contracts should 'clearly set out that the R.C.M.P. commander is responsible to the Attorney-General of the Province'" (Grant, 1980, p. 17). As well as these direct influences, federal policies have a very



powerful indirect influence through the management of resources and training (Leighton & Assocs, 1988). In areas where the police are independent of the RCMP, more responsibility belongs with the provincial ministry. Municipal police were originally controlled by municipal councils, but in the 1970s all provinces<sup>3</sup> enacted new police acts requiring the establishment of municipal boards. This reduced the likelihood of political influence on municipal police. The acts established provincial police commissions, or equivalent bodies to oversee some aspects of policing on behalf of the government and further protect the police from political influence. Provincial acts differ in detail but generally police commissions have responsibilities for crime prevention, police-community relations, standards, complaints, disciplinary appeals, and statistical records. Municipal police boards oversee police personnel, police community-relations, labour relations and budget preparations (B.C. Police Act, 1988; Leighton & Assocs, 1988; McGrath & Mitchell, 1981; Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1986; Ministry Organization Chart, Solicitor General or B.C., 1988; Stenning, 1981a, 1981b).

As discussed above, lines of responsibility are difficult to determine and then do not necessarily give an accurate picture of power relationships. Philip Stenning (1981a) has expressed the view that the real power in policing at both provincial and municipal levels is increasingly the provincial rather than the municipal government.

“(a)lthough much of the responsibility for policing has been left in local hands ... today’s Police Acts have significantly asserted

<sup>3</sup> In Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba this was actually effected through a number of pieces of legislation.

provincial control over the provision and regulation of local policing services. ... Firstly, it has been manifested through the enactment of an increasing number of provincial regulatory provisions that impose uniform standards on local police forces with respect to such matters as conditions of service, rank structures, disciplinary codes and procedures, equipment standards, recruitment and promotion qualifications, procedures for dealing with public complaints against the police, and collective bargaining and arbitration procedures, to name but a few.

Secondly provincial control over municipal policing is increasingly asserted by a provincial veto over the creation of new municipal police forces and the implementation of provincial policies of amalgamation, regionalization and absorption of smaller forces.

The third, and perhaps most important, manifestation of increased provincial control over municipal policing was the creation of provincial police commissions having substantial supervisory, advisory, monitoring, regulatory, investigative and quasi-adjudicative powers. ... A fourth ... has been ... accomplished by introducing new requirements for the establishment of local boards of commissioners of police or municipal police commissions. ... A fifth manifestation of growing provincial influence over municipal police has not been accomplished through the reform of police legislation, but through the upgrading and modernization of the prosecutorial system in many provinces. In recent years, provincial Attorneys General, through their crown attorneys and crown prosecutors, have begun to assert more control over the laying of charges and the conduct of prosecutions.

Stenning argues that the most powerful influence exerted by the provinces is the grant system since he believes that here, as elsewhere "dollars and cents speak loud and clear" (Stenning, 1981a, pp. 58-60).

### Policy Making in Canadian Policing

The formal lines of power and responsibility in policy making for Canadian police have been outlined above, but it is evident that this is only part of the picture. Policymakers are influenced by many factors not apparent in such a formal mapping. As well, the same political and legal climate seems to be

interpreted very differently by different municipalities and different chiefs. The Canadian Police College initiated an exploratory study to investigate the nature of the relationship between the municipal police chiefs and their governing authorities. They found major differences between police forces in the same province with supposedly the same governing structure but even bigger differences between forces of the same type in different provinces and between independent and RCMP contracted municipal groups (Hann, McGinnis, Stenning & Farson, 1985). In this section an attempt will be made to describe all those influences, formal and informal that might affect a final policy or decision relating to policing in an hypothetical independent municipal police force. It is important that the reader recognize that the influences might differ from one municipality to another and will certainly be different in municipalities policed by the R.C.M.P. However this exercise is intended as a preliminary account of the pre-understandings of the researcher about to enter into an hermeneutic analysis such as the one discussed above, an hermeneutic analysis of police education policy.

At the centre of the policy-making map is the **chief constable**. He<sup>4</sup> can set the education level of his officers and recruits, usually acting on the recommendations of the provincial police commission, by issuing orders for establishing minimum entry requirements for recruits. The orders would most likely be to the effect that promotion beyond a certain level will

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<sup>4</sup> Although the decision has been made to alternate the masculine and feminine pronouns throughout this dissertation, the masculine pronoun will be used in this case since there are, as yet, no female chief constables in Canada.

depend on education<sup>5</sup>. Alternatively he might announce that encouragement of a financial type will be provided for any officer choosing to study at university.

The chief is influenced by a number of groups and individuals in both formal and informal relationship to him. The facts of these groups and individuals and their relationship to the chief and to the decision in hand will be important, but at least as important will be the chief's perceptions of the relationship of these groups to him and his force.

In his policy making the chief is **directly and formally influenced** by

- senior officers in his police department. Some of these share formal responsibility but more importantly they act as informants and advisors.
- his police board which, in consultation with the chief is responsible for setting annual priorities, goals and objectives, and which also controls budget and oversees personnel matters. While the police board has formal power in these areas, in practice matters are usually settled after discussion and on the advice of the chief.
- the municipal council which is the main funding body for a municipal police force and which also has influence via the mayor who chairs the police board
- the provincial police commission, to which is delegated, by the provincial minister, responsibility for policing in the province under the terms of the Police Act. Standards of policing are considered the responsibility of the

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<sup>5</sup> As is currently the case in some Australian Police Forces.

provincial police commission and are partly enforced through the local police training academy.

- that part of the provincial minister's department responsible for policy and programs. This is often known by a title such as "Police Services" and has advisory rather than regulatory power, although as Stenning outlined above, provinces are exerting increased power over provincial police groups (Stenning, 1981a).

- the police associations and unions which seek to protect what they see as the interests of their members.

- Canada's legal system, specifically acts of the Parliament, the Charter of Rights and the higher courts of the land which interpret them. By its judgements and interpretations the legal system governs the lives of all Canadians and all Canadian institutions, and in this the police are no exception.

**Less directly, but still influential** are

- the history of the problem or issue at hand.

- the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada. This ministry might influence by establishing investigations and projects which report publicly (Normandeau & Leighton, 1990a, 1990b), providing extra funding for particular projects, preparing policy analyses, proposing changes to the criminal code to the Parliament, or making public announcements that change the general political climate.

- other parts of the criminal justice system. Again the real influence of these is not their formal power but the power they hold through routine interactions. For example, if the courts repeatedly reject prosecutions

recommended by the police, or criticize the actions of arresting officers, then they can be influential in changing policing and police preparation.

**Indirect, but still important** are the effects of

- bureaucrats in the police organization and in all the organizations which have any relationship to the police department and the police chief.
- academics, especially those who relate to the issue at hand. For instance on policy for police education, academics in schools of criminology, justice education and police studies, to name a few, influence by their positions on police advisory bodies, by their public pronouncements, by their education of police officers and through their informal relationships with police.
- citizens, especially those involved in citizens action groups such as civil liberties groups, interest groups like those representing businesses, the elderly or migrant groups and of course those who are the "customers" of the police service, criminals.
- the media, in its many forms, which has as its principal task the sharing of information but whose members can "make or kill" an issue.

This is a generalized view and the details will certainly be different in every municipality and situation but it represents an overview of the pre-understanding with which an hermeneutic policy analyst might begin her investigation.

## CHAPTER 13

### The Mandate of Modern Policing

**The conservation (or manitenaunce) of the peace, standeth in three things, that is to saye, first in foreseeing that nothin be done that tendeth, either directlye, or by meanes, to the breach of the peace: secondly, in quieting or pacifying those that are occupied in the breach of the peace: & thirdly in punishing such as have alreadie broken the peace. The Duties of Constables, Borsholders, Tithingmen, and such other Low Ministers of the Peace.**

**Lambard, 1583.**

#### The Mandate of Early English Peace-keepers

Plans for the university education of police officers must take into account the function or mandate of police, and because of the process of police policymaking in Canada it is important that not only the current mandate but also police leaders' perceptions of what the mandate might become over the next thirty<sup>1</sup> or so years must be considered. This chapter will examine the police mandate in Canada from its early days to the present and the next two will look at predictions of future mandates as made now, by current police leaders. Both will attempt to demonstrate the relationship between the mandate of police and the economic, political and social organization of the society in which they function.

Writers on the mandate of the Canadian police might begin by demonstrating this relationship in English history because England has a longer written history than Canada and because policing in England

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<sup>1</sup> The period, thirty years was chosen because a police chief might reckon that officers attending university in the early stages of their career could have thirty or so years of policing ahead of them.

influenced policing in Canada. Two classic Canadian works on this theme are "Policing: The Evolution of a Mandate", a paper prepared for the Canadian Police College by Allan K. McDougall of the University of Western Ontario; and "Community Based Policing: Which Police? Which Community?", an address made to the 1990 Police Educators' Conference Board of Canada by Ron Stansfield of Humber College in Ontario; but the matter has been considered important for some time, as evidenced by a conference "The Police Function in our Changing Society" sponsored by the Solicitor General of Canada as long ago as 1971 (Solicitor General Canada, 1971).

Stansfield (1990) begins by describing the "three great 'waves' of technological development" said to have shaped social evolution (Toffler, 1971, 1980; Naisbitt, 1984); the agricultural revolution, the industrial revolution and the information revolution. Pre-agricultural society was organized into small, mobile family groups which survived by hunting and gathering. Stansfield believes it needed no formal system of control because of its mobile nature and low level of property ownership. This assumption is widely held, but not necessarily valid. In some groups of Australian Aboriginal people and to a lesser extent North American Native people we still see a form of hunter-gatherer existence and in both cases we know of strict rules or laws, formal sanctions and individuals with responsibility for enforcing them. To assume that a low level of personal ownership means a low level of "crime" demonstrates a narrow concept of crime and an idealistic vision of humanity. What we do know about the progenitors of both groups and this applies to the ancient English as well, is that acceptable behaviour was behaviour that was in the interest of the



group rather than the individual, and that the individual(s) designated on behalf of the group to enforce that behaviour, was usually selected on the basis of relationship to the offender and the offended, and not as an individual of particular talent or skills to assume the responsibility over the long term.

Gradually some of the hunter-gatherers began to herd animals and cultivate the land, and society underwent what is frequently described as the agrarian revolution. Groups settled in one place and formed farming communities, small by modern standards but larger than the mobile hunter-gatherer groups. Such communities needed a more formalized system for the enforcement of acceptable behaviour and over the thousands of years of its agricultural economy, the land we now call England had many. Because the communities were isolated for much of this time arrangements were quite local until shifts to a feudal structure and from that to a single monarchy stimulated a more uniform system for keeping "the King's peace". The best references on "policing" in this period are Critchley (1985) and McDougall (1988). Beattie (1986) and Emsley (1987) provide excellent accounts of the transition from this stage to the next. One principle was evident throughout the entire period, the responsibility for keeping the peace lay with all fit adult males. All were expected to prevent crime and if it occurred, to apprehend the offender and present him/her for trial to whatever authority was appropriate at the time.

Gradually some of the settlements became larger and arrangements needed to be formalized. The 1285 Statute of Winchester, regulated three arrangements that had become widespread, the system of watches and

wards, the hue and cry and the assize of arms. The watches were groups of community members who watched the community between sunset and sunrise, working on some form of roster; the hue and cry made it compulsory for the whole population to join in the chase of a suspect and the assizes were regular inspections to determine whether every adult male (15-60) kept the means (bows and arrows, swords etc) to participate in these responsibilities (Critchley, 1985). The Justices of The Peace Act established justices of the peace, usually the lord of the manor or his steward, to adjudicate in matters of right and wrong. Constables were sometimes appointed to assist the J.P. but not to police in a modern sense. The enforcement of acceptable behaviour or peacekeeping remained the responsibility of the entire community and not of a single paid official, and decisions about what behaviours were acceptable were community decisions based on local morals and customs. If a person was wronged it was up to that person or his family to take the offender to "court" and "prosecute", often at great personal inconvenience and financial cost (Beattie, 1986; Clifford, 1982).

The system of watches was in place for a considerable time but it was onerous for community members who were not paid for their time away from their jobs. The appointment of parish constable was similar. It was never a high status position and it brought few rewards but required a lot of time. Some of the more wealthy community members would pay others to assume their responsibility and the first tentative shift towards public policing began.

Throughout this entire period a system prevailed in which social organization was based on hierarchy, community and contract. Hierarchy because the unequal distribution of power and material goods that developed, combined with the tradition of judging an individual by the standards of his community or social group rather than a common standard, resulted in very unequal treatment of offenders. Community because the standards against which the individual was judged were those of the community and the agent of enforcement was the community itself. Contract because the standards of acceptable behaviour were those agreed to in an informal social contract and not formalized by government or legislation.

The transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy was a slow one and was in its final stages accompanied by such high levels of social disorder that it stimulated the development of what we now know as modern police. The growth of trade, both internal and international, resulted in some communities increasing significantly in size and complexity. Coincident with this, many of the powerful landholders annexed the common land to form large estates, and rural families no longer able to support themselves crowded into the larger centres to join others attracted to the town in anticipation of jobs in the new mills and factories. In the towns those who found work were away from their homes for long periods without the assurance of an extended family to defend it. Those who could find no work and who now no longer had even small plots of land had difficulty providing even a subsistence existence for their families and had to resort to stealing to keep alive. Further the greater accumulations of people, the greater mobility of merchants and thieves alike together with the increase in trade and personal property provided greater opportunity for crime. The old

system of "law enforcement" was already weakened and the social changes accelerated this. It had been breaking down because of the unwillingness of community members to act as watchmen or constable and because of the corruption of the justices who saw advantage in being on the side of the wealthy rather than "everyman". But a new system of policing was not possible until the new state had established itself and the social disruption continued for some time. With the transition from an agricultural to an industrial society the emphasis on hierarchy, community and contract was giving way to new values of private property, individualism and legal equality, and the state was developing as a power in the lives of the people (McDougall, 1988). In theory these new values applied universally, this was the beginning of the period of legal equality, but this was not always the reality. For instance the emphasis on the protection of private property was only appropriate to those who had some, and equality before the law depended on the (unequal) means one had to present ones case to the authority.

The clustering of large numbers of people in the new cities, the discontinuance of the community as regulator and the rising levels of displacement and unemployment resulted in some increase in the actual levels of public disorder but a much greater increase in the public's perception of crime and chaos. Magistrates and reformers made public presentations and published papers on their perceptions of the causes and the cures. Most proposed radical changes, for instance Magistrate Fielding wrote that a system where all responsibility for the apprehension and prosecution of the offender rested with the victim failed to deter the criminal. For almost a century magistrates and politicians had tried to

establish small local groups of enforcement officers but where they had succeeded these had dubious authority and seldom lasted. Coincident with these attempts was a gradual stabilizing of the new order and finally the magistrates and politicians were able to use the Parliament to change the system of justice to reflect this new society. Peel's new metropolitan police were formed in 1829 and this marked the real beginning of "public policing". In Stansfield's words

The defining characteristics of public policing are that it is a centralized, formalized, full-time activity performed by mercenaries employed by the state who are organized in a para-military hierarchy. In a phrase, public policing is not a part of the community it is apart from the community. (Stansfield, 1990, p. 114).

In this act the state assumed new responsibility and the criminal justice system changed to reflect changes in the structure and values of society.

"The police, as defined in their original mandate, were to preserve the peace in a period of insecurity" (McDougall, 1988, p. 44). But the period of insecurity was almost over. The politicians who envisioned the modern police did so as part of a whole new order. They saw the beginning of a time when the individual was considered significant and rational if allowed to be or at least if guided by the state. It was to be a free-enterprise state with little interference in what was expected to be a self-regulating economy. Children and the destitute were to be protected, and a system of social service was established to do this, but all others were to be left alone to follow their self-interest. The individual left unhindered could produce and be rewarded by the market and it was the responsibility of the police to protect the rights of the individual to do this and to safeguard private property so as to allow competition and the free play of market forces. The

following quote from "Instructions and Police Orders for 1829-1830" illustrates the emphasis on prevention and protection that were the basis of Peel's philosophy

It should be understood at the outset that the principal object to be attained is the prevention of crime. To this end every effort of the Police is to be directed. The security of person and property, the preservation of the public tranquility, and all other objects of a police establishment will thus be better effected than by the detection and punishment of the offender, after he has succeeded in committing the crime. ... (The constable) must be particularly cautious not to interfere idly or unnecessarily ... (Lyman, 1964).

English society slowly adjusted to its new industrial and capitalistic bases and apart from wars, isolated disturbances like the national strike, and an occasional riot, was stable for several centuries. Around the middle of the twentieth century it seemed that public disorder was increasing in England again. Civil disobedience became more widespread and aggressive. Both public and domestic violence appeared to increase and the seventies saw localized street riots again. Sporting events frequently were the stimulus for uncontrollable mob behaviour resulting sometimes in loss of life and extensive property damage. The media began to speak of "widespread and rampant crime" and politicians made "a war on crime" part of their electoral platforms. Stansfield, Toffler and Naisbitt suggest that this is evidence of the third wave, the information technology revolution, and that public disorder will increase and dominate until a new form of social organization evolves.

This is a rather too neat an explanation. It fits the theory of changes in the means of production, but it doesn't allow for other significant changes that have and are occurring and that will be influential. In the 1960s and early

1970s England by virtue of its history as a colonial power, had huge and rapid immigration from its old colonies. These people migrated because of the industrial revolution in their own countries and because the same forces as those in 18th century England were making life there untenable. They did not migrate because of an information revolution. In England they anticipated economic opportunity but they found few jobs, poor accommodation and a way of life they could not achieve without a regular income. Public disturbance and increased crime are predictable outcomes. Another factor contributing to change in England is the aging of the population. Fewer babies are being born and thanks to modern medicine more people are living longer. As will be discussed in the next chapters this will have a significant effect on the mandate of policing in the twenty-first century, as will the breakdown of the nuclear family, conflict between world religions and the pollution of the planet. All are factors in social change and growing public unrest but they are only obliquely related to information technology. However, in spite of these criticisms of the extrapolation of their model, the futurists have made a good case for their claim that in England the mandate of policing has shifted with the economic and social environment. The current unrest and its effects on policing will be examined in the following chapters.

### The Evolving Mandate of Canadian Police

These shifts in the organization of English society and the corresponding shifts in the mandate of policing have their parallels in Canada. The first police in Canada, from the limited accounts available, were either local police with minor responsibilities like the early police in Quebec whose only duty "was to watch for fires and to encourage the citizens to sleep in peace

and to entrust their safety to them" (Lamontagne in Stenning, 1981, p. 35); military men like those who policed New France after the British conquest; or officers like the justices of the peace and constables established under government ordinance in many of the settlements (Okanagan Division, RCMP Veterans Association, 1983; Stenning, 1981). On the whole their mandate seems to have been a public service one in smaller communities and law enforcement in larger centres.

Of all of these arrangements the two that seem to have been most common are the early, impromptu arrangements which were not all that different from arrangements in small communities in agricultural England and the "transplanted" English system of justices of the peace and constables, a system that left the emphasis on the community although in Canada there seems always to have been a central authority representing the crown.

On the federation of the first provinces, there was a need for more unified policing, or at least for a more common mandate for local policing. Under federation, power to administer the law was given to the separate provinces but in spite of this a Dominion Police Force was established within 3 years. Although this force was modelled on English policing, scholars suggest that it was different because without England's long history of independent communities and independent "policing", Canadians did not demand local control. The result was centrally administered Dominion Force and a system in which justices and constables were chosen and regulated by the central government (Stenning, 1981a). McDougall (1988) suggests that in the matter of local control of policing, America was the most determined, then England and least of all Canada. When the provinces set up their own police these



tended to be modelled on the Dominion Police (and hence on the London Metropolitan Police) with either centrally appointed justices arranging the appointment of local constables or, as McDougall terms it, "ruler appointed police".

But what was the role, the mandate of these early police? What was their formal function and what were their accepted tasks? There seems to be a need for a scholar to research this as no definitive description is readily available. There are accounts like those of Stenning and McDougall that describe the establishment of these police but these often say as much about the history of policing in England as Canada, and the Canadian references are to structure rather than mandate. The best source of information are the (often locally prepared) individual histories of each force. Recently the Okanagan division of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Veterans' Association prepared such an history for the B. C. Provincial Police and this gives an indication of what might have been the mandates or roles for other Canadian forces. The B.C. provincial force was formed in 1858 to replace the ad hoc and until then adequate arrangements of each of the small settlements that formed the colony. The declared reason for its formation was the discovery of gold and the rush of prospectors and miners to the area, and the first orders to the Chief Inspector were "You will carry out the general policing of the district, taking special care that drinking and gambling are as much as possible put down." Thus the force was, supposedly, formed to keep the peace. Historians suggest that another motive might have been to safeguard the province to the crown in the light of perceptions of "covetous glances" from the south. Whatever the initial explicit and implicit mandates of this group, it wasn't long before they

undertook other duties that seemed to focus on the management of the community as much as on enforcing its laws. This early group was soon collecting miners' licence fees and "acting as agents for a lengthy list of government departments, collecting trade licences, being Assistant Fire Marshals, and so forth, and even in later years officiating as censors of motion pictures!" (Okanagan Division, RCMP Veterans' Association, 1983, p. 5).

### The Current Mandate of Canadian Police

So what is the mandate of Canadian police today? Under what "job description" can society justify asking an officer to spend the day handling the close and critical questioning of a Queen's Counsel and the night handling, among others, bums and schizophrenics on skid row? All Canadian police work under the authority of an act such as the British Columbia Police Act of June 1988 which states that

... the municipal police force, under the chief constable's direction, shall perform the duties and functions respecting the preservation of peace, the prevention of crime and offenses against the law, and the administration of justice assigned to it or generally to peace officers by the chief constable, under the regulations or under any act.

While this is the official view it does not encompass all police activities. It does not include the police running soup kitchens as they have done, or working with youth, searching for lost children, dealing with the mentally ill, attending personal and national crises or managing crowds at hockey matches as they currently do. Gerry Borbridge, Chief of Police in Calgary tried to remedy this when he told a police educators' conference "In order

to be effective, police officers are expected to be part crime buster, part social worker, and part community worker" (Borbridge, 1990).

A little of this diversity is evident in the "Statement of Philosophy" put forward in a discussion document by the British Columbia Police Commission and the British Columbia Association of Chiefs of Police in January 1990.

Although the role of the police in a democracy is a subject constantly debated, a defined theoretical position is essential in order to guide the daily operational issues facing police departments. Consequently, the guiding philosophy for this document is stated in the following declaration of principles.

1. Although legislation and the common law define the authority of the police, the ability of the police to perform their duties is greatly dependent on public approval, support, and willing cooperation.
2. The police must strive to maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, police officers being only members of the public who are specially authorized to perform policing duties on behalf of all members of the public.
3. The police must seek and preserve public favour, not only by catering to public opinion, but by exercising impartial service to the law and by providing their services to all members of the public without regard to race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, belief, or social standing.
4. The general aims of the police include keeping the peace, maintaining order, enforcing the law, and providing emergency services; and the general goals of the police include:
  - a) protecting the fundamental rights and freedoms of all persons as guaranteed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms;
  - b) investigating unlawful activity in order to identify and process offenders according to law;
  - c) investigating injuries and deaths and other matters of community concern;
  - d) preventing and controlling activity recognized as a threat to life or property;
  - e) aiding anyone who is in danger of physical harm due to criminal behaviour or anyone who is in immediate need of physical care;
  - f) attempting to resolve conflict between persons or groups

- where a breach of the peace or other similar unlawful activity is likely to threaten to occur;
- g) facilitating the movement of people or vehicular traffic;
- h) assisting victims and enhancing their role in the criminal justice process; and
- i) fostering a general sense of community peace and security.

These are the official views and the views of practitioners, but academics and outsiders sometimes offer alternative perspectives. In 1973, a Task Force on Policing in Ontario suggested that "Modernization of policing, emphasizing various kinds of technological innovation, has shifted the role of policing from that of peace officer to that of law officer" (McDougall, 1988, p. 1). Many police agree. Inspector Chris Braiden of Edmonton urges police to reverse the trend and return to their original mandate as peace officers<sup>2</sup> (Braiden, 1990).

There are a number of difficulties with an overemphasis on the crime fighting role of police (Manning, 1982). Because there is an attitude among police that that is what the public expects they feel forced to avoid all activity that cannot be rationalized on crime stopping grounds. The same attitude pushes them to use application of the criminal law as their only method when others, for instance mediation, might be more appropriate. Finally as Manning (1982) reminds us it is an impossible task and "the notion that the police must, or even can, eradicate crime must be eschewed" (P. 68).

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<sup>2</sup> it is because of this debate that the term "police" rather than "law enforcement officer" is used throughout this dissertation.

Some academics try to discover the mandate of police by analysing how they spend their time. Webster (1983) followed patrolmen over a 54 week period, counting events and logging time. He found that they spent

2.96%	on	Crimes against people
14.82%	on	Crimes against property
9.20%	on	Traffic
9.10%	on	Being "on-view"
13.70%	on	Social service
50.19%	on	Administration

These figures must be interpreted carefully. For instance a large part of the "crimes against property category would have been spent just driving around so although it was property crime focussed it tends to inflate that figure. Even so these figures confirm the conclusions of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Greacen, 1980, p. 8) and are not dissimilar from those in other studies; at least half an officer's time goes on paperwork and as much on social service as on any crime area.

Kilcup shapes his discussion around the two central themes, public service and enforcement of the law using force if necessary (Kilcup, 1982, p. 5) and Grant, in a policy paper he prepared for the Law Reform Commission of Canada, criticized police who claim that law enforcement is their real mandate.

(T)he police have acquired a number of roles in society beyond crime prevention, peace keeping and law enforcement functions. In particular they have entered upon a significant general service, referral and helping role in society. Further, many other bodies, in addition to the public police, provide crime prevention and law enforcement services, e.g., statutory bodies, regulatory agencies, certain government departments and the private security industry all make various contributions to the concept of policing in its wide sense. (Grant, 1980, p. 3).

It seems that many academics stress both the law enforcement and the social service role of police. Nordbolt and Straver suggest

The function of the police implies making a contribution to society (which has to be integrated with other administrative and judicial functions) in the form of social control which not only contributes to the protection of social achievements but also creates the conditions for social development and renewal aimed at achieving the essential values of our democracy. The implications of this addition to the traditional police mandate of the maintenance of law and order and law enforcement are closer linkages to the community, a more open management style, and the continual redefinition of police objectives so that they reflect social change. (McDougall, 1988, p. 2).

Other academics are more reflective, attempting to look beyond what they see to discover principles or unresolvable contradictions. McDougall reviewed the current mandate of police and decided that they face an impossible choice

As generalists, in close contact with communities, they are the first social service to encounter social problems. As impartial enforcers of the law, who are also members of society, to assume a significant role in the prescription of social solutions would challenge their legal independence; not to, would ignore their responsibility for the preservation of the peace. McDougall, 1988, p. 59.

Finally he suggests a working compromise

The mandate of the police in our society can best be summarized as maintaining order by acting as agents of state and representatives of community in our pluralistic society. ... As agents of the state, the law enforcement model draws attention to, and subsequently (demands) surveillance of the coercive powers of the state. On the other hand, the police as representatives of community must reflect community expectations if they wish local support. In reflecting this balance, as Marenin commented, 'the police constrain society yet they also constrain the state. (McDougall, 1988, pp. 9, 10).

But how real are the expectations of police? Clifford, 1982) considers them unreal and Egon Bittner, in an exploration of the functions of police in

modern society, reasons that it asks of its police two irreconcilable approaches; that they, in the fashion of the soldier use legitimate force against "enemies" of society, following orders without question or reason, and that they are involved in the exercise of a public trust that requires prudence and considered judgement and where they will be held personally responsible for their decisions and actions (Bittner, 1983).

In the final analysis, the mandate of the Canadian police is not set down for all to see. It cannot be read in the acts and regulations that govern the police. Mandates exist in the minds of police practitioners, in the words of the media and academics and in the minds of all members of the public, but these are difficult to know. The mandate that concerns us here, the one that has and will continue to influence those who are making policy on police education, is the one that exists in the minds of the policy makers and of all who would influence them, and an attempt to discover this is the focus of the next chapters and of the research that follows.

## CHAPTER 14

### The Future and Policing; World Trends

**So the need for regular trading between controls to maintain freedom and freedoms jeopardised by controls, is the heart of democracy. The give and take to obtain optimal liberty is a conflict of compromises. The political struggle no less than the intellectual conflict could probably be traced to pre-history and it will no doubt accompany us into the 21st century.**

**W. Clifford, 1981**

Those who make policy decisions for policing will be influenced by their perceptions of changes predicted for society. These predictions are not important in this research except in so far as they impinge on the thinking of police policymakers. The changes in society which might influence policing can be viewed from two distinct perspectives. The first, proposed by popular futurists, postulates that the whole of western society is on the threshold of a massive and fundamental change at least equal in significance to the agrarian and industrial revolutions, and with the potential to create major disturbances that will not settle until a completely different form of society has evolved (Toffler, 1980; Naisbitt, 1982; Stansfield, 1990). The other sees Canadian society as experiencing a number of separate but related changes because of its own unique situation. These changes are expected to influence the perceptions of those who make police policy decisions and hence will influence policing in the twenty-first century (Loree, 1989; Normandeau & Leighton, 1990a, 1990b). This chapter will explore the first perspective briefly, and then look at several major American attempts to identify those changes which will concern police. The next will look at



several Canadian projects which endeavour to predict those changes likely to influence policing.

### Waves of Change

The writings on the changing mandate of police by the Canadian Ron Stansfield were considered in the previous chapter. Because Stansfield presents papers at police conferences his work is particularly likely to influence the thinking of those who make decisions on policing and particularly on the education to prepare the police for the future. He discussed three waves of change, the agrarian, industrial and information revolutions. Stansfield asserts that the first two were catalysts for enormous social reorganization and in each case resulted in a quite different form of "policing" to meet the needs of the new social organization. The third wave, the information revolution, is supposed to have begun in the 1950s and to be already resulting in a society for which the current system of policing is quite inadequate. Stansfield offers as evidence the new private policing (Stansfield, 1990) although, as Clifford points out, private policing is not new. It was used by barons and feudal lords in England a thousand years ago (Clifford, 1982). Beyond offering it as an explanation for an increase in private security, Stansfield does not suggest what effect the information revolution will have on policing. He describes the workers in the new society as being more portable, meaning they will not be bound to the factory or plot of land. This fits with a comment on C.B.C. Morning Program of Wednesday 23 January 1991 indicating that more Canadians than ever before are working from their homes. Stansfield postulates that this portability might make the worker (and hence her family) more nomadic (his word), changing jobs often and moving to locations considered to offer a

better way of life. The information worker will not need the same physical characteristics as the industrial worker so more women and members of otherwise less employable minority groups might be employed.

The implication in Stansfield's writing is that the workforce will look different, but an equally likely possibility is that the police force will look different. If its members are selected for qualities other than physical size and strength they might perform differently, achieving their ends by means other than the physical. Stansfield's consideration of the effects of the information revolution does not go beyond this point. He merely suggests that the change has begun and policymakers had best be aware.

John Naisbitt (1982), one of the futurists who began the discussion on waves of change, goes much further, although he is not at all concerned with policing. Naisbitt writes for the popular press and businesses in America and his latest book is on most best-seller shelves, so his views are likely to have been seen by many police decisionmakers. He talks of ten new directions or megatrends of which the information revolution is only one. Naisbitt does not base his writings on research of a traditional nature but reflects on his experiences in western business and the reports of several (including his own) which exist to "daily monitor events in every corner of this (American?) society. Of Naisbitt's ten trends, only those which the author considers might be relevant to police policymakers will be discussed here.

One trend is the change from an industrial to an information society similar to that discussed by Stansfield. Naisbitt talks of information becoming a

commodity to be bought and sold, and hence misused or stolen. Just as material property represents wealth and power in an industrial society, so knowledge<sup>1</sup> will represent strength and power in the new world. Naisbitt theorizes that any new technology is accepted and used in three stages and that this is the way the information revolution is occurring. At first it is used along the lines of least resistance, in an application that might seem trivial, for instance computers were introduced in children's games. It is then used to better perform traditional tasks, as when computers are used as better typewriters. Finally it is used innovatively, to achieve totally new ends, inconceivable before the development of the technology. Computer technology is only now at this stage. Not only will change occur but Naisbitt claims it will occur very rapidly and with major social upheaval. As evidence, he contrasts the length of the hunter-gatherer period to that of the agrarian and the industrial periods, and the relative ease of the hunter-gatherer/agrarian transition to the violent upheavals of the shift from the agrarian to the industrial society.

Another of Naisbitt's trends is already being discussed by some police policy-makers. He talks of a change from a national to a global economy and a shift towards global interdependence. The last five years has seen a move towards international economic blocs and a consideration of more than just free trade between bordering countries. Some nations are even discussing common currencies and moving towards more common legal systems, and police policymakers are preparing for higher levels of international crime and talking of systems of world law (Lorre, 1989; Lyons,

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<sup>1</sup> By knowledge is meant not just information but the technology for discovering and using that information.

Burton & Sonnichsen, 1989). But the reader is urged to be wary of anticipating too great a unification in areas other than business. Anything more doesn't easily accommodate the vehement language debates of modern Canada, the nationalism of the Baltic states after so many years of "integration" or the fierce religious wars that have marked modern civilization. Even if the shift is limited to the economic and legal spheres however, it will have repercussions for police and should form part of their preparation for the future.

Naisbitt predicts a shift from centralization to decentralization, a move from national government to local, from large centralized businesses to small local centres; but he presents this in specific context, that of the government and businesses of the United States. He talks of power moving from Washington DC to the state capitals and of regionalization of businesses as top heavy centralized institutions die. This trend does not fit with the discussed regionalization of police in Canada or with talk of global economies and multinational enterprises. Police policy-makers should consider the possibility and ramifications of such a change for themselves and their "client groups" but be wary of blanket application of an idea that without context might be predicting both A and NOT A.

In Naisbitt's view, individuals will change from expecting institutional solutions to their problems and rely more on self help solutions. This might well be another of his "apple pie and motherhood" dreams. Romantics have long implied that civilization's problems began when people stopped growing their own food, teaching their own children, looking after their own ill and aged and disciplining fellow community members. The sixties

revolution was meant to be a reaction against modern development and Naisbitt predicts another. The facts are that there are now more hospitals, day-cares, restaurants and police rather than less, and moves to involve yet more women in the workforce would indicate that these institutions will be well used. If technology continues to shape our food growing, our medicine, our law enforcement then these will be areas of even more specialization. On the other hand there has been a "worldwide" move towards integration, a policy under which special education classes are closed and the special needs children are integrated into the ordinary classroom, and mental institutions are closed and the inmates "integrated" into society, so perhaps Naisbitt's idea should not be entirely discounted. One is tempted to use it as a verification of community policing, one of the most frequently discussed "innovations" in modern policing, but is community policing a new self help method replacing an old institutionalized one or is it just a supplement to current policing, and will it be more effective against the predicted global crime, or in combatting "hi-tech" misdemeanors just because it is self help?

One final trend of Naisbitt's deserves consideration, that of a move away from hierarchies to network models. Those who have long advocated a flattening of the police management structure might hail this as evidence that their predications are about to happen, but again caution is indicated. Naisbitt confuses what he would like to happen with what he thinks will happen. There is little evidence that management hierarchies are flattening in reality or that this is likely to occur in the immediate future. Certainly it does not seem to be happening with police. As well Naisbitt confuses the structure of management with the structure of information sharing. His

discussion of the negatives of the pyramid all centre on management but the examples he uses to promote the alternative, networking, all relate to other functions like information and support. He talks of rewards coming from empowering others not from climbing over them; but is a flatter organization necessary for this and is it a necessary consequence of one? Might not the manager at the top of the pyramid, function in a manner that empowers as readily as the manager in a flatter organization?

These cautions are presented not to deny the possibility or even desirability of Naisbitt's suggestions but rather to suggest circumspection. They are predictions that are so general as to be capable of many different applications, and in the final reckoning it is not Naisbitt's predictions that will be important in shaping policy on police education but the perceptions and opinions policymakers hold of these predictions.

Tom Peters is another futurist whose works might influence policymakers. Peters is concerned with a management revolution rather than an information one but his writing assumes the same technological advances and their widespread effect on everyday life (Peters, 1987). Peters wrote of a certain level of change in his earlier books "In Search of Excellence" and "A Passion for Excellence" but in his latest, "Thriving on Chaos" he speaks of a "rate of change ...(that is) unfailingly new-and frightening". He suggests that the times demand not just flexibility and an acceptance of change but "a love of change". Only those who actually "thrive on change" will succeed. As with Naisbitt, Peters proposes a number of detailed principles but only his five summary statements will be discussed here.

Peters focuses entirely on those who manage, and asserts that they will have no choice but to be proactive rather than reactive if they are to survive the inevitable rapid change. The first maxim for the proactive manager is to be totally "customer" responsive. It is not sufficient that the organization responds to requests and complaints from its customers. Every activity has to be viewed from their perspective. Together with customer responsiveness the manager has to wholeheartedly pursue fast-paced innovation. Innovation has to be modelled and encouraged through a variety of strategies, it has to become a corporate objective. Customer responsiveness and innovation are thought to be possible only if all members of the organization are flexible and flexibility is encouraged by empowering people. The proactive manager can do this by involving them, listening to their ideas, allowing self-management, and providing incentives and security. Two things are necessary if all of this is to happen and to be effective. The organization needs leadership rather than management and it needs restructuring so that the system can set these changes in motion and reinforce them when they occur.

As with the work of Naisbitt, there is much here that is exciting to those waiting for organizational change in police organizations. Every one of Peter's themes could have exciting application in policing but as with Naisbitt, the reader is cautioned against too readily accepting the ideas as predictions of what will happen or even should without careful thought. Both Naisbitt and Peters are popular futurists who write for the general public and thus tend to promote maxims that cannot be gainsaid but often have little actual application in practice. Who would deny the importance of empowering others?, but who can suggest ways of doing it that will not

throw an organization into chaos, and even though chaos might be productive in the long term, creating chaos in police organizations is the surest way of ensuring political intervention and significant restructuring. Finally it is not the validity of these ideas that is important but their validity in the eyes of police policy-makers and this will be the focus of the second part of this chapter.

### Police Perceptions of Change

Members of the criminal justice system do not always trust the predictions of either academics or futurists, and sometimes with good reason. In 1975 Calvin Swank, an assistant professor of criminal justice who had at various times been employed by both municipal and county law enforcement in America, published an article applying the predictions of a team of business futurists to policing in 1980. He hypothesized eight changes and produced anecdotal and instance evidence to support them but apart from the more general ones that were difficult to disprove, not only did they not occur by 1980, but there had been little real movement in the predicted directions by 1990. Most are reminiscent of the predictions made a decade later by Naisbitt, Tofler and Peters. It is interesting to speculate (and would form the basis of valuable research) why predictions that are valid for business do not necessarily hold for policing.

More recently, in an American conference on the future of criminal justice education, one of the speakers said

Accurately predicting the future is a difficult if not impossible task. By way of illustration, The Global 2000 Report to the President (of the United States) which was subtitled "Entering the 21st Century," published in 1980 by study director Gerald O. Barney, stated, "If present trends continue, the world in



2000 will be more crowded, more polluted, less stable ecologically, and more vulnerable to disruption than the world we live in now."

Just three years later in a report authored by Julian L. Simon and the late Herman Kahn, *Global 2000 Revised*, the same sentence is rewritten to emphasize the stark contrast in conclusions reached in the two reports. This sentence reads, "If present trends continue, the world in 2000 will be less crowded, less polluted, more stable ecologically and less vulnerable to resource-supply disruption than the world we live in now." (O'Connor, 1987).

### American Projects

In spite of these and similar failures the police, like many other organizations, have attempted to identify and prepare for change. In 1982 the FBI National Academy began offering National Academy students a course entitled, "Futuristics: Forecasting Techniques for Law Enforcement Managers", and in recent years there have been attempts to identify issues that might be of future concern to police, and to plan for these. Two of these will be discussed here, a Delphi forecast of the future of law enforcement by William Tafoya of the FBI, and a futures project entitled "FBI 2000" conducted in 1988 by the FBI as a prelude to policy formulation studies. A further two, a symposium on future issues in policing sponsored by the Canadian Police College and reported by Donald Loree, and the report "Police-Challenge 2000" researched and written by Andre Normandeau and Barry Leighton for the Solicitor General of Canada are the focus of the next chapter.

Tafoya's research (Tafoya, 1986) was chosen because of its future orientation. In Tafoya's own words "For over half a century blue ribbon panels have recommended ways in which the police could improve their performance by correcting past errors. There is little evidence, however, of anticipatory

steerage, prescriptive rather than proscriptive guidance for the police to follow." and "... it may be that what really holds American policing back is an inadequate future orientation." (Tafoya, 1986, p. 2, p. 13).

Tafoya saw as the first step in research of this nature the identification of "experts". He used a method in which 81 academics and senior police were surveyed for their recommendations of experts and from the most nominated 38 of the 300 nominations, Tafoya selected (we are not told how) eight scholars and seven law enforcement executives. These were surveyed in a four iteration, anonymous mail questionnaire, otherwise known as the Delphi Technique.

In the first round the experts were presented with 40 topics and they identified the 25 they viewed as vital to the future of law enforcement.

The topics selected were

Haves/have nots	Illegal aliens
Underclass	Personal crime
Property crime	Computer crime
Hi tech crime	Computers/law suits
Feds/computer crime	Hi tech crime reduction
Education/advancement	Computers/training
Leadership/management	Organizational structure
Professionalization	Police initiated research
University research	Medical research
Environmental crime	Self help
Urban unrest	Terrorism
Spouse/child abuse	Drug abuse
Privatization	

The topics rejected were

Arson	Corruption
Organized crime	White collar crime
Victimless crime	International crime
Religiously motivated crime	Racially motivated crime
Immigrants/crime	Elderly predators
Military/law enforcement	Recidivists

From these topics Tafoya constructed 25 statements which he sent to the panel three times, each time sending a summary of the groups' previous decisions. This was an attempt to have them reach consensus on when each would be true (Tafoya's response choices seem to have ranged from 1985 to 2100 with the addition of a "never" alternative). As is often typical of Delphi research, Tafoya's results are difficult to summarize and must be interpreted thoughtfully. They will not be discussed in detail here as they reflect their American context. The selection of topics is information enough for this dissertation. In his final report Tafoya grouped the 25 topics selected into the following six clusters but although this makes them more manageable it reduces them to less applicable generalizations.

- traditional crime
- pervasive crime
- high technology
- alternative policing
- professionalization
- research

The FBI study "FBI 2000" (Lyons, Burton & Sonnichsen, 1989) was conducted by three members of the FBI Program Evaluation Unit as a prelude to policy formulation. It attempted to identify issues which might affect the FBI in the year 2000. Initially FBI senior executives were interviewed in order to identify and prioritize issues with the greatest potential to impact on the bureau's future. Subsequently police executives and academicians were contacted and asked to comment on the nine issues and any others they

thought might be important. No indication is given of the way these individuals were chosen or the type of interview held but the research is interesting in that it represents an attempt to "discover the collective views of the various components of the FBI's internal and external environments" (p. 32). As this was an American study, the issues will not be discussed in detail except in so far as they or parallel concerns might be relevant in Canada.

- \* **Budget** was the first and major concern of the executives. Discussants agreed that obtaining adequate funding in the future would be difficult, and they explored possible solutions. They discussed greater reliance on technological innovation and the possible sharing of tasks or equipment in an interagency manner.

- \* It was acknowledged that success of the agency rested on its **personnel** and that there was thus a need to recruit and retain motivated and competent agents. This might be difficult with competition from other employers for those with the special abilities needed for a technologically oriented force and if demographers are correct when they predict that the recruitment pool will diminish in size then innovative recruitment and training strategies will be necessary.

- \* FBI executives believed that the agency's **image** has deteriorated in the eyes of local law enforcement bodies since the 1970s, largely because the specialized tasks undertaken by its agents had reduced interorganizational cooperation. All members of the FBI would need to address this problem by seeking opportunities for cooperation and the development of professional relationships.

\* Respondents considered that the FBI is in the forefront with respect to **the application of science and technology** to law enforcement and the position must be retained. The full benefits of technology are not always realized because of the opposition of personal privacy advocates. "... it was advanced that the future will likely witness a decline of privacy restrictions applied to information managed by technologically advanced systems ..." (p. 23).

\* **The internationalization of crime and law enforcement** is seen as an area with various ramifications for law enforcement in general and the bureau in particular. The easier movement of individuals across national borders, the growth of the multinational company, trade agreements between nations and the relaxing of restrictions on citizens of eastern bloc countries "are compressing the world and its peoples into closer personal and business relationships (and) are similarly pressing the international law enforcement community into new and innovative relationships" (p. 25). The FBI believes that there is already a coordination problem both internally and internationally and proposes that it act as national and international leader; a conduit for contact and information, perhaps the basis for an international criminal intelligence data base.

\* Both executives and discussants agree that **drugs** are and will continue to be a major problem for America and that the solution lies not only in law enforcement but also in education. There is a concern that local forces will be pulled out of drug enforcement as early successes mount and the work of national forces which rely on local cooperation might thus be hampered.

\* The demand for **training** is expected to continue, especially for training of the more sophisticated technical type. Some coordination of this would be appropriate both nationally and internationally, and is seen as contributing

to a standardization of law enforcement procedures. No mention was made of education in the report.

\* **Long range futures planning units** have been established in many countries, Canada, England, Germany and Australia for instance, and some coordination of these would be mutually profitable.

\* The internationalization of crime discussed above and the growth of technology and technology related crime have pointed the need for **new legislation** in America and on a worldwide basis. The FBI feels optimistic on the prospect of compatible criminal law across nations.

Two further issues, the privatization of policing and the sharing of manpower resources were identified by members of the (FBI's) external community.

This project must be interpreted for what it purports to be, a gathering by officers of the FBI, of the opinions of senior FBI executives, and of police executives and academics from 13 states, and a consultation with police officials in seven countries in Europe and the Far East on future conditions that might influence the FBI's organization and procedures over the next decade. The issues identified are not necessarily those that concern local police groups or Canadian police and the point of view from which suggested solutions were offered is certainly not the one that these forces would necessarily take. However the FBI has wider resources to canvass significant opinions and these provide an indication of some of the matters that might concern Canadian Police policymakers.

The point made at the commencement of the chapter should be repeated. These predictions of change and those outlined in the following chapter are

important in this dissertation only in so far as they might influence those who make decisions and policy on police education. At the conclusion of the dissertation a comparison of predictions listed here and those selected in the research will be made to determine just how much the literature might have had an influence on participants.

## CHAPTER 15

### The Future and Policing; Canadian Issues

**The most interesting objective confronting police educators in the next ten years will be to develop and deliver programs on the face of a rapidly changing police environment.**

**(Chief Gerry Borbridge, Calgary, 1990).**

Attempts to predict the future of policing are not limited to America. There have been similar discussions in Canada and these are even more likely to influence the thinking of participants in this research. The symposium, "Future Issues in Policing" was convened by the Canadian Police College, and Donald Loree of the college's research and program development branch published a summary report in 1989. Invited participants included senior police officers, academics and government officials from across Canada, and these heard formal presentations on critical issues identified ahead by the college, and then worked through their own opinions in discussion groups. Because the topics were identified before the conference and speakers invited to address them, they do not necessarily represent the selection that the group might have made, but the members of the Canadian Police College are probably cognizant of both the literature and the opinions of Canadian police and thus the topics could be considered a sample of these. The symposium was addressed by a British academic and practitioner on the lessons police policymakers can learn from history, and by the FBI team who conducted the FBI 2000 study discussed above. Following these addresses, discussion centred on six topics; human rights and criminal justice, terrorism and political crime, demographic



change and the future of policing, drug control, private policing and police leadership. Since this was a Canadian symposium that was reported in a manner that made its findings accessible to all Canadian police, it is valid to assume that not only were the issues relevant at the time of the symposium but that they have been discussed subsequently and will likely form part of the gestalt of those to be sampled in this research. It is therefore proposed that the points will be covered at some length here.

"A fundamental shift in focus is emerging on criminal justice issues affecting individual rights. This shift on focus is expected to frame most of the discussion and controversy that will attend criminal justice developments pertaining to human rights in the 1990's. Not all such developments will be legislative in nature. Some will be byproducts of the litigation process." (Cohen, 1967, P. 67). With these words Stanley Cohen concluded his address on human rights and criminal justice in the 1990s. Cohen points out that the development of criminal justice to this time has concentrated on the protection of the individual *qua* accused, but that the 1990s can be characterized as a time when consideration is given to the protection of the rights of other individuals in the criminal justice system. Cohen discusses the rights of the victim, of women, of children, of native peoples and of mentally disordered persons. He focuses on legal aspects of this shift, assuming that only through legislation and litigation, and not through attitudes or values, will changes be effected, but his coverage is comprehensive. He talks of moves to use fine money to assist in the rehabilitation of victims, of their protection and restitution, of consideration of the impact of an offence on the victim as well as its legality or otherwise. For the first time consideration is given to the fact that the victim has been

offended and not just the law. In discussing changes in the justice system in relation to women, he includes moves to protect them as complainants and witnesses, changes in pornography and prostitution laws to more closely match the spirit of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the ongoing battle between the pro and anti abortion camps. He discusses changes in the law that attempt to meet the needs of children as offenders, victims and witnesses. Native people are particularly poorly served by the Canadian justice system and Cohen speaks of a growing realization of this by members of the system and of the beginning of attempts to change this, attempts like native policing, aboriginal courts, alternatives to incarceration and recognition of traditional law. These are not all currently in effect but all are at least under serious discussion. Finally Cohen discusses the uneasy place of the mentally disturbed in the justice system. He speaks of insanity defences, of the mentally disordered in corrections and of the inequity of Lieutenant Governor's warrants.

On each of these topics, Cohen shares latest changes to both case law and legislation and reflects on how the total picture is unfolding. Discussion that followed Cohen's address focused on the uneasy balance between individual and collective rights, on opinions that individual rights were considered to have "gone too far" in several other nations, on ways in which criminals are taking advantage of the Charter to make the task of the police more difficult and finally on abuses of human rights by many private or corporate police. It is clear that human rights issues are current for Canadian police.

David Charters of the University of New Brunswick addressed the symposium on terrorism and political crime in the global village of the 21st

century (1989). It should be stressed that this was two years before the current hostilities and threats, and so much of what Charters said is now interpreted in a quite different context. He forecast increased terrorism in which more individuals are harmed, but suggested that this would be in and related to third world countries and issues. Because of its isolation and neutrality Canada has been immune from these conflicts but in the future it must expect a "spillover" of global trends and its police must be prepared. While stressing the comparative rarity of terrorist attacks and the need to keep a perspective on the issue, Charters spoke of the part played by police intelligence and reminded officers that contact with the community is perhaps their greatest weapon against terrorism. The response of the working group which met following this address could be summarized in a two part sentence; there should be a mechanism to ensure preparedness, but after all the police response will be like that to any crime. In spite of expert opinion to the contrary, the consensus seems to have been that terrorism is not a concern in Canada.

A topic that prompted more response was that of demographic change and the future of policing. Rick Linden of the University of Manitoba addressed the symposium on some of the issues (1989). Because of decreased Canadian fertility rates since the second world war and because Canadians are now living longer, the proportion of aged in the population is increasing. In 1881, 4% of the Canadian population was 65 and over, by 1971 this was 8%, by 2001 it is expected to be 12% and by 2030 possibly as high as 24%. It is easy to interpret this increase in proportion as an increase in the absolute number of elderly but the absolute increase is relatively minor. Examination of the age pyramids (p. 114) shows that the main change is a

decrease in the absolute number young people, making the elderly in higher proportion. The significance of these changes is complex. To the extent that crime is a behaviour of youth it can be expected to decrease as the proportion of the population under thirty decreases, but an increase in the proportion of the population who are elderly and who have visible assets increases the opportunity for crime so these might balance. As police recruited from the "baby boom" age, so the general police hierarchy will age with few retirements for a time. Finally, whereas competition for places in policing enabled police groups to choose from among a large group of talented applicants for any vacancy, they will soon find the pool of prospective recruits significantly smaller. But these predictions are overly simple. They do not consider the effect of immigration on the population pyramid. They do not consider that to the extent that the elderly suffer more fear of crime than actual crime, fear of crime must become a more important police consideration (P. J. Brantingham, personal communications, 1988-1991) and they do not address any potential advantages of an increase in the proportion of aged in the population, such as a decrease in the number of houses left empty; an increase in the number of individuals available for "extended family parenting" or an increase in the number of volunteers available for the police to draw on.

A second demographic issue addressed is the disproportionate number of native Canadians in the justice system. This is partly a function of higher birth rates resulting in higher numbers of native people in the "high criminal potential" age range, but it is more a function of relative social and economic positions.

Related to this is the shift in Canadian immigration numbers and patterns over the last 30 years. Figures on this much discussed phenomena are confusing because of problems with definitions. Linden says "in 1961 85.3 percent of immigrants came from countries which were predominantly white and European. By 1984 the countries of origin were predominantly non-white and non-European." (p. 116). Linden does not define his terms white and non-white and so it is difficult to decide just what the change has really been. Are Greek immigrants whiter than Japanese? Does the difficulty relate to increases in the number of immigrants or changes in the cultural mix? Similar confusion exists when he says "Visible minorities (excluding natives) made up 4.7 percent of the Canadian population in 1981, about 6 percent in 1986, and may eventually increase to about 10 percent of the total population." One is tempted to ask Linden when a person becomes invisible; after one generation, or two?; and whether it is the visibility that is the difficulty or the cultural difference. However the important issue is not academic caviling but perceptions of problems held by police. Linden suggests that the implications for the police include increased racism to be combatted, communication difficulties with members of other cultures and immigrant groups bringing with them non-Canadian attitudes to police and non-Canadian crime patterns. To this one might add the need to prepare all public servants, including the police, to deal with members of other cultural groups.

Linden's final consideration is of the changing role of the family in Canadian society. He characterizes the 1980s thus "Divorce rates are rising, the stay at home mother is a relative rarity, respectable people are living together and having children outside of marriage, and many married couples are choosing

not to have children at all." (P. 120). He continues by suggesting that the increased presence of women in the labour force is possibly the most significant family change although the increase in the number of lone parent families with the accompanying levels of child poverty "is also of interest". Again it is the implications of these for policing that interest us here. Linden suggests that the failure of the family to provide for, socialize and nurture the young is already presenting problems for the police who also have to contend with increased crime because more working women leave more empty houses. Women entering policing, is also suggested as a matter for concern as it raises management issues relating to the reluctance of their male colleagues to accept them as equals, the provision of day-care and problems relating to shifts and transfers. The reader might be excused for suggesting that Linden does not fit Peter's description of an individual who thrives on change, since all comments seem to bemoan these changes, but Linden would probably argue that all he attempts to do is present the issues and he certainly gave those assembled food for thought. In the discussion that followed his address it was decided that these were largely regional issues and not of general concern, although police policymakers will have to reexamine recruiting policy and restructure pay and promotion systems within the police organization to accommodate the aging of the force. On immigration matters more communication with the community is recommended to involve it in policymaking and to reduce the conflict between the community and the police. Finally senior police leaders are urged to make clear statements on values and ethics for the guidance of officers and politicians should be asked to verify these so that police feel they have political backing in their tasks.

John Eck, Associate Director for Research of the Police Executive Research Forum, addressed the issue of drug control efforts. His theme was simple; "illicit drug abuse, of one form or another, has become a permanent, integral and serious problem of society. In the recent past, drug use has been considered transient and separate from our mainstream cultures. Use of illegal drugs is too common for society to do this any longer." (Eck, 1989, p. 137). Eck suggests three corollaries. National strategies have reached the limit of their effectiveness and drug problems should be seen as primarily local problems requiring local solutions. Special law enforcement units relying on covert operations cannot control drug problems rooted in the daily functioning of neighbourhoods. Finally the future of drug enforcement lies in the total cooperation of the entire community, of police and all social service groups and that federal agencies must be equal partners in this and not leaders. Workshop participants agreed with all of Eck's conclusions and then developed a seven point "policy list". Ironically five of the policy points were "federal government should" and two "local authority should".

In the penultimate topic of the symposium, Philip Stenning of the University of Toronto addressed the topic, private police and public police. Stenning (1989) suggested that public police might learn from private police if they allowed themselves. Private police recruit widely but they often attract senior public police to their ranks and by now private policing is bigger than public policing in Canada and possibly more effective. It would not be appropriate here to consider Stenning's presentation in detail but he challenges public police to "understand more fully the range of approaches, strategies and techniques which private policing organizations employ in doing policing, and exploit this understanding to the fullest public advantage

“(P. 185). Particularly public police should learn that their preoccupation with crime - its prevention, control and punishment - and law enforcement, is not always (in fact is perhaps rarely) the best focus for effective policing” (P. 188). As might be expected the response from the working group which met following this address was not entirely positive. Restrictions and limitations that hampered public police and not private were discussed. The group recommended the development of policy to define a complementary working relationship, but stressed that the public should not feel that they have to pay extra for basic policing, rather that private policing is an optional extra.

In addressing the role of the police leader in the 21st century, Robert Lunney might well have been summarizing this and the previous chapter. He spoke of the context of that leadership and mentioned demographics, economics, world politics<sup>1</sup> and the rapidity of change. On the matter of the agenda for police leadership he covered changing patterns of crime, increased violence and public unrest, selective use of science and technology, crime prevention through environmental and social planning, the central place of ethics and values and the responsibility of the leader to motivate.

From this summary of main topics covered in the symposium it is apparent that police policymakers are already aware of many of the topics under general discussion and with the potential to influence thinking on policy. A more recent report, prepared for the Solicitor General of Canada by

<sup>1</sup> Some of his predications have since “come true”, at least temporarily.



Professor Andre Normandeau and Barry Leighton and presented to interested parties at a series of discussion sessions in November of this year had as its focus the future of policing in Canada. Whereas the symposium sponsored by the C.P.C. considered topics established by the college, Normandeau and Leighton (1990a, 1990b) consulted members of the community with a quite open brief; to encourage discussion of the values and principles that should govern modern policing services. At the conclusion of a year of consultation the researchers returned to the community with their findings in the form of a written report and extended group discussions. Theirs was true hermeneutic research, although they do not use the word, in as much as they approached individuals on more than one occasion, often coming back to discuss their findings and offering "respondents" the opportunity to make further comments. They knew that their questions would stimulate discussion, indeed that was a pronounced purpose, and that opinions heard at the end of their research year would differ significantly from those heard from the same people at the beginning.

It is not appropriate that the conclusions of the project be presented here in any detail as both a background document and a discussion paper have been widely circulated and discussed. It is sufficient that a brief overview be presented to demonstrate the issues that concerned both projects and to indicate where emphases are different.

Normandeau and Leighton agree with Loree on the expected results of aging of the Canadian population on policing but include in their predictions an increase in crimes based on the physical, psychological or intellectual infirmities of the elderly, and an increase in fear of crime. They see a

different scenario with the aging of the police force, proposing that early retirement will leave gaps in upper management and provide opportunities for alternative personnel practices. They concur that high migration rates will result in communication difficulties for police with groups for whom neither French nor English is a first language but propose that any increase in crime levels for these "ethnic" groups will be a function of the social and economic positions into which they fall and not their culture or national group. On the matter of changes in family structure they see the main issues as less support for the increased numbers of elderly and less supervision of children. On the positive side a reduction of the number of households with an adult male is predicted to result in a reduction of family violence, although this might coincide with an increase in levels of street violence.

Technology is expected to bring with it new types of crime as well as new budget demands on Canadian police. Normandeau and Leighton stress the danger of fads and fashions in technology but suggest that it has the potential to free police from time-consuming paperwork and increase their accessibility to a greater information base.

On the matter of the national economy they mention reduced police budgets but also suggest that unemployment and poverty that might become more widespread can stimulate crime and civil unrest. It might as well result in some amalgamation and rationalization of services.

Finally they foresee greater community involvement in policing and police policy. Their report talks of community ownership of crime and disorder

and greater community interaction with police. This is expected to coincide with demands for increased public accountability.

Along with a detailed discussion of a "return to community policing" the authors explore at length "strategic partnerships and resources". This is relatively new in the literature but increasingly discussed among academics and police. The basis of the discussion is the concept that crime is not purely a police but a community responsibility and all public service sectors are relevant in solving local crime and disorder problems (1990b, p. 31). Cooperation is not limited to police and other public services. Police Challenge 2000 proposes a strengthened partnership between justice services, meaning between different police groups in order to give all a greater access to resources and to maximize the impact of policing. But Normandeau and Leighton also advocate that police become more open to alternative resources, volunteers (perhaps some of those elderly), other community members, private security and non sworn individuals.

There have been other writers who share the views represented in these reports, some general and some specific to particular ideas. In 1986 the Solicitor General of Canada and the Canadian Police College jointly sponsored a conference on "Community Policing in the 1980's: Recent Advances in Police Programs" and some of the topics covered above were addressed there (Loree & Murphy, 1986). Several presenters at the Calgary Police Educators' Conference (Lapierre, 1990) broached some of these main topics. However the two Canadian conferences covered here were national, widely attended and reported, and extensively discussed. Since it is not the facts of the future of Canadian policing that are relevant here, but rather

perceptions of these as held by police policymakers this overview is considered sufficient to indicate the influences that might be working on those individuals and groups. It is the task of the research to determine how these influences have in fact affected the police policymakers.

# **PART FOUR THE SEARCH**

**GATHERING OPINIONS  
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA**

## CHAPTER 16

### A Limited Application

The focus of this study is to demonstrate a need for a policy in the education of police; to develop a method that enables the researcher to identify the significant opinion leaders and decisionmakers on the topic, and to explore their various expectations; and then using this method to collect data to prepare an education program. Establishing the need for a policy is the purpose of part one of this dissertation. Part two presents a case for using an hermeneutics approach in the analysis and gives the overview of a method by which this could be done. Once a general method has been identified in hermeneutics the researcher must clarify her pre-understandings before she can decide the details of the research method and part three presents the pre-understandings of the researcher on policing and police education in Canada. Part four draws these parts together by demonstrating an application of the method in a limited setting, using as its focus those municipalities in British Columbia which police independently.<sup>1</sup> At the conclusion of this analysis, recommendations for the extension of the research to a wider domain and to other countries are made.

The problem to be researched, the theoretical perspective to be used, the focus of the research and the steps in the method have all been generally described above. In accordance with the hermeneutic approach the

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<sup>1</sup> That is to those municipalities which do not contract their policing to the R.C.M.P.

contexts of the problem must also be explored and presented as the pre-understandings of the researcher.

The historical context of policing in British Columbia parallels the general history outlined above. B.C. began as several colonies policed separately and it wasn't until the discovery of gold in 1858 that a more centralized force was established. On federation this became a provincial force and the British Columbia Provincial Police Force worked alongside of independent municipal police (and some federal police in the form of RCMP) until it was disbanded in 1950 (Okanagan Division RCMP Veterans' Association, 1983).

#### The Organization of Policing in British Columbia

The Minister of Supply and Services Canada 1986 publication "Policing in Canada, 1986" gives a clear overview, if not a completely up to date picture, of policing in British Columbia today. In 1985, B.C.'s population of 2,897,900 was policed by a total of 5,875 officers. Of these,

- 1754 worked in the 12 municipal departments which policed independently,
- 1824 were RCMP officers working in the 43 municipalities which chose to contract their policing to the RCMP,
- 2206 were RCMP officers working on provincial and federal policing and the remaining
- 91 officers worked as ports or railway police.

The 1986 publication does not indicate the sex of the 5875 officers but the official census figures for the following year (1986) indicate that there were then 6450 officers and that 5915 of these were male and 535 female. This represents an increase on the 50 females among the 2643 officers counted in the 1961 census.

The 1985 municipal police forces varied in size, from those with less than a dozen officers to those with over 100.

NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL POLICE FORCES, BY TYPE AND SIZE		
(No of officers)	Independent	RCMP Contract
1 - 5	-	-
6 - 10	-	6
11 - 20	2	13
21 - 50	3	12
51 - 100	3	8
> 100	4	4
TOTAL	----- 12	43

The Solicitor General of British Columbia is responsible for all policing in British Columbia but as Grant (1980) pointed out, lines of power in the area are complex. The Solicitor General has responsibility, and the Police Services branch of his ministry has been established to manage that responsibility. Police Services has five divisions, the Coordinated Law Enforcement Unit (CLEU), the Policy and Programs division, the Police Commission, the division responsible for firearms and private security, and the division responsible for provincial emergency programs. The Policy and Programs division analyzes and prepares policy and programs but can only act in an advisory capacity as a political bureaucracy must not be seen to be directing policing. It sees its primary task as supporting the independent police forces as the RCMP has its own policy and programs officers. The Coordinated Law Enforcement Unit has responsibility for crime intelligence as it relates to organized crime. The Police Commission acts in an autonomous manner to oversee provincial and municipal policing. The



Commission's responsibilities are in the areas of coordination, records, research, discipline and standards. The Solicitor General of B.C. is also responsible for the Justice Institute of British Columbia which is the training centre for provincial and municipal justice personnel, and others. There is a widely accepted understanding that although the provincial government is responsible for policing there should be no political interference and although the Solicitor General of British Columbia is responsible for the establishment of both the B.C. Police Commission and the B.C. Justice Institute neither he nor his department participate in their administration (Personal Communications, Norm Brown, Police Services; Steve Hess, B.C. Justice Institute).

Responsibility for day to day policing in the province is outside of the domain of both the Solicitor General and the Police Commission. In the case of RCMP contracted policing, the B.C. Police Act provides that all RCMP officers be deemed provincial officers and that the officer commanding the division be deemed a commissioner under the act. However the RCMP Act provides that responsibility for the administration of the force shall remain a federal matter (Heywood, Unpublished Paper, 1984). Grant (1980) suggests that most contracts for RCMP policing ignore this anomaly, and policing proceeds more or less satisfactorily or has done so to date. In the case of the municipalities policing independently, the B.C. Police Act requires that a police board be established to govern each force. The Mayor is the chair of this board but no other aldermen on the council can be involved. Once again this is an attempt to separate police and politics. The Chief Constable is an employee of the board but also its chief executive officer. The board, in consultation with the chief constable, determines the priorities, goals and

objectives of the municipal force and the chief constable reports annually on the implementation of programs and strategies to achieve these. Related to this is the board's responsibility to approve the policing budget each year, but the preparation of this is largely the task of the chief and his deputies.

A final issue of significance here is the possibility of reorganization of policing in British Columbia. Many of the contracts with the RCMP have almost expired and there is no certainty that they will be renewed by either side and certainly not on the same terms as at present. If there are changes in those municipalities where policing is contracted to the RCMP, then there might be accompanying changes in municipalities where policing is independent. There is currently discussion in police circles, as well as in the popular press, on the possibility of amalgamation of some forces, or regionalization. This might or might not happen but it is certainly being considered. There is nothing final or rigid about the organization of policing in British Columbia.

#### Who Makes Policy on Education for Municipal Police

There is currently no general policy on education for police in British Columbia. Present levels are not set by policymakers or bureaucrats but by a complicated interaction of universities which make programs attractive and accessible, peers who encourage studying for advancement, recruiting officers who select more educated applicants, police unions who push for levels of remuneration that make policing attractive and recognize extra study. To the extent that all of these forces move the education debate in a certain direction we can talk of policy, but only to that extent.

There could be policy though. It is within the power of many of those who have responsibility for policing to establish minimum entry standards on any variable and certainly on education. Similarly police bodies can require levels of scholarship from officers who apply for promotion. But just as the formal lines of power and responsibility were not considered to give the whole picture on policymaking in Canadian policing (see Ch 12 above), so a description of the organization of policing in British Columbia will not tell the reader exactly who makes policy and decisions on police education in British Columbia. There are many factors and influences in addition to those described here and an attempt to understand these must begin this analysis. The hermeneuticist calls these her preunderstandings. On the topic of police education in British Columbia they will be much the same as those described above.

Every sworn police officer in a municipal force in British Columbia is an employee of the municipal police board, and as executive officer of that board the **chief constable** makes decisions on entry requirements for new officers and on the encouragement to be given to already employed officers who have studied or who want to study at a university. He makes these decisions on the basis of information and current trends as he understands them. It is important that this be emphasized. It is not just the information or facts that will influence his decisions but his perceptions of that information and his interpretation or understanding. If it were just the information then a computer program could make the decisions.

In these decisions the chief is directly and formally influenced by

- **senior officers** in his department. Some of these may do the selecting, as his representative, and all would have a say about the quality of members of the force at one time or another. The criteria for selection would generally be decided in consultation within this group.
- the municipal police board which in theory approves provisional budgets and the forces priorities. In practice the principle influence often comes from the municipal **mayor** who chairs the board and often works closely with the chief constable.
- members of **police related bureaucracies** such as police services and the police commission. It is the responsibility of these bodies to develop policies and advise but the constable can decide how much credence he gives this.

In decisions on police education the chief is also influenced by

- published reports of investigations, commissions and studies that recommend higher education for police.
- the public through citizens' groups and committees, letters to the editor and delegations.
- the media as it takes up causes and points anomalies and weaknesses
- other members of the criminal justice system, either through individuals who themselves become more educated or through other branches like the courts or corrections as they comment on the work of police as it relates to them
- the universities through the programs they offer and the administrative procedures that determine access to courses and programs.

All decisions and certainly those for which a chief constable is responsible are made in context. So decisions on the education of police are related to the history of the question but also to relevant current events. Decisions made now would take into consideration current unrest related to war protests, constitutional protests, protests over native rights and so on. They would also be influenced by the recession and its effect on employment and on budgets.

Given these pre-understandings of policing in British Columbia and the historical and organizational contexts as outlined, a research project applying the method developed to an analysis of police education policy in British Columbia was undertaken by the researcher and is reported in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER 17

### Report on the Method

Since the hermeneutic approach to an analysis like this is unusual and because the flexibility of hermeneutic research is legitimized by a detailed description of the process that allows the reader to make her own assessment of the findings, it is proposed to fully describe the method used in this chapter then present the findings. Later chapters will reflect on the method's appropriateness and suggest possible improvements for future research.

#### Timeline

The researcher who wants to produce results credible to practitioners has a responsibility to keep the period of the research as brief as possible. This is particularly so when an hermeneutic approach is to be used as the report does not pretend to be a final conclusion but an interpretation relevant in the present circumstances. Research that takes too long is in danger of producing a report that is no longer relevant because the context has changed. At the same time the method of hermeneutic research evolves with the project and an approach that is too rushed would be counterproductive.

In this case the contact making process began long before the research was formalized and so it is difficult to measure how long it might take, but it is a very important part of the method and must not be underestimated. The timeline for the more formal part of the research, the mailed questionnaire,

was unpredictable as estimates of the time needed for respondents to return mail, and of how long new recommendations would continue to be sent, could be only that, estimates. Complicating factors in this part of the research might have been several important but time consuming conferences, the municipal elections and Christmas holidays. In the end, each of these was somewhat advantageous. The conferences resulted in one or two organizers not returning questionnaires but provided a useful reminder to others and enabled the researcher to make personal (in addition to mail) contact. It certainly aided in increasing the size of the respondent group. The municipal elections forced an initial mailing about a week before planned and a second mailing several weeks after the election, to any newly elected mayors. This increased the pool of possible respondents. It is difficult to judge the affect of the Christmas break but for many of the respondents it seemed to have been a time when the normal pressures of work were a little easier and they could respond to peripheral matters like this questionnaire. Certainly those who contacted the researcher seemed to see the period as a brief interruption, not a major distraction which interfered with everything.

The time from the decision to develop an hermeneutic approach (24 July 1990) to the mailing of the first questionnaire (1 November 1990) was 14 weeks but this included considerable work on the theory, and the development of a dissertation proposal, as well as planning the research and developing both the instruments and the details of the method. The time from the mailing of the first questionnaire (1 November 1990) until the final

return<sup>1</sup> was accepted for coding and the conference invitations were sent out (5 Feb 1991) was 14 weeks (including the Christmas Holidays).

### Initial Contacts and the Open Questionnaire

This was a vital part of the research as the range and quality of the initial contacts influenced the quality of the final group of respondents and the credibility of the eventual report. In the present project an introduction to a police academy staff member resulted in a hurried trip to a national conference of police educators and provided information, motivation, and contacts that proved invaluable. Initial contacts are also important because from them are drawn many of the ideas that will be included in the initial or open questionnaire as well as those who will respond to it.

On the basis of these initial contacts a very open ended questionnaire was developed and eleven people were asked to respond. Seven questionnaires were returned in one form or another. One of the respondents asked to talk through the points instead of responding in writing, two responded in writing and followed up with long discussions and another returned the completed questionnaire together with fifteen pages of added comment.

The group approached for this task included two practicing police officers, one of whom is also a graduate student, one police officer currently teaching in the police academy and one retired police chief, now in private business. Three public servants, two working for the Solicitor General of

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<sup>1</sup> It is possible that returns would trickle in for many months, but when the return rate slowed to one or two a week for several weeks it was decided to summarize the data and begin the report.



Canada and the other for B.C. Police Services were also asked. The remaining four individuals included two academics in criminology, both of whom had had experience with policing in the past, one lecturer in college courses for justice personnel and one senior provincial court judge.

After several pages of introduction to explain the purpose of both the research and this introductory questionnaire, there followed thirteen pages aimed at stimulating ideas on what policing might be over the next thirty or so years. Each page had a bold heading and a paragraph of stimulus words and phrases taken from earlier discussions or from the literature. The topics covered were

- \* Police Mandate / Mission / Role
- \* Police Organization / Management / Leadership
- \* Funding / Resources
- \* Accountability
- \* Jurisdictional Issues
- \* Sharing Responsibility
- \* Police Relationship to the Public
- \* Main Tasks, Concerns, Issues
- \* Main Groups and Individuals
- \* Main Methods Used
- \* Job Satisfaction / Police Personnel Development
- \* Police Image / The Media
- \* Other Issues / Areas

The following two pages used the same approach to illicit a description of the qualities and attributes of the officer with general enforcement powers, and the specialist officer needed for policing in the situations described above. The next four pages asked the respondent to focus on his education should the officer or potential officer choose to study at university as well as complete his training in a police academy. Using the stimulus paragraph plus open response method, respondents were asked to recommend objectives for this degree, and to indicate when it should be undertaken. In order to stimulate thought on the ideal content of the university study, 21

subject areas were presented and a rating of 0 - 3 was asked for each. The final pages of the document encouraged other comments on any of the sections or on the project as a whole.

### The Final Questionnaire

On the basis of the data collected above, a shorter, eight page document was prepared for wider distribution and trialed on the group of eleven on campus doctoral students in criminology at Simon Fraser University. This group was chosen because of their knowledge of questionnaire construction, their willingness to be critical and their varying levels of contact with police officers. They were asked to complete the questionnaire, noting not only their responses to the questions but their reactions to the approach, and the time it took to complete. On the basis of this trial, minor modifications were made and the questionnaire printed for distribution.

This final questionnaire contained four separate parts, each asking for a different type of response. There were three reasons for this variation. Principally the type of "question" suitable for one part was not judged most appropriate for another, secondly it was considered advantageous to separate the four main themes or parts in the minds of the respondents, and finally the variation was thought to add interest and variety. Some experienced survey respondents, especially those who prefer to move quickly through page after page of agree / disagree statements, were unhappy with this, but it was reasoned that being forced to think about the topic and the response was more likely to result in considered answers.

The items in the questionnaire are not neutral, nor were they intended to be. They are a distillation of ideas presented to the researcher in the preliminary rounds of the research. In some cases they are direct quotes from the open questionnaire. If this means that some of the respondents strongly disagree (or strongly agree) then so much the better. A clearer idea of opinion can be obtained from a strong agreement or disagreement.

The complete questionnaire is appended (Appendix I), but a summary description follows:

#### PART A CHANGES IN B.C.

23 factors were presented and the respondent was asked to select the eight considered most likely to influence policing in B.C. over the next thirty years, and then to rank these eight.

#### PART B POLICING IN B.C. OVER THE NEXT THIRTY YEARS

26 single sentence statements were presented covering predictions on what would happen to policing in B.C. These were formed on the basis of opinions expressed in the preliminary work. For each, the respondent was asked to indicate, on an eight point scale (no numbers were given, only spaces for marks) their level of agreement or disagreement as each relates to changes in policing on B.C. over the next thirty years.

#### PART C OBJECTIVES OF POLICE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

15 "attributes" that might change in the police officer as she studies at university were listed and the respondent was asked to select the six most hoped to change as a result of the university study. The six were then ranked to indicate order of importance. The list of 15 (14 plus "any other") was developed from the open questionnaire. On the reverse side of this part, respondents were asked to expand on their choices, indicating what they meant. This section was usually completed in great detail, causing problems for the researcher attempting to summarize but clarifying and adding essential detail and thus giving meaning to the rankings.

#### PART D CONTENT OF POLICE UNIVERSITY DEGREES

33 (32 plus "other") study areas, were listed and the respondent was asked to use the numbers 0, 1, 2, 3 to indicate how much of each they would have students study if they were planning a university education program for police. Some of the study areas represented academic disciplines and others were more like extended topics or study focus areas, but it was felt that the distinctions, important as they are to academics, are not significant for the public at large and so an attempt had been made to list topics as they had been recommended in the preliminary work.

Each respondent was asked to provide personal details to indicate his connection or interest in the area, as well as his age, sex and education level. On the same page, but emphasised, was a request for any other individuals or groups the researcher should contact. Respondents were asked if their names could be used in this referral.

Attached to the questionnaire was a page which could be completed as is, detached and returned separately or ignored. Its purpose was to allow the respondent to identify himself, to indicate interest in a further interview and/or a possible follow-up conference and to give permission to be quoted. An undertaking was given that unless this permission is specifically given, all returns would be treated anonymously. Of 301 returns, only three had the final page returned separately, indicating an interest in further contact but a preference for anonymity in responses. Approximately half of the remainder gave incomplete information on this page but many of these were officers in training at the academy and since they were contacted through the academy their wish to remain anonymous is understandable.

Except for those distributed through the Police Academy or the internal mailing system at SFU, all questionnaires were accompanied by an addressed return envelope. Where the document went to an individual at a private address or to a charitable organization, the return envelope was stamped, but where the addressee was at a business address, such as a municipal office or a police department the stamp was not included in an attempt to reduce costs.

The survey document was not completely conventional in the type and variation of responses asked for and this resulted in some parts being completed incorrectly, particularly in part A. 22 of the returns had this part omitted, incorrectly or only partly completed. The problem was not significant in any other part of the questionnaire.

### The Respondents

At the beginning of the questionnaire stage of the research, eight groups had been identified as possible participants but it was decided that both the

range and grouping of participants would remain open so that no referrals would be initially rejected. As the research proceeded it was decided that "out of province" individuals would not be contacted unless they had worked closely with British Columbia police. The initial groups were roughly described:

- \* POLICE AND POLICE RELATED

This included two sub-groups, serving police officers, and others such as retired officers, bureaucrats in the Solicitors' General departments, members of the Police Commission and so forth.

- \* FACULTY AT THE B.C. POLICE ACADEMY

- \* SCHOLARS

This group was to include faculty in criminology at Simon Fraser University and at all colleges offering university credit courses to justice personnel, and doctoral students in criminology at SFU.

- \* POLICE "RECRUITS"

In this category were included members of the current two first level classes at the BC Police Academy, together with a class of students back in the college after their first experience in the field.

- \* POLICE UNION MANAGEMENT

- \* MUNICIPAL MAYORS

These were included both as representatives of government and as chairpersons of the municipal police boards.

- \* CITIZENS' GROUPS / INTEREST GROUPS;

This was to include members of groups like Rotary, the Chamber of Commerce, DERA, the aged, native peoples, SUCCESS, MOSAIC, and private citizens.

- \* OTHERS IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

To include members of the judiciary, lawyers and crown counsel/prosecutors.

It must be stressed that no representative or random sample was intended.

The researcher hoped to contact all those who were likely to have even a distant influence on decisions on policing and who were thought by their peers to have an opinion they would share. At all times the researcher spoke of "opinion leaders" and of "those who might have something to say

on this". It was considered important that the questionnaires be generously distributed to maximize opportunities to respond. That this resulted in questionnaires going to less than accurate mailing addresses or remaining at the back of meeting or seminar rooms was not considered a problem as it was never intended that "response rate" would be calculated.

The initial mailing was to possible participants identified in the preliminary rounds of the research, and to organizations listed in the phonebook, advertising in the paper or somehow coming to the attention of the researcher. Each respondent was asked to suggest others to be contacted and questionnaires were mailed to these immediately. Sometimes the referral was a phone number and a call was usually followed by a mailing of one or several questionnaires. Occasionally a respondent would ask to meet the researcher and after a discussion would agree to take a number of copies to share at a meeting or with colleagues. In the case of the members of the judiciary, initial contact was with the Chief Judge by both phone and mail. Once he had seen and approved the questionnaire he agreed to allow a bundle to be placed at the side in the next judges seminar and 65 were delivered to his chambers for this purpose.

The administration of the Police Academy offered to distribute questionnaires to their faculty and students and to make available a place for their return. A generous supply was delivered there. Two weeks before the municipal election questionnaires were sent to the mayors in all municipalities with policing responsibility (for either municipal or RCMP police) and three weeks after the election a further mailing was made to all municipalities with new mayors. For each of the colleges in BC, phone

contact was made with one faculty member in the school or department most connected to police education, and a generous supply was sent to each, with addressed envelopes for individual return.

For the reasons discussed above it does not make sense to talk of return rates. Of the approximately 600 surveys distributed, 301 were completed and returned by the time the decision was made to summarize data and prepare for the conference. Of all the groups approached, Others in the Criminal Justice System was the most difficult. Advances to senior representatives brought little or no response and where contact was made, referrals were limited. The individuals who did respond were extremely helpful but several others expressed concern that they knew little of the subject, or were hesitant to respond in case it should compromise their neutrality.

### The Final Groupings

For the purposes of this research the main reasons for the groupings is to increase the chances of covering all possible opinion leaders and to aid in description of the overall group of participants. Responses to the written questionnaires constitute only a part of the information gathered and analysis will be restricted to the group as a whole, but in the spirit of hermeneutic reporting information about the separate groups will be included in the appendices for the information of the reader.

By the time the returns were to be summarized it had become apparent that the original grouping was not adequate, mostly because of overlap. Some of those in police related positions were actually professional police personnel

temporarily seconded elsewhere, and the same applied to members of the Police Academy faculty. Individuals selected as representing citizens often had significant experience in one of the other groups, for instance a president of Rotary had been a police officer for more than 20 years. Members of the police union management were also police officers and most academics could easily identify with more than one group. It was decided to cluster respondents into only six groups allocating individuals on the basis of their self classification or the group with which they are currently identified. The final groups were

**P POLICE AND POLICE RELATED.**

Into this group were gathered all serving police, the Police Union management, retired police, members of Police Services, the Police Commission, CLEU, members of the department of the Solicitor General of Canada and the Police Academy Faculty.

**S SCHOLARS.**

Into this group were placed faculty of the university and the colleges as well as graduate students in schools of criminology.

**R RECRUITS**

This was the title given to the group of all respondents who were students in the academy at the time they completed the questionnaire. Although the term "recruits" is used to describe them, all are not strictly speaking recruits as some have considerable experience of police field work subsequent to their first period in the Academy.

**M MAYORS**

All responses on questionnaires sent to mayors were placed in this group although from indications on several returns it is possible that they were completed by administrative assistants instead.

**C CITIZENS**

Responses from all individuals not specifically identified with any other grouping were included here. That makes it a disparate group representing service groups as well as groups of business people, DERA and Rotary and public servants with roles not directly related to policing. Most individuals were asked to respond because of their affiliation with an interest group but many were included as individuals without such connections.

**J OTHERS IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM**

The final group consisted of judges and lawyers acting in various capacities.



At the time the data was summarized for reporting at the conference the returns for each group were;

P POLICE AND POLICE RELATED	87
S SCHOLARS	50
R RECRUITS	65
M MAYORS	37
C CITIZENS	41
J OTHERS IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM	21
<hr/>	
TOTAL	301

### Interviews

The original plan for the research allowed for follow-up interviews for two reasons; so that the numbers on the response sheets could be "fleshed out" and to verify that the interpretation of responses made by the researcher did in fact represent the understandings of the respondents. Respondents were asked to indicate their willingness to an interview and a sample was to be selected.

In fact the interviews were not as necessary as was at first thought.

Respondents added comments to their returns and provided generous descriptions and justifications for their choices, where asked. Selection of a few to be interviewed was not difficult as many with particularly strong opinions called and asked for further discussion with no prompting. In the true spirit of hermeneutic research, the interview phase of the study was far from standardized. In one case, when the researcher arrived for the discussion two of the respondents were present and so the "interview" was more of a small group discussion. In another case, one individual requested to respond on behalf of a group of senior citizens arranged a discussion meeting of that group and asked the researcher to be present as observer

and participant. Where a respondent was known to the researcher, informal contact would often develop into a full scale discussion, the equivalent of several interviews.

A notable outcome of many contacts with respondents was discussion of the fact that they had not stopped thinking of the topic when they completed the questionnaire. One participant stated that instead of the anticipated 15 minutes required for the task it has taken him two days as he reflected and added comments or changed rankings. Another had discussed the questionnaire with his colleague for several days before either responded, and significantly many had developed their ideas much further by the time their formfilling was followed by an interview.

It is difficult to report on the number and length of interviews as they varied so much. At the time of the conference, ten single interviews had been conducted, two small group discussions and one large group meeting. This does not include numerous, less formal discussions with relevant colleagues.

### The Conference

A conference of participants in the research and of any others interested was planned as the final activity of the research. On the mailed returns 130 individuals had indicated interest in being invited although those from outside of the lower mainland indicated that they would probably not be able to attend. All respondents indicating interest in at least being invited were mailed an invitation to hear a description of the results and to participate in further discussion on the main issues in a one day (10 am to 3 pm) conference.

37 of those invited accepted the invitation although many others gave reasons for not being able to attend and asked to be kept in contact, an indication that the hermeneutic approach was justified by this continuing interest and willingness to develop the conclusions further.

A report of the conference is presented in chapter 22.

## CHAPTER 18

### Changes in British Columbia

The first general question addressed in this research was

**“What cultural and societal changes do you think will most influence policing over the next thirty or so years?”**

This was included because there seems, to the researcher, to be a widespread perception that Canada, and especially British Columbia, is undergoing radical changes that might totally disrupt the life of its inhabitants. Since policing is closely tied to the society it polices, changes in British Columbia would mean changes in policing.

It is not just changes occurring now that might be important to those who make decisions about the education of police. Their expectations for future changes are also important. It is to be expected that any decisions on the education of police would be made “with one eye on the future” since the officers being educated now can be expected to police far into that future.

A number of changes seemed to be mentioned often in preliminary discussion. Those of a sociological persuasion often talked of demographic changes. They expected that changes in the age structure of British Columbia, with a decrease in the relative numbers of young people and an increase in the relative numbers of the elderly, might possibly result in less of those crimes characteristically committed by young people, but possibly more crimes against older citizens. Further, since the elderly are thought to experience more fear of crime than any other group (P. J. Brantingham,

personal communication, 1991) the police might have to shift their emphasis or plan some way to manage this fear.

The media seem to place their emphasis on the cultural changes in British Columbia. They use race as a descriptor for all sorts of behaviour, particularly if it is criminal or "gang" related. If one judged from the written media one would be excused for thinking that crime in British Columbia began with migration and will only decrease as immigration does.

A related issue, on the topic of the changing cultural makeup of the province, concerns communication difficulties. Not only are Canada's new arrivals all thought to have English as a second language, and to speak it very poorly, but because of their cultural differences they are believed to have different attitudes to the law, law enforcement and "criminals", apparently often trusting the latter more than the former. It is further suggested by some that this makes policing very difficult and "multi-culturalism" is one of the topics on the agenda of many police educator's conferences. Minority recruiting of officers is a close second on the discussion lists as most forces want to increase this but don't seem as successful as they might wish.

For others, the main issue that might concern B.C. police in the immediate future is the expected increase in the level of protest from Canada's first people, its native Indians. The incidents in the eastern provinces together with roadblocks in the north are perceived as the beginning of a new stage of activity and one that will have the police "caught in the middle".

Considering that native peoples are already disproportionately represented in the justice system, any increase in unrest is of serious concern.

The electronic media, on the other hand, seem to focus as much on changes in the structure of the family and the related increases in poverty levels. They relate many misdemeanors to factors such as these, implying that until we return to the nuclear or even the extended family, there will be no stability.

Police consulted during the discussions that constituted the first rounds of the hermeneutic circle, cited the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as just one more legal handicap to inhibit them in the execution of what they perceive as an already difficult task, the maintenance of law and order. Some seem to be of the opinion that Canada now places more importance on the letter of the law than on its substance and treats the rights of the offender as more important than the rights of the offended (Froyland, 1989a).

These are just a few of the topics that were discussed by those willing to share an opinion on the future of B.C. and of policing in B.C. Many had already been mentioned in the literature. From these, a list of 23 possible factors was presented to each participant in the research and they were asked to select the eight they thought most significant and then to rank them. The factors are listed in table A1 below.

## AI: THE FACTORS

- 1 The greying (ageing) of the population
- 2 The cultural & linguistic diversity of the population
- 3 The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
- 4 Kids growing up without both birth parents
- 5 The gap between rich and poor
- 6 Unemployment
- 7 Tight budgets and lack of adequate funding for police
- 8 Population density
- 9 Public violence
- 10 Domestic violence, spouse abuse, child abuse
- 11 Increased general mobility and relaxed border controls
- 12 Advanced technology for public and police alike
- 13 The media
- 14 Illegal drugs
- 15 Aids
- 16 Public protest and public disorder
- 17 Alienation of native groups
- 18 Job stress affecting both health and marriages
- 19 Huge shopping malls and condominium developments
- 20 Government privatization of more and more public service
- 21 Juvenile delinquency
- 22 International crime and international criminals
- 23 Growing selfishness in our society

It was decided not to ask respondents to rank all 23 factors as this would be an arduous task and might therefore be of dubious validity. However selecting only eight and ranking them caused difficulty to 22 of the 301 respondents who either allocated scores to all 23 factors or selected eight and ticked but did not rank them.

### Statistical Summary

An hermeneutic approach does not preclude the use of any tool to increase understanding, and using the questionnaire was thus considered quite legitimate under the approach. However the numbers need to be kept in appropriate perspective. They are one source of information among several and extensive reporting and analysis might cause the reader to lose sight of

this. However the hermeneutic approach attempts to give the reader as much information as possible to make her own assessment on the conclusions. It was therefore decided to present summary data here, using group means, and to refer the reader to Appendix II for further information.

Further with respect to analysis the researcher assumed that the snowball sampling resulted in a close to complete population and so little purpose was seen in extensive inferential statistical analysis. However if one factor is to be presented as selected ahead of others the reader has a right to know if this is just an apparent difference or a statistically safe one. It was therefore decided to apply the Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test<sup>1</sup> (Siegal, 1956) using the SPSSPC package to all possible pairing of factors to test their independence.

The mean score for each group and for the entire group, is presented in A2.

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<sup>1</sup> Because of the variation of ranking used in this part of the questionnaire the data was considered unsuitable for testing with a t-test. Seigel considers the Wilcoxon the strongest nonparametric test for use with related samples and so this was selected for use with parts A, C and D.



**A2: MEAN SCORE ON EACH FACTOR FOR EACH GROUP**

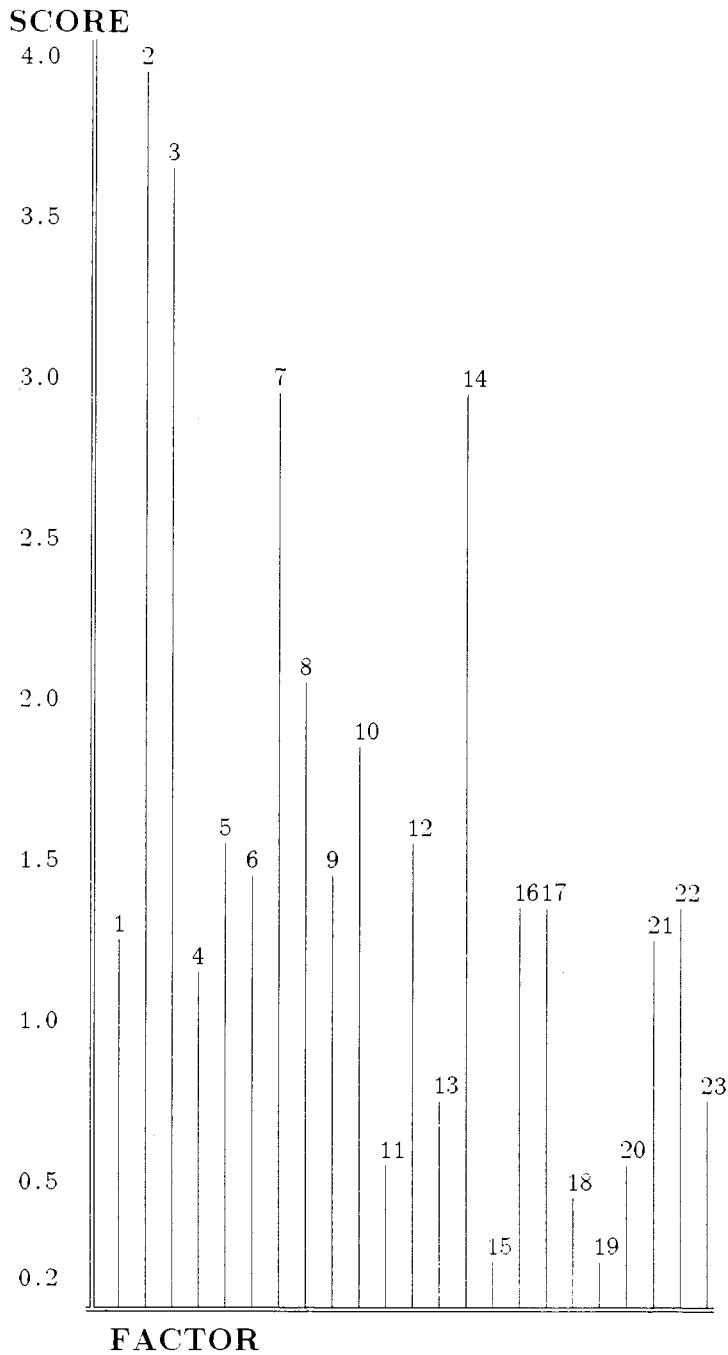
FACTORS	GROUPS							ALL
	P	S	R	M	C	J		
1 Greying	2.09	1.49	.25	1.14	1.13	1.45	1.30	
2 Pop diversit	4.42	4.11	4.11	3.59	3.05	3.55	3.96	
3 Charter	5.11	2.25	3.98	2.59	2.55	4.30	3.68	
4 Parents	.92	.72	.86	2.65	1.37	1.85	1.22	
5 Gap rich/po	.92	2.94	.84	1.49	2.13	3.05	1.59	
6 Unemployt	.60	1.87	1.80	1.73	1.97	1.95	1.48	
7 Budgets	3.86	2.53	3.27	2.46	2.37	1.00	2.95	
8 Pop density	2.20	2.34	2.87	1.65	1.29	1.65	2.14	
9 Public viol	1.66	1.02	2.03	.62	1.74	.85	1.46	
10 Domest viol	.92	2.21	2.00	2.35	2.53	2.55	1.87	
11 Mobility	.64	1.11	.47	.43	.26	.70	.60	
12 Technology	1.75	2.68	1.44	.76	1.32	1.55	1.64	
13 Media	.60	1.04	1.00	.84	.68	.75	.81	
14 Drugs	2.42	1.98	3.59	4.08	3.71	2.20	2.97	
15 Aids	.11	.00	1.03	.00	.26	.00	.29	
16 Public dis	1.73	1.19	1.08	2.16	.76	1.90	1.44	
17 Native alien	1.36	1.51	.83	1.59	2.13	1.40	1.40	
18 Job Stress	.66	.30	.59	.30	.71	.45	.53	
19 Malls & Con	.21	.66	.06	.16	.50	.50	.30	
20 Privatizn	.74	1.02	.34	.46	.47	1.10	.65	
21 Juven delinq	.92	1.11	1.58	1.51	1.74	1.35	1.31	
22 Intern crime	1.15	1.51	1.42	1.46	1.71	1.20	1.38	
23 Selfishness	.80	.70	.55	1.57	.97	.80	.85	

The factors considered to be the most important overall, on the basis of the mean of the group means can be seen in the following table.

**A3: MEAN SCORE ON EACH FACTOR FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS**

SCORE	FACTOR
4.0	2 Cultural & Linguistic Diversity
	3 The Charter of Rights & Freedoms
3.5	
3.0	7,14 Tight Budgets/Illegal Drugs
2.5	
	8
2.0	10
	5,12
1.5	6,9
	16,17,22
	1,21
	4
1.0	
	13,23
	11,20
0.5	18
	15,19 Aids/ Malls
0.2	

#### A4: GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF A3



From the above it seems that factor 2 (The cultural and linguistic diversity of the population) is considered to be the factor that will most influence policing in British Columbia over the next 30 years, and that factor 3 (The

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms) is thought to be almost as important. When the Wilcoxon test is used it is apparent that there is considerable overlap between the distributions for these two factors (the test yields a Z of -1.35 with a 2-tailed probability of .1766) but that they are independent of those for any other factors in the list. In other words, in the opinion of the participants factors 2 and 3 are the factors most likely to have an effect on policing in B.C. over the next thirty or so years, although it cannot be stated with any certainty which is most significant.

Next come two factors, 7 (Tight budgets and lack of adequate funding for police) and 14 (Illegal drugs). The mean over all respondents was the same for each of these and, as is to be expected, a Wilcoxon test indicated that they have overlapping distributions ( $Z = -.1117$ , with a 2-tailed probability of .9111). They appear to be considered by participants as of approximately equal importance but as more significant than any other factors. The Wilcoxon confirms this.

The two factors to score the lowest means were 15 (Aids) and 19 (huge shopping malls and condominium developments). These are not independent and together represent the factors considered by the group to be least likely to influence policing in British Columbia over the next thirty or so years.

A closer look at the figures presented in Appendix II will show that in most cases the groups were quite similar in their ordering of factors. There were differences although it is not appropriate to detail these here. They do indicate, however, that it would not be appropriate to consult with only one

of the groups represented here and assume that the opinions expressed would be agreed to by all.

This question was not considered the main one of the research but an introduction to the work, or an attempt to clarify the thinking surrounding decisions and recommendations participants might make on the objectives of police education. On the basis of discussions and interviews as well as the data presented here, the thinking of the participants could be summarized thus;

when asked "Which factors do you think will MOST influence policing in B.C. over the next 30 or so years?", the consensus for all groups was that **the cultural and linguistic diversity of British Columbia** and **the Charter of Rights and Freedoms** were considered most significant. Also important but less clearly so were **illegal drugs** and **tight budgets and lack of adequate funding for police**. Considered least important by the group were aids and huge shopping malls and condominium developments.

## CHAPTER 19

### Changes in Policing

The second general question asked in the research was

**How do you think policing in British Columbia will change over the next thirty years or so?** In some ways the material covered here is similar to that covered in the previous chapter but whereas that asked for changes in B.C. that might influence policing, this wanted respondents to think about changes in policing.

Most discussions on policing and the future of policing result in some strongly held predictions on what might/should happen. These sometimes relate to the structure of the police organization, often predicting that it will become flatter, less hierarchical or less militaristic; predicting that police departments will become more stratified with less educated officers doing the routine work and more highly educated officers to focus on specialized work; predicting that front line officers will be given more responsibility and more decision-making power; predicting that private police or other organizations will assume many police duties, and so on.

Sometimes the discussion relates to specific foci of police work and what these might be in the future. Terrorism is frequently mentioned, although many Canadians believe that this will not be a local concern. International crime, policing the environment, more violence or more public protest all receive their share of attention.

At some point the discussion usually comes around to police-community relations and debate ensues on whether police will be more or less involved in the community, and whether the community will be more or less involved in policing. Special "client" groups are usually mentioned, the young, the elderly, minorities and native people, although these are usually of more concern to outsiders than to the police.

From the discussions and the literature review that comprised the first rounds of the hermeneutic circle in this research, a set of 26 statements were prepared. These are not changes that should or should not occur, but changes that are considered likely by some participants in this research. Respondents were asked to use an eight point scale to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with each. The 26 statements are listed in table B1.

## **B1: THE STATEMENTS**

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1. We will see an expansion of the police role from order maintenance to a greater involvement in community services.
2. The police will move from a largely reactive to a more proactive, crime prevention role.
3. Private organizations will take over more routine police tasks (e.g. accident reports, private security etc).
4. Police will use a flatter organizational structure with more goal-setting and decision-making by small, front-line groups of officers.
5. General enforcement officers will be a minority as departments employ larger numbers of specialists.
6. Although technology to improve policing will be available, there will be insufficient funds to acquire it or to use it effectively.
7. The public will continue to judge police on 'number of crimes solved' or 'average response time'.
8. The government will increase the number of specialized law enforcement agencies OUTSIDE of the police (for investment, environmental, computer crime etc).
9. Community involvement in policing will increase.
10. We will see police increasingly involved in various public or community activities and on committees and organizations.
11. The police will improve their public relations and break down the barriers that isolate them.
12. Police will succeed in their attempts to involve minority groups in joint crime prevention ventures.

13. Membership of police agencies will better reflect the distribution of minority groups and females in the general population.
  14. The police will be expected to assume responsibility for enforcement of environmental laws.
  15. Police will be forced to devote more manpower and resources to combatting terrorism.
  16. The officer's potential for resolving interpersonal conflict will be considered in recruitment and training.
  17. With the 'greying of society' police will have to deal with more 'fear of crime'.
  18. Police morale problems will get worse.
  19. Policing departments will move to less autocratic leadership styles.
  20. We will see an increase in "problem oriented policing".
  21. Higher levels of education will be required of police.
  22. Police will encourage and use research.
  23. Policing will actually change very little.
  24. It will be difficult to keep the police independent of government influence.
  25. Police management will assume more responsibility for the personal development and well being of individual officers.
  26. The inmates of closed mental institutions, now living on the streets will occupy more and more police time.
- 

These statements were scored in such a way that the higher the score, the higher the level of agreement with the statement. A score of ~~5~~<sup>4</sup> indicates the strongest agreement, a score of ~~2.5~~<sup>2.5</sup> indicates neither agreement nor <sup>(neither...)</sup> disagreement and a score of ~~1~~<sup>0</sup> indicates very strong disagreement.

As in the previous chapter it is not considered appropriate to focus only on the numerical results of this part of the research since hermeneutic research uses many methods in each study. For this reason only summary data will be presented here. The reader is referred to Appendix III for detailed information. The mean score on each statement for each group is presented in table B2 and then information on all participants only is presented in more visual form in tables B3 and B4.



B2: MEAN SCORE ON EACH STATEMENT FOR EACH GROUP

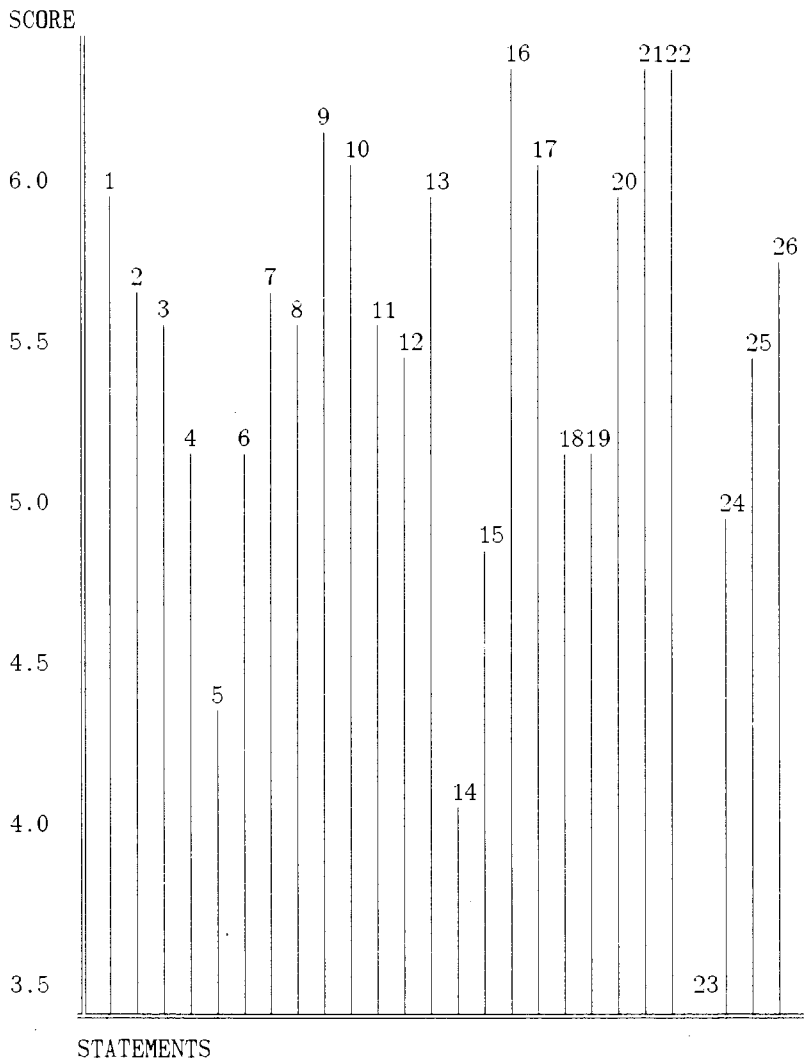
STATEMENTS	GROUPS						ALL
	P	S	R	M	C	J	
1 Comm Services	6.38	5.48	5.72	6.38	6.23	5.10	5.98
2 Proactive Pol	6.09	5.00	5.25	6.38	5.92	4.95	5.66
3 Private Orgs	6.15	6.42	4.53	5.24	5.45	5.38	5.59
4 Flatter Orgn	5.74	4.84	4.46	5.23	5.62	5.05	5.18
5 More Specialst	4.29	4.82	3.92	4.14	5.13	4.86	4.43
6 No Tech Funds	5.13	4.51	5.88	4.92	5.86	4.57	5.21
7 Judge Police	5.33	5.50	6.55	5.36	5.30	5.76	5.66
8 L Enf Outside	5.75	5.84	4.98	5.75	5.83	5.95	5.62
9 Comm in Pol	6.48	5.54	6.06	6.35	6.54	6.19	6.21
10 P in Comm Act	6.47	5.68	5.88	6.43	6.39	5.48	6.13
11 PR and Barrier	5.93	5.10	5.31	5.92	6.12	4.95	5.62
12 Min in Cr Prev	5.69	4.64	5.47	5.84	5.90	5.00	5.47
13 Min Memb in P	6.44	5.60	5.70	6.19	6.05	5.86	6.02
14 Policing Env	4.16	4.54	3.97	3.49	4.51	3.76	4.12
15 Terrorism	4.74	4.92	4.86	4.70	5.49	4.48	4.87
16 Interp Conf	6.74	5.94	6.53	6.19	6.51	6.38	6.44
17 Greying of Soc	6.68	5.82	5.92	6.08	5.70	5.71	6.10
18 Morale Probs	4.85	5.27	5.55	4.42	5.59	5.33	5.15
19 Leadership	5.62	4.86	4.67	5.53	5.23	4.86	5.17
20 Problem Orient	6.47	5.71	5.49	6.06	5.82	5.75	5.95
21 More Educ	6.67	6.76	6.41	6.61	6.44	6.48	6.58
22 More Research	6.66	5.92	6.30	6.58	6.60	5.95	6.39
23 Little Change	3.10	3.92	3.48	3.06	3.83	3.90	3.47
24 Govt Influence	4.87	5.52	5.31	4.47	5.32	4.10	5.03
25 Pers Dev Pol	5.71	5.28	4.92	6.00	5.68	5.48	5.48
26 Closed Mental	5.94	5.16	6.48	5.19	6.07	5.67	5.84

B3:

MEAN SCORE ON EACH STATEMENT FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS

SCORE	STATEMENT
6.0	16,21,22 Interpers Conflict/Education/Research 9 Community in Policing 10,17 Police in Community/Greying of Society 1,13,20
5.5	26 2,7 3,8,11 12,25
5.0	4,6,18,19 24 15
4.5	5 More Specialists Employed
4.0	14 Policing the Environment
3.5	23 Little Change

#### B4: GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF B3



From the above it seems that statements 16, 21 and 22 are those for which there was the highest level of agreement when all participants were considered. That would mean that the participants in this research agreed strongly with the statements

16. The officer's potential for solving interpersonal conflict will be considered in recruitment and training.

21. Higher levels of education will be required of police.

22. Police will encourage and use research.

The variance on each of these statements was high, however, when compared to the means and the claim that any statement was clearly the most popular overall would have to be made with caution. To check on the independence of the distributions of the apparently top statements a t-test for related samples<sup>1</sup> was used on all possible pairs of statement. As suspected the high variance makes it impossible to claim that one statement was clearly agreed with more than any other.

Understanding and interpretation does not depend only on statistical significance, and in this research the lack of independence of the statements for which there appears to be most agreement does not mean that we gain nothing. It does mean, however, that information must be treated with caution.

We may not be able to say that statement 21 relating to police education was clearly the statement for which there was the highest level of agreement but we can say that many participants agreed with it. The reader is cautioned still further, however, since all participants knew that the focus of the search was police education and this knowledge can be assumed to have influenced the thinking behind the responses. As well, interest in police education was to some extent a defining characteristic of all participants selected.

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<sup>1</sup> In part B of the questionnaire the data was considered interval and the researcher believed that the large numbers in the group overcame possible violations of the assumptions made for the t-test and justified its use over non-parametric analysis.

The most we would want to say, on the basis of the discussions and the written responses is that there is a considerable level of agreement that on statements claiming that police groups will require more education of their officers, especially as it relates to understanding and resolving conflict and undertaking and using research. There is also strong agreement in the area of community involvement in policing and police involvement in policing. This cautious summary should not indicate that the beliefs about these topics are not strong, but just that there are so many anticipated changes in policing that no group stands out. The researcher is of the opinion that those consulted believe that major changes in policing in British Columbia are about to occur but are not certain what these will be.

## CHAPTER 20

### Objectives of Police Education

Since this research is primarily about expectations for police education and since this is not well researched in police education literature, the third general question might be considered the most important. For this reason it was the focus not only of preliminary discussion and reading, and of one part of the questionnaire, but extra space was allocated on the form for an expansion and explanation of the choices made. The general question was **If police officers choose to study at university in addition to their basic training in a police academy, what should be the objectives of that education? How should the officer be different as a result of this education?**

Educational objectives are difficult to express even for educators who are frequently in conflict over the form in which they can or should be expressed. For those not involved in day to day discriminations between goals, aims, objectives and explanations these terms seem interchangeable. It was therefore considered important that responses should not be limited by the format of the questions in this part of the questionnaire. Further the literature is very vague on the anticipated objectives of police education and so the alternatives presented to participants in this research were developed not from the literature but from the early discussions and the preliminary, open questionnaire. For this reason they are somewhat loose, common usage phrases rather than precise statements of objectives. However the individuals addressed by this study were not all academics and as with any

beginning research in an area, interpreting the understandings of significant people is the first step. Precise formulations can come later.

Participants were presented with 14 words or phrases (objectives?) describing possible outcomes of education, together with an "Any Other" option, making 15 in all. They were asked to select the six they most hope will change in a police officer as a result of university education and then to rank these. The possible objectives are listed in C1.

### C1: THE OBJECTIVES

1	Attitudes and Values
2	Behaviour
3	Decision-Making Ability
4	Flexibility
5	General Knowledge
6	Knowledge of Policing
7	Knowledge of the Justice System
8	Knowledge of the Law
9	Philosophy of Policing
10	Policing Skills and Techniques
11	Questioning Approach to Everything
12	Skills with People
13	Tolerance
14	Wisdom
15	Any Other

Again only overall data is presented and the reader is referred to Appendix IV for detailed information. Table C2 presents mean scores on each objective for each group and tables C3 and C4 present the information for all participants in more visual form.

**C2: MEAN SCORE ON EACH OBJECTIVE FOR EACH GROUP**

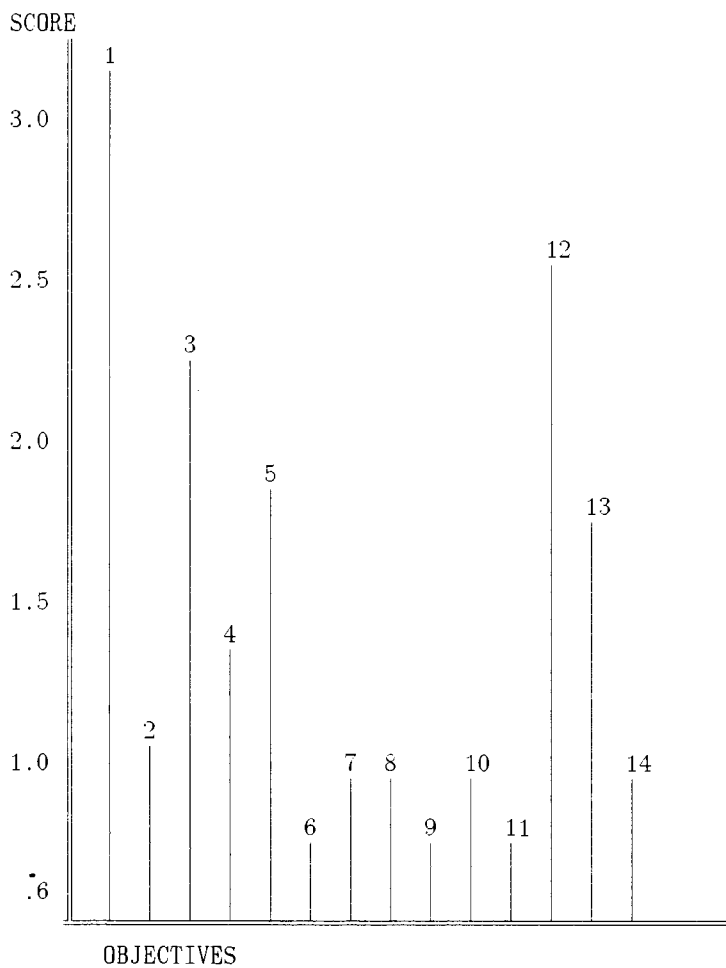
OBJECTIVES	GROUPS						ALL
	P	S	R	M	C	J	
1 Att & Val	3.58	3.44	2.47	3.70	3.00	3.10	3.22
2 Behaviour	1.14	.77	.98	.76	1.50	1.80	1.09
3 Dec-Mak	2.17	2.65	1.97	2.24	2.58	1.85	2.25
4 Flex	1.47	1.52	1.03	1.15	1.31	2.05	1.36
5 Gen Know	1.84	2.04	2.24	1.70	1.22	2.20	1.89
6 Know Pol	.60	.40	1.35	1.18	.61	.15	.77
7 Know J S	.73	.79	1.16	1.12	1.28	.85	.96
8 Know Law	.62	.83	1.77	.79	1.14	.75	1.00
9 Phil Pol	1.43	.50	.35	1.06	.67	.60	.84
10 Pol Sk	.73	.35	1.63	1.33	.89	.75	.95
11 Question	.59	1.65	.65	.73	.67	.80	.82
12 Sk People	2.27	1.92	3.16	2.82	3.39	2.40	2.62
13 Tolerance	2.35	1.81	1.15	1.15	1.22	2.95	1.76
14 Wisdom	1.09	.85	.60	1.27	1.31	1.40	1.01
15 Other	.34	.23	.48	.09	.61	.00	.33



C3: MEAN SCORE ON EACH OBJECTIVE FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS

SCORE	OBJECTIVE
3.0	1 Attitudes and Values
2.5	12 Skills with People
2.0	3 Decisionmaking Ability
1.5	5 General Knowledge 13 Tolerance
1.0	4
.6	2 7,8,10,14 6,9,11 Kn Policing/Philos Pol/Questioning

C4: GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF C3



From C3 it appears that objective 1 (Changes in attitude and values) is the most hoped for change to result from the education of police officers. Apparently next, in the view of the opinion leaders, is 12 (Skills with people). 3 (Decisionmaking ability) appears to be the third choice followed by 5 (General knowledge) and 13 (Tolerance). The Wilcoxon matched pairs signed ranks test (one of the strongest nonparametric tests available for non-interval data) indicates that objective 1 is quite independent of objective 12 which is itself independent of objectives 3, 5 and 13. Thus we can comfortably say that on the basis of the data from the questionnaires a

change in attitudes and values is clearly the most hoped for objective of police education. Skills with people is chosen by the group as the next choice of all participants. Following this is a group of three objectives, decisionmaking skills, general knowledge and tolerance.

A look at the separate data from each group (see Appendix IV) reveals a remarkable consistency. Objective 1 (Attitudes and values) was ranked first or second for all groups. Objective 12 (Skills with people) was ranked in the top three by all groups except the Scholars who ranked it fourth. The consistency is particularly important in the light of the objective of this research, which is to clarify expectations held for police university education for diverse groups of opinion leaders. Over those consulted here, changes in attitudes and values and improved skills with people were considered more important outcomes to be sought by a degree for police than were those specific to policing like knowledge of the law or the justice system or the philosophy and techniques of policing.

Although this appears to send a clear signal to those who will make decisions on police education there is some question about what the respondents might have meant by the expressions. Fortunately there is a wealth of follow-up information on what each respondent meant by his choices. This material is difficult to process but valuable nonetheless. The following is an attempt to present the reader with the flavour of comments made on the first two objectives.

### Comments on Attitudes and Values.

As one police officer put it, "All of the rest (hoped for outcomes of education) falls apart if attitudes and values are inappropriate", so it was not surprising that this alternative was widely discussed. Several participants in the study insisted that the outcomes of university education really depend on the courses selected and that without this information a discussion of objectives was purposeless, but the surprising thing is that it was only several out of 301 who believed this. All other comments assumed that regardless of the content of education a change in attitudes and values was a desired outcome.

Several comments related to "mature" attitudes, although the implication was that these should be learned at university rather than develop naturally with time. This learning would happen not because the attitudes were taught but by **exposing** the individual to ideas and people different from her own cultural parameters and experiences, and to broader issues that challenge tradition and introduce alternatives. A police trainer spoke of the university exposing the individual to a multiplicity of ideas and values some of which might eventually be adopted.

Related was the common hope that university would present a broadening of horizons; experiences of a diverse nature that would result in a greater understanding and an expansion of perspectives. One sergeant believes an attitude that allows or even encourages the police officer to learn from day to day experience and to develop the ability to accept the values of others is essential. He hopes that this can be found at university.

Many of the comments in the interviews as well as on the questionnaires referred to the social class of police officers. One police officer spoke of current attitudes and values reflecting those of the lower middle class and hence being narrow, but expressed a hope that university would expand the officer's perspectives resulting in greater tolerance and understanding. Others referred to blue collar workers. By contrast a discussant at the conference (see next chapter) expressed the fear that with education police would become a social elite, totally out of touch with the working people, and reflecting only the values of the upper middle class.

One respondent, a police chief, spoke of moving from "tight-knit police community" values to those of more broad-based knowledgeable citizens, and another, an officer in a staff development section, deplored the fact that present attitudes and values are set by senior police and allow little room for change. More positive attitudes and values are seen as imperative for progressive policing. An end to the limiting attitudes of the closed police community with its "para-military attitudes and herd values" as contrasted to those of the public in general was the major outcome of education anticipated by a very senior police leader. However another officer, a police trainer, believes that policing attracts those with already narrow and traditional values and so an university education is especially important, although it may be helpless in the face of these already entrenched values.

Some respondents discussed particular attitudes or values. "Integrity" and "strong moral values" were suggested as was a "non-authoritarian approach", all by practising officers. Others spoke of less stereotyping and a broadminded attitude, of overcoming negative attitudes towards those who

are different such as members of minority groups, gays or women. Still others hoped for a more open approach to other than traditional values, a valuing of difference.

An interesting idea that emerged from conversations in the very early stages of the process, was the importance of understanding that people do make mistakes without being evil. Seeing the world as black and white, as full of people who are bad, as "us versus them", has been described as common in the younger, less experienced officer (Froyland, 1989). In time this is either outgrown, or more firmly entrenched, but some of the participants of this study believed that overcoming this might be one of the most important outcomes of university education.

Two expressions occurred so frequently as to be worthy of special mention. Many individuals, both in and out of policing, spoke of seeing the **whole picture**, or the **big picture** and hoped that university would help develop this ability, and would influence the individual's particular way of seeing the world. A police inspector who believes that police already have to go beyond a strictly law enforcement mandate, considers that a university education might enable this by making the officer more open to all of society and its needs. An university education might make the officer able to see his work in a context of past, present and future.

The other dominant notion was that society is becoming more **diverse and complex** and policing with it. To police in this increasingly complex society the officer will need more than automatic reactions and specific skills. University might just help develop this greater approach and enable the

individual to “understand and tolerate the complexity and diversity of the public in terms of ethnicity, race, morality and views”.

Several comments related education to anticipated changes in policing, and predicted that a university education might develop attitudes and values that encouraged proactive policing and greater involvement in the community. Others placed values at the centre of strategic planning, as the core or influence on all, although an involved citizen suggested that values and attitudes considered acceptable or appropriate by society itself change greatly through the years and could be expected to change at least three times throughout the next thirty years.

Particularly telling were the comments of those involved in universities but with strong ties to policing. One of these proposed that “university education affects mainly attitudes and values” and can do nothing towards skills and techniques of intervention in real life situations.

Only four respondents, a police trainer, a university educator and two police staff sergeants, spoke of a particular type of education. The first; “exposure to liberal education allows the individual to examine and reflect on the importance of their own values”, and the second; “a liberal arts education (not training) can and should provide an enlightened, rational, freethinking and critical human being endowed with compassion and understanding” are echoed in the words of the third; “police constables require a broad range of knowledge from many disciplines. Law enforcement is such a small part of police work, a broad general education is more important than specialized knowledge. Police members should have a broad set of liberal

values. They need to be open to a variety of attitudes and values different from their own without prejudging them". A fourth expressed disquiet that the research seemed to him to imply an applied relationship between any university education and policing as he believes that a university education should provide a grounding or a core from which more specialized "training" can be directed.

Not all comments were hopeful of change. A senior training officer expressed the view that attitudes and values are developed in the formative preschool years and to a much lesser extent during the first six months of police service and are almost impossible to change. Another officer believed that if the individual did not begin policing with open attitudes and values it would be almost impossible to develop these on the job. The academy might help in the initial training period, but this is not guaranteed.

Perhaps these comments can best be summed up in the words of an highly educated local police chief who noted

In the next 30 years policing will become more complex and complicated. A university (?) will be a required entry level within ten years. The skills, knowledge and technology can be learned on the job. The attitudes, values, ethics will come with the police officer and will be the most important part of a degree as we in this profession cope with the diverse cultural and ethnic groups who will become a majority. Police will need to view the world and understand the values more liberal than now. Can no longer see others as a mirror image.

#### Comments on Skills With People

Not only was objective 1 (Attitudes and values) chosen first more often than any other, it attracted by far the most comments, but other objectives



attracted some too. The following are a some of the comments on objective 12 (Skills With People).

Many of the comments expanded on the need for People Skills and flexible people skills at that. They explained that most police work involves people in stressful circumstances and the police must learn how to deal with them. Public relations and community outreach activities are important components of policing and must be prepared for, as should people skills that would contribute to preventative policing or at least contribute to a slowing of the escalation of some problems. People skills were often related to the cultural and linguistic diversity of the population - considered to be the change in B.C. that will most influence policing over the next thirty years. A police chief suggested that "Interpersonal skills will be of a higher priority because of our public being more difficult to deal with, more demanding and more critical". More than one respondent suggested that with our fast changing society the officer needed not just people skills but flexible people skills. A claim was made that the police officers "trade or craft" is always judged against his ability to relate to or connect with the public.

Many comments focused not on the need for people skills but on their positive content. This ranged from skills for people management and the ability to draw others into cooperative ventures, to skills for defusing situations without the use of force. Conflict situations formed part of a majority of comments and alternatives to brute force were advocated. Also mentioned more than once was sensitivity, and the ability to listen and make people feel listened to.

Only two respondents suggested how skills with people might be developed in a university. One thought this would be via the exposure to a wide range of people which is (ideally) a component of university education. The other suggested that

Being able to deal impartially and effectively with a broad range of individuals is essential to a police officer. Exposure to "higher learning" particularly to "liberal Arts" and the resultant awareness of others' cultures, values, attitudes, practices etc ... (sic) is the biggest dividend paid by university/college.

### **The Interviews**

The interviews were planned as a method of verifying the principal findings of the questionnaire, and as once again giving respondents an opportunity to expand on their choices.

The importance given to skills with people by those responding in writing was certainly verified in all discussions, especially as they relate to mediation and the resolution of conflict. Policing was frequently described as a people activity and therefore as necessitating people skills. Attitudes and values, especially important to those who work as police, were not mentioned nearly as much by outsiders like judges, other public servants or citizens.

More than the specific objectives, the comments summarized above were echoed in the interviews. Words frequently occurring included "changing", "complexity", "exposure", "communication", "interpersonal skills", "cultural awareness", "counselling", "mediation", "proactive" and "community".

## **Summary**

The information from the comments builds on that from the ranking of choices by participants and is confirmed by the material from the interviews. The general expectation of education for police officers is that it achieve what have generally been understood to be the objectives of a liberal-arts education, a growth in attitudes and values and social skills rather than the accumulation of specific knowledge. Not only is this conclusion heartening but it gives those in a decisionmaking position an excellent starting point for developing a policy on the education of police. This will be explored in the final chapters of this report.

## CHAPTER 21

### Content of Police Education

In hermeneutic research the researcher is a participant and is permitted opinions. The only requirement is that she acknowledges them so all can assess her findings in context. In this instance the researcher is of the opinion that "consumers" might, indeed should, be consulted on the objectives of education (that is on their expectations on what they would consider favourable outcomes) but that educators, as those with the expertise, should be the principal decisionmakers in suggesting which content might best be used to achieve this. For this reason the final general question on the content of police education was almost not included.

However participants in the research might well feel that the work was incomplete had they not been asked their views on content so general question 4 was added. To some extent the researcher's opinion was validated by contradictions in the results from parts C and D.

The fourth general question was

**What should be the content of this education? What subjects should that education include?**

The researcher consulted the handbooks and calendars of the B.C. universities and colleges for a list of possible content to be included in this part, and then added topics suggested by discussants and those who co-operated by completing the questionnaire. The result was a list of 32 possible topics, all of which were presented to the participants with the

request that they allocate 0,1,2,3 to each item to indicate the weighting it should be given in an education for police, with 0 being the lowest weighting and 3 the highest.

**TABLE D1: SUGGESTED TOPICS**

1 Anthropology	17 Business Studies
2 Canadian Studies	18 Child Development
3 Communication Studies	19 Computing
4 Conflict Resolution	20 Counselling
5 Criminology	21 English
6 Ethics	22 Health Studies
7 History	23 History of Policing
8 Interpersonal Interactns.	24 Legal Studies
9 Management	25 Media Studies
10 Multicultural Studies	26 Native Peoples
11 Philosophy	27 Physical Education
12 Planning	28 Policy Studies
13 Politics	29 Principles of Policing
14 Psychology	30 Research Methods
15 Social Work	31 Sociology
16 Urban Studies	32 Women's Studies
33 Other (Please specify)	

For the reasons outlined above only summary data will be presented here and the reader is referred to appendix V for further details. Table D2 presents mean scores on each topic for each group and tables D3 and D4 present the information for all participants in more visual form.

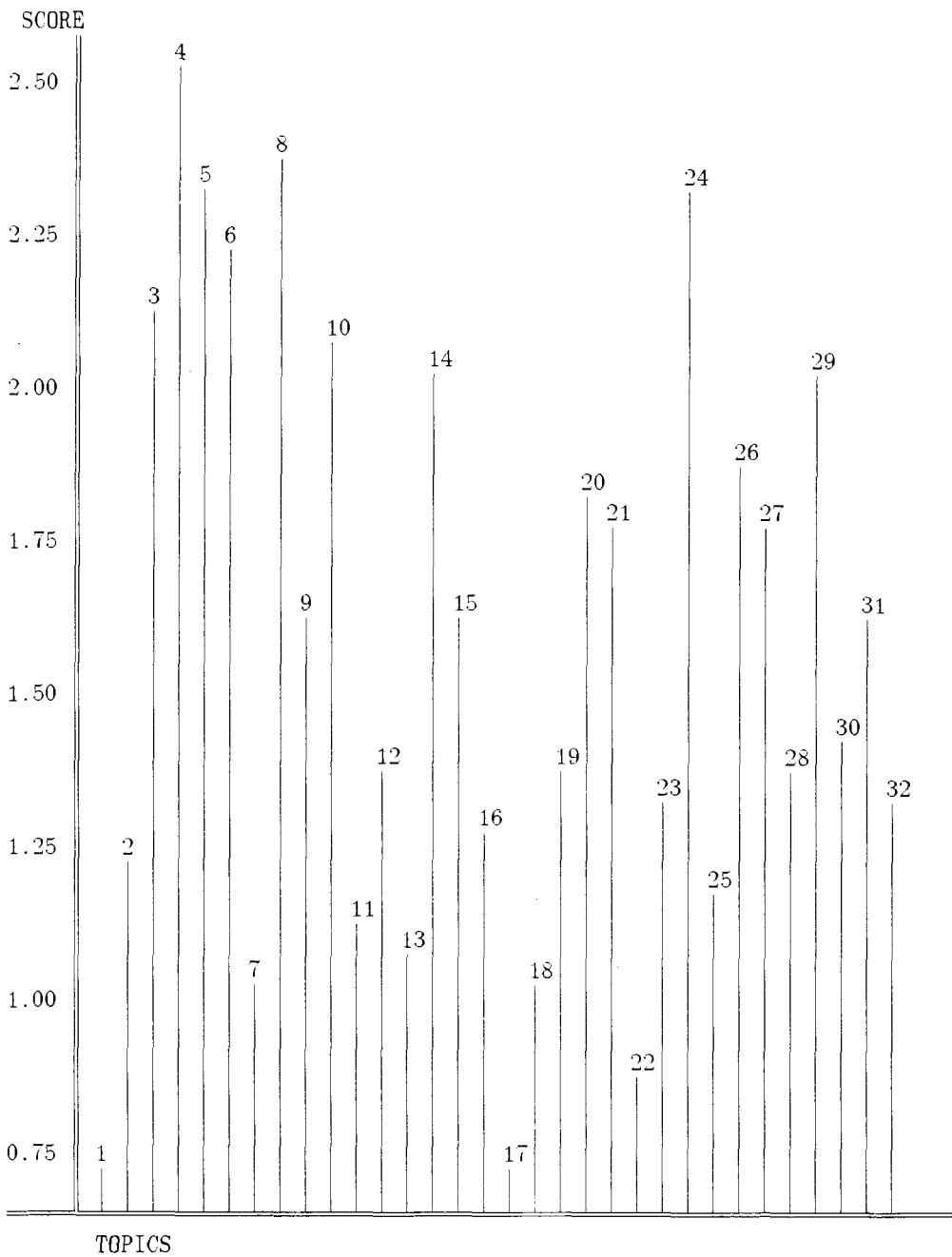
## D2: MEAN SCORE ON EACH TOPIC FOR EACH GROUP

TOPICS	GROUPS						ALL
	P	S	R	M	C	J	
1 Anthrop	.78	1.02	.41	.41	1.23	.71	.74
2 Can St	1.31	1.27	1.10	1.24	1.27	1.52	1.26
3 Comm St	2.28	1.65	2.37	2.21	2.16	1.86	2.14
4 Conf Re	2.58	2.31	2.60	2.56	2.61	2.48	2.53
5 Crimin	2.26	2.45	2.27	2.47	2.42	2.48	2.35
6 Ethics	2.28	2.08	2.08	2.41	2.27	2.43	2.23
7 History	1.06	1.14	.71	1.09	1.13	1.33	1.03
8 Interp	2.55	2.27	2.27	2.47	2.63	2.19	2.41
9 Managt	1.82	1.41	1.68	1.79	1.45	1.19	1.63
10 Multic	2.20	2.12	1.87	2.03	2.27	1.90	2.08
11 Philos	1.34	1.12	.78	1.38	1.10	1.14	1.14
12 Plan	1.69	1.08	1.27	1.32	1.47	1.14	1.38
13 Polit	1.22	1.33	.87	.94	1.23	1.05	1.12
14 Psych	2.22	1.82	1.86	2.00	2.32	2.05	2.04
15 Soc Wk	1.55	1.53	1.65	1.68	2.06	1.76	1.66
16 Urban	1.35	1.45	1.03	1.26	1.67	1.05	1.30
17 Bus St	.87	.60	.86	.79	.80	.43	.77
18 Ch Dev	.93	1.04	1.03	1.18	1.37	.95	1.05
19 Comput	1.70	1.21	1.24	1.44	1.27	1.10	1.39
20 Couns	1.91	1.68	1.76	1.97	2.17	1.57	1.85
21 English	2.03	1.67	1.94	1.53	1.66	1.57	1.82
22 Health	1.02	.71	1.05	.71	1.07	.86	.93
23 His Pol	1.49	1.44	1.02	1.26	1.47	1.52	1.35
24 Legal S	2.47	2.21	2.76	1.91	1.90	2.24	2.34
25 Media	1.28	1.23	1.14	1.26	1.20	1.10	1.22
26 Native	1.88	1.96	1.48	2.12	2.17	2.10	1.88
27 Phys Ed	1.79	1.27	2.63	1.65	1.53	1.81	1.87
28 Policy	1.44	1.15	1.37	1.33	1.48	1.62	1.38
29 Pr Pol	2.20	1.92	1.90	2.12	1.94	2.24	2.05
30 Resear	1.53	1.21	1.38	1.53	1.60	1.29	1.43
31 Sociol	1.77	1.77	1.39	1.62	1.97	1.52	1.67
32 Women's	1.26	1.42	.79	1.91	1.86	1.35	1.33
33 Others	.21	.23	.13	.00	.17	.14	.16

**D3: MEAN SCORE ON EACH OBJECTIVE FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS**

SCORE	TOPICS
2.50	4 Conflict Resolution
	8 Interpersonal Interactions
	5,24 Criminology/Legal Studies
2.25	6 Ethics
	3
	10
	14,29
2.00	
	26
	20
	21,27
1.75	
	9,15,31
1.50	
	30
	12,19,28
	23,32
	16
1.25	2
	25
	11
	13
	7,18
1.00	
	22 Health Studies
0.75	1,17 Anthropology/Business Studies

D4: GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF D3



From the above it appears that topic 4 (Conflict resolution) was the subject or content area believed by most to be the most important content to be studied by police in their education. Looking at the data as presented



visually topics 8 (Interpersonal interactions), 5 (Criminology), 24 (Legal studies) and possibly 6 (Ethics) seem to have been the next selections. At the bottom of the list, that is seen as least important of all topics presented, were 1 (Anthropology) and 17 (Business studies).

In order to decide whether topic 4 was indeed the first choice overall when the variances of the distributions were compared, a Wilcoxon matched pairs signed ranks test was used to compare the mean on every item with every other mean. A non-parametric test was used since the weighting given by respondents is an ordinal but not strictly an interval measure. The Wilcoxon test indicated that the distribution for topic 4 is independent of all others and thus could truly be said to have scored above all others in the selection of content. Data from the same test suggest that topics 8, 5, 24, 6, 3, 10, 14, 29 all have overlapping distributions. That is, they were all given high weightings by participants in this research but the exact order within the group is not exactly clear because of the relatively large variances of many of them.

A look at the details of this collection of topics is enlightening. For instance topic 5 (Criminology) was in this group as were topic 24 (Legal studies) and topic 29 (Principles of policing) indicating that many participants considered them important. This contradicts the finding of the previous section which suggested that police or crime related content is not considered important in this education but that officers or those who hope to become officers need content to develop attitudes and values and human relations skills instead. There are several possible explanations. Criminology is in fact the program being taught by the scholars chosen and being studied by many

police and potential police. On the other hand participants indicated that they wanted study that would achieve certain objectives, specifically those related to the development of attitudes and values and people skills. There is really no reason that criminology would not be an appropriate content in which to develop these. The important thing might be the method of teaching not the content taught.

From another point of view the selection of topics is not all that surprising as it seems to overlap many of the "liberal-arts" type objectives in part C. Certainly 3 (Communication studies), 8 (Interpersonal interactions) and 14 (Psychology) all have high surface validity as potential conduits for the achievement of these objectives.

Also a little confusing were the two topics at the bottom of the list, 17 (Business studies) and 1 (Anthropology). The Wilcoxon test indicated that the distributions of these two overlapped too much to separate them as contenders for bottom of the list. They are surprising though because the heavy emphasis on community, minorities and the cultural and linguistic diversity of British Columbia might have suggested that anthropology would be a little higher. Similarly some discussions emphasized education as a preparation for future administration and so business studies might have been a little more popular.

It is important, however, not to make too much of fine detail in this small part of a larger research. It would be appropriate to summarize by indicating that the first choice for content of police education is study related to conflict and the resolution of conflict. Other suggestions included

topics of a liberal-arts, communication nature and topics related to policing. It must be remembered, however, that these topics are meant to be the vehicles for achieving the objectives detailed in the previous chapter.

## CHAPTER 22

### Report on the Conference

The final stage of the project as planned, was a one day conference to share the findings of the research to date and to forward it in the continuing circle of the hermeneutic process. Accordingly, when the returns had slowed to one or two a week for several weeks and when they included no recommendations of opinion leaders except those already contacted, invitations were sent to all who had indicated an interest on the questionnaire. Of the 301 returns, received, 130 had indicated that they were interested in being invited should such a meeting be held. Some of these failed to add a name or address, and others were interested in being invited but could not get in from the country or arrange the time away from their duties. 37 individuals indicated an interest in attending for at least part of the day. The final group comprised about half senior police officers, one third scholars and the remainder citizens.

#### Purpose of the Meeting

There were two principle objectives for the conference. The hermeneutic process is one in which the researcher and the participants together seek an answer to a question of practical significance. Accordingly the solution does not belong to the facilitator alone but to all those involved. Indeed one of the successful outcomes of the early stages of the process was a general increase in interest in the question, and some participants actually contacted the researcher with further ideas after they had returned their written comments. The conference was planned as a way of sharing the findings

with the opinion leaders who had contributed ideas and with others who might be interested.

Another basic principle in hermeneutics is the idea that the answer is never final but the process moves in circles, with the researcher improving her understandings and presenting these back to other participants in the process for expansion and further modification. The conference was seen as a method of taking the preliminary results back to opinion leaders as the next step in the process.

### Method

The day was planned in two parts, presentation and discussion. For the first part the research was shared in both written and oral form. Some time was spent on the context of the problem, demonstrating the need for the research in both Canada and Australia and explaining the researcher's particular interest. In this part of the session it was not intended to offer information new to the listeners as most were experienced thinkers in this area, but to present it in such a form that the necessity for the research became apparent. Often those closest to a problem fail to see when it has developed to such a stage that a new consideration of old issues is called for, and the researcher attempted to demonstrate that this is so in the current case.

Following presentation of the research objective, the hermeneutic process was described as the most appropriate method under the circumstances. For many this was a new concept as most research in policing uses an empirical approach. It was not possible, and probably not necessary, to

trace the evolution of the application of this process to social science research, but for the experienced policymakers present it was necessary to establish its credibility<sup>1</sup>. Some of the philosophy of hermeneutics was shared and its strengths communicated in a brief overview before its particular application to this research objective was developed in somewhat more detail.

In the last hour of this first part of the day, the preliminary results were presented. Folders had been prepared with tables, like those in chapters 17 to 21, but including only preliminary data as the final returns had not, at that stage, been processed. These were systematically worked through by the group and all present joined in open comment and discussion. The interest level was high and the group appeared somewhat reluctant to break for lunch.

For the second part of the day it was planned that part C, the third main focus of the research be further explored. A modified form of the nominal group technique (Gray & Starke, 1988; Moore, 1987) was used to answer the central question;

If police CHOOSE to study at a university in addition to the academy how should they be different at the end? What are the aims, objectives of this education? What purpose should it have?

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<sup>1</sup> This is especially so if the finding of part B, that police will encourage and use research, is true. If the research used were restricted to more conventional models of inquiry its effectiveness would be limited.

Police policymakers and those who influence them seem, like many of the public, not to be used to addressing questions on the objectives of education. The question was therefore presented in this repetitive and somewhat hazy form to open the discussion wider than otherwise. The nominal group technique is particularly suitable in such cases as it allows for both individual reflection and sharing of ideas, and produces a written product that represents some form of consensus. Moore (1987) considers its particular strengths both that its "pooled intelligence approach" is appropriate to address complex, ill-defined societal problems; and that it consults the actors in attempting to understand social phenomena. This second factor is particularly significant when a hoped for outcome of the technique is social change, as the chances of this happening are increased if those who will make it happen are involved.

The nominal group technique calls for a fixed period of individual reflection and the silent generation of ideas on the topic. This is followed by a round-robin recording of ideas and then a serial discussion of each before a vote is taken to achieve a group result. In this case individuals were given 15 minutes to silently address the question and to record answers on a (gold) sheet of paper before they were formed into groups of three to share ideas and prepare a group response written on another (pink) sheet. After 20 minutes of this discussion in groups of three, the conference was formed into two large groups to share small group responses and prepare a large group summary, presented this time on overhead transparencies so that the results could be shared with the entire conference.

## The Conclusions

Interest in the process was very high. All participated, apparently willingly, in the first two stages and discussion in the third and fourth stages was enthusiastic. It is not possible to summarize all the comments on the gold sheets (individual reflection) or the pink (groups of three) but some of the comment will give a flavour.

To provide enlightenment necessary to give police officers the insight to be more sensitive and open minded to the dynamics of society.

To build a base to develop values, ethics and fundamentals of human rights,

Teach philosophy, concepts, principles and ideologies to provide a good foundation for analysing the function of the police in society.

Ability to view the police role from a broad conceptual base (the big picture); improved capacity to understand complex issues.

To be able to understand divergent values, culture, views in a changing society.

Be able to meet with groups, treat people fairly, more open and flexible approach.

Must first recognize / identify problem before ... solution.

Open minded inquiry, research minded, able to see the big picture.

Sensitize the officer to other cultural perspectives such as might be gained from anthropology<sup>2</sup>, social psychology.

The value of looking at the same issues from different perspectives.

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<sup>2</sup> This comment contrasts with the finding in part D above, where anthropology was placed at or near the bottom of the list of possible topics for study by all groups.



The following are the comments presented to the entire group by each of the larger discussion groups.

#### FIRST GROUP

1. An ability to view the police role from a broad conceptual base permitting an improved capacity to understand complex issues.
2. An ability to analyze, improve thinking process; development of creative problem solving skills ...

#### Purpose

Enhance student's satisfaction on a personal and professional level  
To help the individual member or officer to become a better problem solver within the police profession.

#### SECOND GROUP

At the end of a university education a police officer should demonstrate the following changes:

- a. Enlightened person
- b. Critical thinker
- c. Objective
- d. A good communicator
  1. Written
  2. Oral
    - a) one to one
    - b) group
- e. Ability to conceptualize
- f. Flexibility
- g. Demonstrated knowledge of human behaviour
- h. Practical skills at conflict management

#### Aim and Objective

To develop individuals who inspire public confidence in their ability to deal with a multitude of complex social situations.

The discussion during and following the presentation of these ideas on the overhead projector was strong and extensive. The researcher finally had to use her position as facilitator to conclude the conference at the appropriate time. Some of the main points made are particularly significant to this research and a summary follows.

\* The difference between training and education was discussed and wider definitions than those used in this paper were proposed. These placed the development of all practical skills (including those of doctors and engineers) in the field of training and proposed that this be completed in an academy. It is obvious that the distinction drawn in this paper, although necessary as a precursor to this research will need much more discussion in the future and that any researcher who neglects to face this problem will be in difficulty.

\* Some recruiters already send away those who do not have at least some university experience and they usually specify the courses or even the program to be taken before the candidate reapplies for policing.

\* The discussion of objectives for education depends on when the individual enrolls, at the beginning of her career or "ten years down the line". Ideally the officer would do a first degree as a general education, then attend the academy for training and only later re-enrol for more specific education.

\* A lot of different types of individual are needed in policing and a lot of different types of education would be an advantage<sup>3</sup>.

\* To some extent a police officer goes to university for his own personal development. He would then need to become an enlightened thinker, able to see the big picture, to conceptualize and look at the big problems, and to develop a solution and recognize its implications for changing the community.

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<sup>3</sup> After the conference a number of non-police attendees expressed amazement that the attitudes of the police were so liberal. They were surprised to hear officers use words like sensitivity. Either the police have a bad image in the eyes of some, this was an unusual group of officers or police have changed a lot in recent times and they need to communicate this. In either case interaction and communication between the various communities is indicated.

- \* Concern was expressed that increased levels of education, especially since it costs so much, might result in a force of social elites out of touch with the community.
- \* We need visible minority "cops"<sup>‡</sup>. They need to focus on values, understanding, awareness, cross-cultural communication, trust and respect.
- \* The near future will see "career constables", those who can never be promoted to administration, and this is ok but they will have to be helped to accept this.
- \* Two expressions were used so frequently as to leave the researcher thinking. The word "exposure" was used so often that it is evident that many consider the experience of a university as important as its content. The terms "the big picture" and "the big problem" entered the discussion from many directions. Both say something about an expected outcome of university that is not necessarily related to specific content.
- \* In all of this it is important to not lose sight of the job to be done. Job validated skills are important.
- \* It is not this simple.

The researcher concluded the conference by taking this last remark and making the point that it might not be that simple but decisions have to be made or a valuable resource will be wasted. University education is happening now and if the issue of its objectives is not addressed, no matter how inadequately, then its development might be haphazard and please no-one. The choice is between some planning and consultation or none.

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<sup>‡</sup> A heated discussion followed on the success, or otherwise, of local departments in their attempts to recruit members of visible minorities.

# PART FIVE REFLECTIONS

## LOOKING BACK

Often we do not know where we have been,  
let alone where we would like to go  
or how to get there.

Aaron Wildavsky, 1987

## CHAPTER 23

### Reflections on the Search

This study had two foci, to develop and demonstrate a research approach to discover the opinions of leaders and decisionmakers on the topic of police education; and to use it to collect information in order to develop recommendations for an education program. At this point it is appropriate to reflect on both as a precursor to the final recommendations about to be made. The reflections will be largely subjective but this is acceptable in hermeneutic research where the researcher is a participant in the process and her opinions and interpretations are encouraged as contributions.

On the basis of interviews and discussions and after a closer reading of the written returns it is very apparent to the researcher that opinions are a function of unique points of view. Sometimes these were similar for those in similar situations, but they were still individual. The point of view of each participant (including the researcher herself) not only determined the answers given, but more importantly influenced interpretation of the questions. As an educator and a psychologist of the behavioural school the researcher is used to asking the questions; What do we want to achieve?, What are the various ways of doing that?, What are the reasons for choosing one alternative over another? For many of the respondents these are not familiar questions, or at least not as they relate to police education or any education. To some it seemed almost incomprehensible to ask "What are your objectives for this education?", "How would you hope the person to be different as a result of it?"

The differences in the points of view of respondents is demonstrated in the fact that for almost every item in the questionnaire someone chose every possible rank or level. For instance Counselling in Part D was scored from 0 (None of this) to 3 (A major emphasis on this). Similarly statement 11 in Part B (The police will improve their public relations and break down the barriers that isolate them) was marked with every possible level of agreement from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree and had as added comments both "Read the current studies, It is very high in Canada", and "They aren't even trying".

The significance of point of view was particularly obvious in the interviews. Two representatives of a small isolated community, while being very cooperative could not see the question from any point of view other than the preparation of officers for service in their culture and place. The thought of an officer who might spend some of her career in a skid row district was something they could or would not contemplate when answering. The RCMP who were interviewed seemed unable to consider policing outside of their force and the manager in a government bureaucracy could only answer for police who worked in the area closest to his own occupation. At least as strongly held was the view of the municipal mayor who added at the end of the questionnaire "You are really short on the 'public' -- They after all are the employers and as such should determine the job -- the manner in which it is done and who does it."

The unformed nature of some opinions was also obvious in the interviews. Almost without exception an interview followed a written response and not

only were the answers sometimes different in each situation, but many of the interviewees began with a comment such as "I have thought about your questions such a lot since I filled in the form" or "the questionnaire didn't take me the 15 minutes you predicated to complete. I have been working on it for three days now, off and on." This gradual development of opinion explains some of the apparent inconsistencies between written responses and comments in interviews.

As the research progressed it was not only obvious that many opinions were initially quite unformed, but that given this circumstance the hermeneutic approach was particularly useful. Any "one shot" approach would not have been as satisfactory as an approach that has the researcher returning to ask the same question in another way. It would be extreme to imply that this development does not occur in other research but here it was particularly marked. Related to this, the flexibility of method that hermeneutics allows and even encourages was also particularly appropriate. As individuals thought on the topic they often involved others and then sometimes invited the researcher to meet with those others in a variety of settings.

Interestingly, in more than one case a look at the questionnaire prompted the participant to arrange an interview (many of which lasted much longer than the allocated half hour) even before a written response was sent, and the participant noted at the conclusion of the discussion that he would complete the questionnaire quite differently after the discussion. In these cases the term "interview" is misleading as that is frequently not what resulted. Sometimes "debate" would seem a better word.

The point of view of the respondent is important in all research but especially so when the focus of the research is opinions. The central position of the respondent has two major implications; it influences the choice of participants and it influences the choice of method. A sample which is representative of the population in general would not be appropriate here as, in spite of the comments of the mayor quoted above, the population in general will not have developed opinions on police education nor will they make policy on the matter. A sample representative of the police, the scholars, others in the justice system and so forth would not be appropriate either as all members are not equally influential. Policies in this area will be significantly influenced by those who have opinions and who are assertive enough to express them in situations where they will be heard and followed. The snowball approach which began with as wide a group as possible and expanded on recommendations was an attempt to tap those whose opinions are likely to have an effect and is justified where opinions differ so widely.

A second implication of the "point of view" or "perception" focus of this study is the selection of method(s). Perceptions are often not well developed or clear, even to the individual who holds them and so simply asking "What do you think about this?" and accepting the response brings no guarantee. Where opinions and perceptions are still forming it is important that the process of exploring them acknowledges both their elusiveness and their underdeveloped nature. For this reason the iterative process which is a feature of hermeneutic research is particularly appropriate. It attempts to ask the research question in a number of ways and at a number of times. Here the questionnaire was perhaps longer than



usually considered necessary because it was intended that the earlier parts would help the respondent formulate his opinion, and the initial written answers were followed up in interviews and a conference. If the researcher had been as aware at the start of the research as she was at its conclusion, of the unformed nature of some of the opinions and the way that these would develop during the process she might have considered beginning the project with a conference as well as ending with one. Hermeneutics is a particularly appropriate approach for research on the perceptions of opinion leaders, but an hermeneutic approach is not an automatic guarantee of good research.

Also related to the nature of the research was its timeline. As research based on a community problem or question, it was important that it be conducted within a finite time so that the answer, when presented to the community would still be current and needed. As research based on opinions and perceptions that change with context, it is again important that it be completed and reported while still appropriate. However, as research on opinions which are in many cases still forming, and with its snowball approach to the selection of participants, it is important that sufficient time be allowed for a reasonable development of both opinions and the group to be consulted. One way of meeting both of these time ideals is to plan a generous period for the initial work, setting up the research and making contacts, but then to ensure that the data collection is implemented as quickly as reasonable. The generous timeline for planning this research, determined somewhat by the demands of the doctoral program, enabled the researcher to attend several conferences that resulted in valuable leads and eventually in literally hundreds of contacts; gave her an opportunity to

refine her preunderstandings of the research area and the people involved; provided her with opportunity to establish credibility in the field and to motivate both herself and the participants in the research. It is strongly recommended that the timeline for hermeneutic research, particularly in policy areas like this one, be given very careful consideration so that a nice balance between too much and too little might be found.

From time to time at the start of the project, it seemed almost audacious for an outsider to attempt to enter a field like this where credibility and base knowledge are so important. In fact, with just the backing of a mandate from a foreign police, the researcher's naivety was an advantage, allowing her to ask "dumb" questions and to question assumptions, and motivating those consulted to make extra effort in providing recommendations. She seemed a neutral outsider, not identified with any subgroup and could approach the research with less local bias. Some of this support might have been a result of the topic and a perceived need, but there was certainly a high level of willingness and even enthusiasm among the respondents. The researcher experienced the real advantages of working with those who had a choice about responding and felt pleased to have been asked, over working with "conscripts" as can so often happen. The willingness and enthusiasm can be gauged from encouraging comments at the end of returns and from the number of phonecalls of the "I've just got your questionnaire and I'd like to ..." nature. A phone number where she could be reached, prominently displayed in several places on the forms proved a good idea.

It would be false to imply that all the feedback was positive. The most common "not positive" comment related to the time needed to complete

the questionnaire. On the basis of the trial group, criminology doctoral students, the cover sheet asked for 15 minutes and on the whole this gave a false impression. While the two or three hours claimed by some was not typical and could not be allowed for, those who found themselves only half way through the form after 15 minutes sometimes were critical at being tricked by the estimate. Whenever a very negative comment appeared on the return the researcher wrote with an explanation and apology but a less specific period would have been better. The 15 minutes was included because the researcher felt that it really was important that the questionnaire be kept short to improve motivation and so had had it timed in the trial, but the negative side of this was the antagonism when this proved to be an underestimate.

There were several comments criticizing specific questions, the form, or the approach. One return described the document as clumsy and difficult to summarize and another suggested that the "loaded questions" would not find good answers, only the preconceived one that the researcher appeared to have. For most of these criticisms there were answers and for every negative comment there were twenty unsolicited positive ones. Three returns were accompanied by journal articles on the topic that the researcher might not have seen and a small number had letters attached offering extra help or ideas.

Some of the criticism reflected inadequate knowledge of the intention or method of development of the document. The criticism of the statements and the factors or alternatives might have been averted had the form described how they had been derived, but in the choice between brevity

and information the information was short changed. The criticisms that the language was too specialized and too general (each appeared) was valid from the point of view of the individuals who made each but not when the diversity of the participants was known, and the comment that the questionnaire would be impossible to summarize reflected a different view of research where descriptive numbers are sought and not the hermeneutic approach in which written questions are but one step in an attempt to discover opinions.

It is appropriate at this time to ask three questions;

-- was the document effective in achieving the research objective?

-- was the method appropriate to achieve the research objective?

-- did the research achieve its objective?

For the first, the document, the answer is basically yes. There were minor criticisms as discussed above, but there were many more positive than negative comments. Some people made errors completing it, possibly reflecting inadequate instructions, but it was sent to a wide variety of people and some of these were inexperienced questionnaire completers. It would have been better had it been more clearly explained that these were predictions actually made by opinion leaders, but the cost would have been a wordier document. The detachable back page was rarely used, but it demonstrated an attitude of consideration on the part of the researcher that was important and should be retained. Only one change is recommended for a further study. Part C should be extended since this proved such an important section and worthy of development. Perhaps it could have more alternatives added, or better still be developed to explore objectives in more

detail. But over all the questionnaire could definitely be considered successful and an appropriate step in an iterative hermeneutic process.

Did the method work? It certainly seems so. All those who responded were enthusiastic, and the method found a large group of people with opinions they were willing to share. But not everyone with an opinion was asked and this should be explored. It was decided, for convenience and to set reasonable parameters, to not consult those outside of British Columbia but this might have excluded opinions that are influential in the development of education policies in this province. Another group not consulted was the media and they are certainly influential in policy. The decision to exclude these was a difficult one but the topic of police preparation for their tasks is sensitive and the fear that even one member of the media might sensationalize the issue was behind the decision. In retrospect the method was successful. The only modifications that might be made are the convening of a conference before as well as after as discussed above and the scheduling of more interviews since these resulted in data at times different in detail from that on the returns.

Another aspect of the success of the general method or approach should be mentioned here. Academics frequently need to research "in the field" and often this is difficult. It can be particularly difficult if the field feels in any way threatened by outsiders and functions as a tightly closed, mutually supportive group. This is often true of policing where outsiders are often harshly critical (sometimes with reason) and research can be difficult. The hermeneutic approach with its repeated contact, at first casual and only later structured, is appropriate for building trust and gaining access to the field.

It is not only the repeated approaches that build trust, but the philosophy of participation, where the members of the field become partners with the researcher in the search also enables this to develop. An hermeneutic approach is certainly no guarantee, but carefully used it is particularly appropriate in building trust and gaining access to the field.

Finally, did the research work? That is for the reader to judge but the researcher would say yes. A method of research based on an hermeneutic approach was demonstrated and results achieved that impressed those opinion leaders who attended the conference. From these results can be developed recommendations for policy and programs on police education, so the research objectives were met, but how adequately is for others to judge.

Before leaving this chapter on reflections on the method, it is appropriate to consider one other aspect, the researcher. On the surface, undertaking hermeneutic research looks easy; as if all one need do is develop a flexible method, an iterative approach and a sensitive manner, but it is not quite that straightforward. In this instance the researcher came from a long tradition of empirical research in psychology. It is not an exaggeration to say that in the past she worked with a philosophy that if you cannot measure it, then it does not really exist, or if it does, you do not really want to know about it. There was an underlying attitude that it is inappropriate to research feelings and beliefs, because they are not subject to independent, objective confirmation. Such fundamental beliefs were not easy to alter when attempting an hermeneutic approach. It was hard enough in the actual collection of data but the real difficulty came in drawing the research to a

close. A long tradition of only reporting what someone else can verify and then making what could be described as almost minimalist conclusions is difficult to shake. Not to do so would defeat the whole purpose of the approach, but it is not easy. In the development of a research plan that intends an hermeneutic approach, the preparation of the researcher is as important as the development of any other aspect.

The study had as one of its objectives the development and demonstration of a research approach to discover the opinions of leaders and decisionmakers on the topic of police education. It has been demonstrated that this can be done using an hermeneutic approach. Perhaps there are "rough edges", but these can be smoothed over with more experience and with the evaluation of the techniques used at each stage. In true hermeneutic manner the circle is already turning again. The completion of one round is the beginning of the next.

## CHAPTER 24

### Reflections on the Findings

The items ranked first, or agreed with most strongly in each part of the questionnaire have been listed in chapters 18 to 21 and repetition is somewhat pointless. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an opportunity for some subjective reflection on these on the part of the author, a participant in the research when the hermeneutic approach is used.

Part A was included in the research as much to set the scene of change as to discover information not otherwise available. However the results themselves are interesting and worth comparing to the two American and two Canadian reports described in chapters 14 and 15.

The factor listed first or second by all groups was

- \* 2 (The cultural and linguistic diversity of the population).

Listed among the top five by five of the six groups were

- \* 3 (The Charter of Rights and Freedoms),
- \* 7 (Tight budgets and lack of adequate funding for police)
- \* 14 (Illegal drugs).

Comparison with the United States is always difficult because of different contexts, but from Tafoya's list of topics selected as vital to the future of law enforcement, only "Drug abuse" was similar. Tafoya's group rejected "Immigrants/crime" in the first round, and no items relating to budgets or



the legal system were included at all (Tafoya, 1986). The FBI 2000 study (Lyons, Burton & Sonnichsen, 1989) did not prioritize issues fully but budget was presented as the first and major concern of the F.B.I. executives. Drugs were also discussed in that symposium but no reference was made to cultural groups and the only reference to the law was a call for the internationalization of some legislation.

The comparisons with the two major Canadian reports are more relevant. The Canadian Police College Symposium (Loree, 1989) addressed six topics and drug control and demographic change were two of these. Budgets and The Charter were not mentioned. In the more recent Policing-Challenge 2000 (Normandeau & Leighton, 1990a, 1990b) mention was made of high migration rates resulting in communication difficulties but any relationship with crime was minimized. Budgets were mentioned but drugs were not, nor was the Charter seen as a major problem.

These differences can be accounted for in a number of ways. This study was focussed on B.C. only and its methods were different. None of the other studies had participants rank or weight the topics and in none (with the partial exception of Tafoya) were the issues themselves decided as part of the research by the participants. Possibly the factors included in the other studies, and even the studies themselves had not come to the attention of the opinion leaders here. The Important point is that the factor cultural diversity, the Charter, budgets and drugs are not only relevant to this province but, by the nature of the research, worthy of some consideration by all Canadians.

Of all the groups used, the police recruits/scholars are the most interesting as the police should be the policymakers on police education but the recruits by their choice of course and the scholars by the nature of the courses they offer in fact make the current decisions on programs. Interpretation must be very general though. The scholars consulted are all criminologists and if the findings of part D are to be believed these are not the only scholars whose opinions should be asked. The recruits are interesting because they are the ones who have most recently made choices but until we know the basis of those choices we cannot make assumptions about their validity. The police, as opinion leaders on matters of police education are not necessarily opinion leaders on all issues discussed here. Provided they are treated with caution however, the choices can be enlightening.

Part B was included so that objectives and content of education selected in parts C and D could be interpreted against a context. Results here, can be compared with the four previous reports. In this study five (of twenty-six) statements with which there was a high level of agreement referred to police education, research, interpersonal conflict skills, and the involvement of the community in policing and the police in the community.

Education and research were both included in Tafoya's list of selected topics, and interpersonal skills might have been included in behavioural sciences, but if they were, they were excluded from discussion in the first round. The community was not mentioned at all. Personnel and training were both discussed in the FBI symposium but references to both were to sophisticated, technical training and not to education as envisaged here.

None of the other statements seem to have any parallel in the American work.

Possibly because of the different mandate of the projects, the issues covered in the Canadian Police College report (Loree, 1989) bear no resemblance to those seen as important here, but the more recent Normandeau and Leighton (1990a, 1990b) report does. They write at length of greater community - police involvement in both directions and even mention changing police personnel practices although it is not clear that they mean to include education. All in all the lack of similarity of the five projects is probably explained by the nature of the questions asked in each, but it is a little disturbing, especially in the light of Worden's recent criticisms of research on police education as failing to build on previous research and therefore not really advancing the field (Worden, 1990).

It is in the area of the objectives of university education, part C, that comparisons with other reports or differences between groups in this project would be most significant but the researcher knows of no similar study in north America. All groups placed a change in attitudes and values as the most desired of the changes they hoped would result from a university education for police. Skills with people was seen as a second very important objective of education.

As was mentioned earlier, the surprising thing about responses to part C is the consistency of choice between groups, not any major difference between them. All express general agreement on the objectives of police education as measured here. The top ranked choices are those that might

be achieved in a liberal-arts education (Ahlgren & Boyer, 1981; Winter, McClelland & Stewart), although the terminology was not used in this research. In spite of some resistance to such an orientation from both society and some police writers, the author predicts that the liberal-arts career education debate is not over. Perhaps a renewal of the discussion might result in a compromise as proposed by Murchland (1982), McInnes (1982), or Smith (1977) or even the inclusion of a liberal-arts component in a more police oriented program.

The researcher had some misgivings about including part D in the research as she is of the opinion that the police policymakers should set the objectives of education and leave it up to the educators to decide what content might best meet those. This is not a pragmatic approach however as members of most professions participate in decisionmaking on the education of their new members.

Once the research was in progress this concern was renewed as evidence from the interviews suggested inconsistency between written and verbal responses on part C and part D topics. A closer look at these data and some comparisons is indicated.

The points made above were based on both qualitative and quantitative information for each main question. However, several comments made by participants did not fit neatly into one of these categories. Some respondents attached letters to their returns and made general comments on what they saw as the (somewhat disturbing) future of policing. Two quotes, both from senior B.C. police, will demonstrate this:

"... increasingly I feel that the area of public policing is heading toward a resounding (?) crisis ... I am very much afraid that in the next ten years we will slowly begin to dismantle the public police concept for the wrong reasons. We will not be able to meet expectations and it will be assumed that the system is incapable or unwilling to meet them. As a consequence we will tend to be replaced by alternatives that look attractive on paper but will eventually fail for the same reasons and then we will likely have done serious damage to the only agency other than the fire department that still makes house calls."

"One of the most serious trends I see is a move toward private police for the rich and public police for the general public".

These are serious comments made by senior police. Both reflect the view that policing has changed and will continue to do so, and both connote a serious concern that the change cannot be controlled and will have negative consequences. Perhaps one weakness of the research is that it did not encourage more general comment such as this, although there is always the problem that if this is done, the work will be sidetracked from the basic issues. The other side of the question of whether or not to include options for such input is that the general comment does provide context against which to interpret all other answers and so is usually worthwhile.

These two comments prompt a reflection. These might reflect a concern that has been in the minds of these individuals for some time, or they might be an example of that development of thought that hermeneutics seems to encourage. There is really no way of knowing which is true at this stage.

It is important that this detailed consideration of the findings is brought to an end and some of the larger issues examined. Four general points need to be made. Firstly two expressions coloured all the discussions at the

conference and they reflect the attitude of conferees to university education. They were "exposure" and "the big picture". These do not refer to specific knowledge or study in a particular area but to a process that has effects almost regardless of the content included, so long as it is presented in a particular way.

Secondly the value placed on a topic depends on the understanding by the rater of its meaning and of the whole university process. Headings like conflict resolution and interpersonal interactions are extremely ambiguous and can mean anything from skills and techniques easily taught and applied at any level to complex areas of thought based on a sound exploration of theory and providing the learner with a body of knowledge to draw upon in attempting to place day to day activities within a larger context (or to see the big picture as was asked for at the conference). The separation of training and education was much discussed at the conference, and conferees tended to place any study leading to skills or activities in the former category. Some skills, however, develop only after a long consideration of theory and are not clear cut. When looked at in this way, the topics overlap. For instance 3 (Communication studies), 4 (Conflict resolution), 8 (Interpersonal interactions), 14 (Psychology) and 20 (Counselling) have common domains and common approaches and with idiosyncratic understandings could easily connote similar things. The interviewee who said that his department was not interested in the study of esoteric subjects like philosophy but later emphasised concern that police who study learn to question and think, to see "a bigger picture", had an understanding of philosophy different from many academics.

Thirdly there was some inconsistency between groups that indicates the likelihood of disagreement between "influence groups" on matters of policy. This reinforces the view that all should be consulted in its development.

Finally there is a high level of agreement between part C and part D choices and interview results on the emphasis to be given to people/communication skills but considerable inconsistency on the emphasis for law/crime studies. There is however enough information for policy recommendations to be made and this will be the focus of the next chapter.

### **The Findings in their Context**

The questions explored here were developed at length from two contexts, the history of policing and police education, and perceived changes in society for the nineties. It is appropriate that the findings are examined against the same background.

Early in this study the history of police education in North America was presented. It is worth noting that police education has come a long way since Vollmer, and yet in one sense it has progressed little. In Vollmer's time (1905 - 1931) an educated officer, outside of his own department, was a comparative rarity. Today they are extremely common. Almost all entering police have some university education and some have more than one degree. On the other hand Vollmer, and some of his peers, wrote so enthusiastically about police education and worked so hard to make it happen that it is surprising that it is still being debated and explored and that it is far from universal. Possibly it never will be. If it is true that police are about to enter a period when they have recruiting difficulties, then the

education levels of new officers will drop and the union that pushed for education in the hope that it would be a lever for more pay will have to consider making a case so that the new officer with no university education will not be financially disadvantaged. The forces that resulted in a rise in the education of police are almost all reversible and there is no guarantee that the trend to more education will remain.

A recurring theme in the early literature on police education was "liberal-arts" or "professional education". To the extent that criminology and criminal justice courses could be considered professional, that side of the debate seems to be winning. In a way this is not surprising as the seventies and eighties saw a widespread move away from a general education to more specialist degrees, even at undergraduate level. It is, however, just possible that this trend is about to reverse as specialist schools (e.g. business studies) struggle and general education programs flourish. If the objectives selected by participants in this research are anything to go by then a move back to a liberal-arts emphasis might be a safe prediction.

The history of calls for a liberal-arts education has been marked by debates on just exactly what the term means and whether or not such an education can live up to the expectation held for it. In this research, the term itself was not used but the questions are the same. What education might possibly be able to develop attitudes and values, and skills with people, particularly conflict related skills, to be used in a variety of settings and often in very difficult circumstances?



Only time will tell whether this is, indeed, the beginning of a period of true liberal-arts education for police or whether this is just a convenient time to reuse the ideas, since most people who saw them in their last "heyday" are no longer involved. Certainly an education of this type will not just happen, and it will not succeed if it is just an excuse for soft options. If, however, this study is just the beginning of a real effort to decide all the questions and to answer them, then a liberal-arts education for police might become an effective reality.

At the beginning of this work it was pointed out that there are many different study patterns for police officers and that the best education for each might be quite different. To some extent this remains an unresolved issue. Fortunately the objectives suggested by participants would be appropriate for all study patterns. An education that could enable the officer to attain them would benefit the individual and the department no matter what point she is at in her career. The fact remains that until departments can and will demand a completed degree for every recruit, or alternatively until they are prepared to pay to send all officers for an education on salary, the choice of when to study will be made by the individual to suit his own career and life plans.

The debate about when in the officer's career this education should occur and therefore what its content should be, develops if the question is looked at from the police point of view. An alternative might be to begin with the education perspective. A case could well be made that no matter when in the individual's career an education is begun, it should be a general education first with specialization beginning at the second level. Some of

the professions do this, calling for a general degree before the study of law or medicine is begun. If police do move towards professionalization, as is certainly possible, then one effect might be this general education first, followed by a more specialist degree.

One of the questions underpinning much of the debate on police education is whether or not education of police officers is a good thing. At the beginning of this work it was decided that this issue would not be explored. The stand would be taken that regardless of whether or not police should be educated, they are, and therefore the question of what this might encompass is relevant. This is still the stand taken by the researcher.

For similar reasons, the changing mandate of police was seen as an important issue but one too big for this research. An investigation of questions on this topic would be so encompassing that the matter of education content might be put aside. However it is not something that can be ignored. Educating police without asking should we have police in the present form is an example of moving the deck chairs on the Titanic. The question of the future of policing needs to be answered, but in the meantime the findings of this study indicate that there is consensus on the objectives of police education to meet the needs of police in 1991 and hopefully until 2021. All that is needed is a way to implement the findings of this research in the context of policing and education in British Columbia and this will be the focus of the final chapter.

# **PART SIX RECOMMENDATIONS**

## **LOOKING AHEAD**

**The future is headed somewhere and the direction  
may be discerned in the trends evident today.  
Chief Anthony Brown (Ret), 1990.**

## CHAPTER 25

### Implications and Final Recommendations

This dissertation began by demonstrating a need for an analysis of policy on the education of police, went on to develop a method for such analysis in situations where there is no single policymaker or policymaking group and where opinions have not always been developed, and concluded by applying the approach within a limited setting. Recommendations will be made on details of the method, on its further application and on the implications of the findings for police education. The dissertation will conclude with final reflections and recommendations on the hermeneutic investigation.

#### Recommendations on the Research Method

It is recommended that the hermeneutic research approach continue to be used but be modified in four ways before it is further applied.

The training/education distinction needs to be further elaborated. It may be that this is an inappropriate distinction and would be better abandoned, but more likely definitions should be developed and agreed upon by all who use the terms in discussion centred on this issue. As mentioned earlier, confusion centres around courses that bridge the gap between initial training and university education and around courses like those of the medical and the legal professions where the emphasis is on the acquisition of skills and a large body of knowledge rather than the development of a way of thinking unrelated to the content of that thinking. This confusion is

not so much on the part of the researcher but the discussants, who mentioned it frequently and often sidetracked into debates. In all future work definitions need to be agreed upon because the terms underpin much of the discussion.

The emphasis on a multiple method approach in which the same issues are raised with people in different ways over a period of time, should be retained and even extended. Opinions sometimes take time to develop and the hermeneutic approach with its iterative approach and flexible methods encourages this, but the researcher must be aware that answers given at the start of the research will not necessarily be the same as those given at its end. Further the diverse groups involved need to be approached in a number of different ways to reduce the possibility of different understandings of the question or topic confusing the results. In retrospect the development of a questionnaire from early discussions in the field rather than just from the literature was a strength of this work and it is recommended that this be continued and even extended. Although the suggestion has been made that a conference be convened before as well as after the written responses are collected, this might be difficult when a "snowball" approach to gathering participants is being used. However consideration could be given to conducting a number of small group discussions instead. The steps would then be

- \* Survey of the literature to isolate issues and concerns.
- \* Widespread discussions with individuals and small groups on the "research questions" or the foci of the research.
- \* Preparation and implementation of a written instrument.
- \* Follow-up interviews and small group discussions.

\* A concluding conference.

Thirdly consideration must be given to the preparation of the researcher who might still cling to old principles of research. In the present case the author tended to rely too heavily on written responses as "a safe haven" in a scarily different approach. Questionnaires are a means of gathering information from a large number of people and there is nothing about an hermeneutic approach that precludes them. However they MUST be just one of the methods used. Any tendency to make them the real method with all others as qualifiers, must be resisted. One approach might be to focus on a small, carefully selected group of participants and avoid written responses entirely, although this seems to be discarding a valuable tool and restricting ones options. The main point to be made is that the hermeneutic researcher is a participant in the research and her pre-understandings about the method as well as the topic need to be carefully delineated.

Finally the third part of the questionnaire, that part that attempts to discover opinions on the hoped for outcome of education, needs to be extended or developed. This is possibly the most important issue of the whole research, and it is certainly the part that has been explored least elsewhere. From this investigation it is apparent that respondents are willing to share opinions on this and the researcher has a responsibility to give them every opportunity to do so. One possible improvement would be to provide more alternatives and to explain these more fully. Another would be to find an additional way to tap opinion on expected outcomes, perhaps by adding another section.

### Recommendations on Further Research

The above suggestions for improvement to the research plan are offered because it is recommended that it be repeated in other contexts. The emphasis here was on British Columbia, and on those forces that police independently of the RCMP but the issues explored are not limited to B.C. or to municipal police. The author strongly recommends that the project be repeated in each of the other provinces or across Canada using both independent police and RCMP as its focus. The findings might not be the same, in fact they probably would not be, because opinions are related to temporal and geographic contexts and these would be different in the investigations suggested, but the issues are as much of concern and need to be explored in each context. Limited comparisons can be made but the real value of the research would be local application in the formation of policy on police education.

The author intends to repeat the investigation in Western Australia, and possibly in other Australian states, where university education for police is not yet as widespread as it is in Canada, but where questions on content and purpose are being publicly asked as the pressures for it gather momentum. In Australia the contexts will be very different but the questions are the same and a very similar approach will be used, with the modifications suggested above.

In future applications, the liberal-arts aspect should be explored. These results suggest a resurgence of interest in what was known as a liberal-arts education, although this terminology was not used in the study. As Winter, McClelland and Stewart (1981) discovered in their research it is possible to

achieve the outcomes desired here with a liberal-arts education but they are not a necessary result of all education described in this way. It is recommended that the results from this study should be the starting point for designing further research on the possibility of a liberal-arts education for police.

### Implications and Recommendations from the Findings

The findings of this research suggest that the changes in British Columbia most expected to influence policing over the next thirty years are the cultural and linguistic diversity of the population, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, illegal drugs, and tight budgets and lack of adequate funding for police. In the light of these it is anticipated from the findings that higher levels of education will be required of the police who will, in any case likely be selected and trained for their skills in resolving interpersonal conflict. The police will encourage and use research and will both have the community more involved in policing and be themselves more involved in the community.

The implications of this study are that to prepare for this future those who choose to study at university in addition to undertaking their initial training in a police academy should enrol in courses and programs that enable the development of attitudes and values as well as of skills for working with people, especially in conflict situations. Decisionmaking ability is also seen as a desirable outcome of this education. Participants in this research suggest that the exposure to people and ideas in a university are as important to the development of the desired outcomes as are the courses studied and so the emphasis should not be on specific content but on the



total experience. Possible study foci might be conflict and conflict resolution although exactly how this might be done is unclear. Also seen as useful would be interpersonal interactions, criminology, ethics and legal studies although there seems to be some disagreement on these. Most important is that the education expose the officer or potential officer to a variety of ideas and individuals so that he can consider alternatives and other points of view and will see policing in a larger context.

As might have been expected there was not universal agreement on all the findings summarized here. On some issues certain groups responded quite differently. It is therefore apparent that those consulted on police education should include representatives of all significant groups.

It is difficult to know how all this might be implemented. In each situation it depends on the framework already in place, but recommendations are, by their nature, somewhat idealistic, and are intended to serve as a goad to change almost as much as to be specifically implemented.

On the basis of these findings it is strongly recommended that:

1. Senior police recognize and accept both their right and their responsibility to consult on education programs for police officers. This is difficult in a setting where there is no mechanism in place. It is not too difficult for a school of education to consult with members of the education profession or a school of medicine to consult with the medical profession, but it not as easy for police to consult with a university on the sort of general, possibly liberal-arts, education recommended here. However the

principle remains; senior police should not see themselves as impotent or as having opinions not worth sharing. They must find ways to consult, especially if they want the professionalization process to proceed.

2. Communication between police groups be encouraged, not only so that they can arrive at a common policy should they think it appropriate but also so that information and ideas on police education can be exchanged. This consultation might be encouraged by an overarching body like the B.C. Police Commission. The term "police groups" is deliberately left open at this stage. Ideally in British Columbia it would include all police departments and the RCMP, as well as those government groups like Police Services that function in an advisory capacity to the police.

3. Consultation between the universities and the police be vigorously encouraged and that the consultative group include a range of others, like those from the groups used in this project. From the university point of view it is important that they be represented by generalists, or by a diverse group of people, not by members of a single academic discipline. As suggested above, this consultation will be difficult in British Columbia where university planning groups are uncommon (P. L. Brantingham, April, 1991), and it will be difficult since the education suggested by the research would not necessarily take place in a single department. However the principle is important and should be kept in mind.

4. Decisions on desirable outcomes and content of university education be communicated within each police department both to those officers responsible for recruitment since they will make decisions on the

acceptability of certain courses for applicants, and to all officers likely to be continuing their education while employed. Further it is strongly recommended that these decisions be communicated, preferably in written form possibly via a brochure or other document, to all potential recruits and school careers officers and to all serving police who might choose to further their education.

Again, on the basis of these findings the following recommendations are made for the consideration of those establishing policy on police education.

5. It is recommended that police see their responsibility as chiefly in deciding objectives or outcome and that they consult with educators on the education content to achieve these.
6. It is recommended that in their deliberations they consider **when** in the career of the officer this education is to occur since the needs of a beginning officer differ significantly from those of a potential police manager. Where this is not possible, consideration should be given to a two step degree in which the first two years of general education are a precursor to police training and the final two are undertaken later in a career to allow selection of content appropriate to a chosen career path. Alternatively the initial education could be four years of a general nature and subsequently the officer might be encouraged to return to the university for a year or two of more specialist work, possibly leading to a graduate certificate or degree. Just which alternative(s) are encouraged will depend entirely on the local situation, on the education levels of officers already employed and on the competition for places as new recruits.
7. That wherever possible the officer or potential officer be encouraged in a wide exposure to people and ideas. This can be attained if at least some of

the education is undertaken on campus in a full time mode, and if the police student is in courses and programs with non-police individuals.

8. That the education planned be aimed not at the accumulation of ideas and knowledge but rather at developing attitudes and values. Further that somewhere in the education program attention be paid to an examination of conflict and its resolution and that this be embedded in a program that enables the understanding of people and the development of people skills. Finally time must be spent on a study of approaches to decisionmaking so that each individual can apply this learning to the development of skills. Alongside of these should be some time spent on ethics, legal studies and criminology.

9. That at all times the focus should be on education not training so that the emphasis is not on the development of skills but on the exposure to issues that promote thought and a questioning and critical approach. Where skills seem called for in this research, the university responsibility is for the presentation of background material and thinking to form a context against which the skills can be developed rather than for the development of those skills.

In the overview of this dissertation it was suggested that university degrees represent a significant financial investment for the nation and a financial and personal investment for the individual. At the same time the researcher believes that they are a powerful tool for change. It is important that the investment and the power be considered when policy decisions relating to the education of police are made and that recommendations made to officers and potential officers ensure that the experience is rich and fulfilling for the individual as well as beneficial to the service.

## Final Reflections and Recommendations on the Hermeneutic Investigation

This research is not just about deciding policy on police education. It is primarily aimed at developing and demonstrating a method for doing this where there is no single policymaker and opinions are not firm. The experience shows that an hermeneutic investigation is not only appropriate but particularly productive in this situation. In the process of gathering opinions, hermeneutic research goes part way to solving the problem it investigates. Because participants are consultants rather than subjects they themselves are influenced more than they might otherwise be by their participation. In this research they appear to have been changed by the process in the direction of the solution before the conclusions had been summarized. This needs to be further investigated but if it is true then hermeneutic research might offer solutions to problems beyond just presenting a final list of recommendations. It is possible that hermeneutic investigation in social science and particularly hermeneutic policy analysis might make a unique contribution by coming some way to bridging the gap between academic research and the practical application of that research in the everyday world.

It is recommended that research be undertaken to investigate whether it is true that in hermeneutic research the opinions of those consulted do change in the direction of the final recommendations before these are made. This would be a further step towards the exploration and acceptance of hermeneutics in policy analysis. It is further recommended that social scientists and particularly policy analysts give serious consideration to

hermeneutics as an old but powerful tool in their work and one that might, in the words of Packer and Addison (1989a) uncover more knowledge.

APPENDIX I  
The Questionnaire

## PART A CHANGES IN B.C.

Tick the EIGHT (8) factors below that you think will MOST influence policing in B.C. over the next 30 or so years; then rank them giving 8 to the most significant, 7 to the next and so on, down to 1 for the least significant of your 8 factors.

- \_\_\_\_\_ The greying (ageing) of the population.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The cultural and linguistic diversity of the population.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Kids growing up without both birth parents.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The gap between rich and poor.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Unemployment.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Tight budgets and lack of adequate funding for police.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Population density.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Public violence
- \_\_\_\_\_ Domestic violence; spouse abuse, child abuse.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Increased general mobility and relaxed border controls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Advanced technology for public and police alike.
- \_\_\_\_\_ The media.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Illegal drugs.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Aids.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Public protest and public disorder.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Alienation of Native Groups.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Job stress affecting both health and marriages.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Huge shopping malls and condominium developments.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Government privatization of more and more public service.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Juvenile delinquency.
- \_\_\_\_\_ International crime and international criminals.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Growing selfishness in our society.



**PART B  
POLICING IN B.C. OVER THE NEXT 30 YEARS**

For each of the statements below please indicate the level of your agreement or disagreement as it relates to changes  
OVER THE NEXT 30 YEARS.

1. We will see an expansion of the police role from order maintenance to a greater involvement in community services.

Strongly Agree

( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )

Strongly Disagree

2. The police will move from a largely reactive to a more proactive, crime prevention role.

Strongly Agree

( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )

Strongly Disagree

3. Private organizations will take over more routine police tasks (e.g. accident reports, private security etc).

Strongly Agree

( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )

Strongly Disagree

4. Police will use a flatter organizational structure with more goal-setting and decision-making by small, front-line groups of officers.

Strongly Agree

( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )

Strongly Disagree

5. General enforcement officers will be a minority as departments employ larger numbers of specialists.

Strongly Agree

( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )

Strongly Disagree

6. Although technology to improve policing will be available, there will be insufficient funds to acquire it or to use it effectively.

Strongly Agree

( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )

Strongly Disagree

7. The public will continue to judge police on 'number of crimes solved' or 'average response time'.

Strongly Agree

( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )-----( )

Strongly Disagree

8. The government will increase the number of specialized law enforcement agencies OUTSIDE of the police (for investment, environmental, computer crime etc).

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

9. Community involvement in policing will increase.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

10. We will see police increasingly involved in various public or community activities and on committees and organizations.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

11. The police will improve their public relations and break down the barriers that isolate them.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

12. Police will succeed in their attempts to involve minority groups in joint crime prevention ventures.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

13. Membership of police agencies will better reflect the distribution of minority groups and females in the general population.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

14. The police will be expected to assume responsibility for enforcement of environmental laws.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

15. Police will be forced to devote more manpower and resources to combatting terrorism.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

16. The officer's potential for resolving interpersonal conflict will be considered in recruitment and training.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

17. With the 'greying of society' police will have to deal with more 'fear of crime'.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

18. Police morale problems will get worse.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

19. Policing departments will move to less autocratic leadership styles.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

20. We will see an increase in "problem oriented policing".

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

21. Higher levels of education will be required of police.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

22. Police will encourage and use research.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

23. Policing will actually change very little.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

24. It will be difficult to keep the police independent of government influence.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

25. Police management will assume more responsibility for the personal development and well being of individual officers.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

26. The inmates of closed mental institutions, now living on the streets will occupy more and more police time.

Strongly Agree

( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )----- ( )

Strongly Disagree

**PART C**  
**OBJECTIVES OF POLICE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION**

University degrees cost Canada millions of dollars, and the individual thousands of dollars and years of sacrifice. We would expect anyone with a completed degree to have something to show for it, to be different.

As someone who is considered an opinion leader in this area, which SIX (6) of the following would you most hope would change in a police officer as a result of UNIVERSITY study (in addition to study at a police academy)?

Please order the six you selected by assigning  
6 -- to "THE MOST IMPORTANT"  
down to  
1-- for "THE LEAST IMPORTANT (but still important)"

- \_\_\_\_\_ ATTITUDES AND VALUES
- \_\_\_\_\_ BEHAVIOUR
- \_\_\_\_\_ DECISION-MAKING ABILITY
- \_\_\_\_\_ FLEXIBILITY
- \_\_\_\_\_ GENERAL KNOWLEDGE
- \_\_\_\_\_ KNOWLEDGE OF POLICING
- \_\_\_\_\_ KNOWLEDGE OF THE JUSTICE SYSTEM
- \_\_\_\_\_ KNOWLEDGE OF THE LAW
- \_\_\_\_\_ PHILOSOPHY OF POLICING
- \_\_\_\_\_ POLICING SKILLS AND TECHNIQUES
- \_\_\_\_\_ QUESTIONING APPROACH TO EVERYTHING
- \_\_\_\_\_ SKILLS WITH PEOPLE
- \_\_\_\_\_ TOLERANCE
- \_\_\_\_\_ WISDOM
- \_\_\_\_\_ ANY OTHER (please specify)

In the light of your visions of policing over the next thirty years, please give a **VERY BRIEF** idea of what you mean by each of your choices.

YOUR "6" CHOICE

YOUR "5" CHOICE

YOUR "4" CHOICE

YOUR "3" CHOICE

.

YOUR "2" CHOICE

YOUR "1" CHOICE

**PART D**  
**CONTENT OF POLICE UNIVERSITY DEGREES**

If you were planning a university education program for police and had to decide the program, what would you include? Use the numbers 0, 1, 2, 3, to indicate how much OF EACH you would have students study  
0 -- if you would expect "NONE OF THIS"  
1 -- if you would expect "JUST A LITTLE OF THIS"  
2 -- if you would expect "AN EMPHASIS ON THIS AREA"  
3 -- if you would expect "A MAJOR EMPHASIS IN THIS AREA"

- |                                |                            |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| ___ ANTHROPOLOGY               | ___ BUSINESS STUDIES       |
| ___ CANADIAN STUDIES           | ___ CHILD DEVELOPMENT      |
| ___ COMMUNICATION STUDIES      | ___ COMPUTING              |
| ___ CONFLICT RESOLUTION        | ___ COUNSELLING            |
| ___ CRIMINOLOGY                | ___ ENGLISH                |
| ___ ETHICS                     | ___ HEALTH STUDIES         |
| ___ HISTORY                    | ___ HISTORY OF POLICING    |
| ___ INTERPERSONAL INTERACTIONS | ___ LEGAL STUDIES          |
| ___ MANAGEMENT                 | ___ MEDIA STUDIES          |
| ___ MULTICULTURAL STUDIES      | ___ NATIVE PEOPLES         |
| ___ PHILOSOPHY                 | ___ PHYSICAL EDUCATION     |
| ___ PLANNING                   | ___ POLICY STUDIES         |
| ___ POLITICS                   | ___ PRINCIPLES OF POLICING |
| ___ PSYCHOLOGY                 | ___ RESEARCH METHODS       |
| ___ SOCIAL WORK                | ___ SOCIOLOGY              |
| ___ URBAN STUDIES              | ___ WOMEN'S STUDIES        |
| ___ OTHER (Please specify)     |                            |

WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION OR CONNECTION WITH THIS AREA?  
(Please select the MOST appropriate)

- \_\_\_\_\_ Experience as a police officer or work in related area.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Staff faculty at the Justice Institute.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Faculty Graduate student at Camosun College, Douglas College, Fraser Valley College, Kwantlen College or SFU.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Enrolled at the Police Academy.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Management of Police Union B.C. Federation of Police Officers.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Municipal Politician.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Involved in an interest group (DERA, SUCCESS, OASIS, FIRST NATIONS...). Please specify.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A non-police member of the Criminal Justice System.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify)

PLEASE INDICATE YOUR AGE AND SEX (Please circle)

10-19; 20-29; 30-39; 40-49; 50-59; 60-69; 70-79; 80 & over.

Female

Male

WHAT WAS THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU COMPLETED?

- \_\_\_\_\_ Elementary School                      \_\_\_\_\_ High School
- \_\_\_\_\_ College or University Degree                      \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify)

**FINALLY**

I am interested in the opinions of anyone who might have something to say on this topic. WHAT OTHER INDIVIDUALS AND/OR GROUPS DO YOU RECOMMEND I CONTACT? (If possible please supply an address or phone number). MAY I MENTION YOUR NAME WHEN I CONTACT THEM?

I would like to do a few follow-up interviews to discuss the issues a little more and to give 'flesh' to the numbers.

Would you be willing to discuss the issues further?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

It is probable that I will be holding a short conference to share the results with all interested participants. I expect that it will be early in the new year.

Would you be interested in receiving an invitation?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

If you answered "YES" to either question above, or if you do not mind putting your name on this, please complete (\*)

NAME

\_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ (Ph) \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE NOTE:

Even though you may give your name above, all replies will be used in group form or as anonymous quotes unless you specifically indicate in writing below that you are willing to be quoted.

Once again, thank you for your time and effort.

Irene D. Froyland

\_\_\_\_\_

(\*) If you would like to be further involved but want to keep your written answers private, please feel free to return this page separately.



## APPENDIX II

### PART A CHANGES IN B.C.

#### THE FACTORS

Tick the EIGHT (8) factors below that you think will MOST influence policing in B.C. over the next 30 or so years; then rank them giving 8 to the most significant, 7 to the next and so on, down to 1 for the least significant of your 8 factors.

- 1 The greying (ageing) of the population.
- 2 The cultural and linguistic diversity of the population.
- 3 The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
- 4 Kids growing up without both birth parents.
- 5 The gap between rich and poor.
- 6 Unemployment.
- 7 Tight budgets and lack of adequate funding for police.
- 8 Population density.
- 9 Public violence
- 10 Domestic violence; spouse abuse, child abuse.
- 11 Increased general mobility and relaxed border controls.
- 12 Advanced technology for public and police alike.
- 13 The media.
- 14 Illegal drugs.
- 15 Aids.
- 16 Public protest and public disorder.
- 17 Alienation of Native Groups.
- 18 Job stress affecting both health and marriages.
- 19 Huge shopping malls and condominium developments.
- 20 Government privatization of more and more public service.
- 21 Juvenile delinquency.
- 22 International crime and international criminals.
- 23 Growing selfishness in our society.

#### THE RESULTS

##### Changes in B.C.: Police and Police Related

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	2.09	2.62	85	Greying of the Population
2	4.42	2.98	85	Population Diversity
3	5.11	2.92	85	The Charter
4	0.92	1.97	85	Kids Without Both Parents
5	0.92	1.92	85	Gap Rich & Poor
6	0.60	1.63	85	Unemployment

7	3.86	2.98	85	Tight Budgets
8	2.20	2.71	85	Population Density
9	1.66	2.57	85	Public Violence
10	0.92	1.75	85	Domestic Violence
11	0.64	1.73	85	Increased Mobility
12	1.75	2.29	85	Advances Technology
13	0.60	1.54	85	The Media
14	2.42	2.67	85	Illegal Drugs
15	0.11	0.69	85	Aids
16	1.73	2.24	85	Public Disorder
17	1.36	2.33	85	Alienation of Natives
18	0.66	1.69	85	Job Stress
19	0.21	0.96	85	Shopping Malls & Condos
20	0.74	1.65	85	Privatization Services
21	0.92	1.79	85	Juvenile Delinquents
22	1.15	2.35	85	International Crime
23	0.80	1.93	85	Growing Selfishness

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### Changes in B.C.: Scholars

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	1.49	2.75	85	Greying of the Population
2	4.11	3.20	85	Population Diversity
3	2.25	3.19	85	The Charter
4	0.72	1.78	85	Kids Without Both Parents
5	2.94	3.21	85	Gap Rich & Poor
6	1.87	2.45	85	Unemployment
7	2.53	3.18	85	Tight Budgets
8	2.34	2.67	85	Population Density
9	1.02	2.29	85	Public Violence
10	2.21	2.56	85	Domestic Violence
11	1.11	2.30	85	Increased Mobility
12	2.68	2.92	85	Advances Technology
13	1.04	2.08	85	The Media
14	1.98	2.76	85	Illegal Drugs
15	0.00	0.00	85	Aids
16	1.19	2.00	85	Public Disorder
17	1.51	1.86	85	Alienation of Natives
18	0.30	1.06	85	Job Stress
19	0.66	1.56	85	Shopping Malls & Condos
20	1.02	1.97	85	Privatization Services
21	1.11	2.18	85	Juvenile Delinquents
22	1.51	2.37	85	International Crime
23	0.70	1.91	85	Growing Selfishness

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### Changes in B.C.: Recruits

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	0.25	0.88	85	Greying of the Population
2	4.11	2.84	85	Population Diversity
3	3.98	3.35	85	The Charter
4	0.86	1.72	85	Kids Without Both Parents
5	0.84	2.06	85	Gap Rich & Poor
6	1.80	2.58	85	Unemployment
7	3.27	2.60	85	Tight Budgets
8	2.87	2.86	85	Population Density
9	2.03	2.68	85	Public Violence
10	2.00	2.47	85	Domestic Violence
11	0.47	1.52	85	Increased Mobility
12	1.44	2.41	85	Advances Technology
13	1.00	1.81	85	The Media
14	3.59	2.97	85	Illegal Drugs
15	1.03	1.98	85	Aids
16	1.08	2.10	85	Public Disorder
17	0.83	2.01	85	Alienation of Natives
18	0.59	1.70	85	Job Stress
19	0.06	0.39	85	Shopping Malls & Condos
20	0.34	1.25	85	Privatization Services
21	1.58	2.29	85	Juvenile Delinquents
22	1.42	2.52	85	International Crime
23	0.55	1.66	85	Growing Selfishness

### Changes in B.C.: Mayors

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	1.14	2.20	85	Greying of the Population
2	3.59	2.98	85	Population Diversity
3	2.59	2.95	85	The Charter
4	2.65	3.12	85	Kids Without Both Parents
5	1.49	2.63	85	Gap Rich & Poor
6	1.73	2.60	85	Unemployment
7	2.46	2.81	85	Tight Budgets
8	1.65	2.42	85	Population Density
9	0.62	1.72	85	Public Violence
10	2.35	2.66	85	Domestic Violence
11	0.43	1.28	85	Increased Mobility
12	0.76	1.86	85	Advances Technology
13	0.84	1.68	85	The Media
14	4.08	2.77	85	Illegal Drugs
15	0.00	0.00	85	Aids
16	2.16	2.53	85	Public Disorder
17	1.59	2.15	85	Alienation of Natives
18	0.30	1.05	85	Job Stress
19	0.16	0.83	85	Shopping Malls & Condos
20	0.46	1.64	85	Privatization Services

21	1.51	2.50	85	Juvenile Delinquents
22	1.46	2.26	85	International Crime
23	1.57	2.42	85	Growing Selfishness

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### Changes in B.C.: Citizens

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	1.13	2.30	85	Greying of the Population
2	3.05	2.44	85	Population Diversity
3	2.55	3.00	85	The Charter
4	1.37	2.29	85	Kids Without Both Parents
5	2.13	3.03	85	Gap Rich & Poor
6	1.97	3.10	85	Unemployment
7	2.37	2.94	85	Tight Budgets
8	1.29	2.18	85	Population Density
9	1.74	2.68	85	Public Violence
10	2.53	2.70	85	Domestic Violence
11	0.26	1.13	85	Increased Mobility
12	1.32	2.16	85	Advances Technology
13	0.68	1.71	85	The Media
14	3.71	3.05	85	Illegal Drugs
15	0.26	1.16	85	Aids
16	0.76	1.76	85	Public Disorder
17	2.13	2.35	85	Alienation of Natives
18	0.71	1.66	85	Job Stress
19	0.50	1.69	85	Shopping Malls & Condos
20	0.47	1.45	85	Privatization Services
21	1.74	2.51	85	Juvenile Delinquents
22	1.71	2.29	85	International Crime
23	0.97	2.05	85	Growing Selfishness

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### Changes in B.C.: Others in the Justice System

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	1.45	2.91	85	Greying of the Population
2	3.55	2.87	85	Population Diversity
3	4.30	2.70	85	The Charter
4	1.85	2.43	85	Kids Without Both Parents
5	3.05	3.56	85	Gap Rich & Poor
6	1.95	2.67	85	Unemployment
7	1.00	1.78	85	Tight Budgets
8	1.65	2.39	85	Population Density
9	0.85	1.63	85	Public Violence
10	2.55	2.52	85	Domestic Violence
11	0.70	1.89	85	Increased Mobility
12	1.55	2.76	85	Advances Technology
13	0.75	2.15	85	The Media
14	2.20	2.61	85	Illegal Drugs

15	0.00	0.00	85	Aids
16	1.90	2.75	85	Public Disorder
17	1.40	2.35	85	Alienation of Natives
18	0.45	1.10	85	Job Stress
19	0.50	1.28	85	Shopping Malls & Condos
20	1.10	2.49	85	Privatization Services
21	1.35	2.06	85	Juvenile Delinquents
22	1.20	2.40	85	International Crime
23	0.80	1.91	85	Growing Selfishness

**A5: PLACEMENT OF EACH FACTOR FOR EACH GROUP**

FACTOR NUMBER, as scored by group						
	P	S	R	M	C	J
5.1	3					
5.0						
4.9						
4.8						
4.7						
4.6						
4.5						
4.4	2					
4.3						3
4.2						
4.1		2	2	14		
4.0			3			
3.9	7					
3.8						
3.7					14	
3.6			14	2		2
3.5						
3.4						
3.3			7			
3.2						
3.1						
3.0					2	5
2.9		5	8			
2.8						
2.7		12				
2.6				3,4	3	10
2.5		7		7	10	
2.4	14			10	7	
2.3		8				
2.2	8	3,10		16		14
2.1	1				5,17	
2.0		14	9,10		6	6
1.9		6				16
1.8	12		6			4
1.7	9,16			6	9,21,22	

1.6			21	8,17,23		8,12
1.5		1,17,22		5,21,22		
1.4	17		12,22		4	1,17,21
1.3					8,12	
1.2	22	16				22
1.1		11,21	16	1	1	20
1.0		9,13,20	13,15		23	7
0.9	4,5,10,21		4			
0.8	23		5,17	12,13	16	9,13,23
0.7	18,20	4,19,23			13,18	11
0.6	6,11,13		18,23	9		
0.5			11	20	19,20	19
0.4				11		18
0.3		18	20	18	11,15	
0.2	19		1	19		
0.1	15		19			
0.0		15		15		15
	P	S	R	M	C	J

Table A5 shows the agreement, or disagreement, between groups but this is clearer when not scores but rankings are compared. This is quite legitimate for a scale where participants had only a limited number of "points" to allocate and so consideration involved comparing factors. It would not be legitimate for scales like those on either part B or part D. For each group the top five factors were selected, giving a set of ten (because the groups did not agree).

**A6: COMPARISON OF RANKINGS ON THE TOP FACTORS**

		RANKING GIVEN BY GROUP					
		P	S	R	M	C	J
2	POPULATION DIVERSITY	2	1	1	2	2	2
3	THE CHARTER	1	6.5	2	3.5	3	1
4	KIDS WITHOUT PARENTS	13.5	20	15	3.5	12	8
5	GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR	13.5	2	16.5	13	6.5	3
6	UNEMPLOYMENT	20	9	8	8	8	6
7	BUDGETS	3	4	4	5	5	16
8	POPULATION DENSITY	5	5	5	10	13.5	9.5
10	DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	13.5	6.5	6.5	6	4	4
12	TECHNOLOGY	7	3	10.5	16.5	13.5	9.5
14	DRUGS	4	8	3	1	1	5

## APPENDIX III

### PART B CHANGES IN POLICING

#### THE STATEMENTS

For each of the statements below please indicate the level of your agreement or disagreement as it relates to changes  
OVER THE NEXT 30 YEARS.

1. We will see an expansion of the police role from order maintenance to a greater involvement in community services.
2. The police will move from a largely reactive to a more proactive, crime prevention role.
3. Private organizations will take over more routine police tasks (e.g. accident reports, private security etc).
4. Police will use a flatter organizational structure with more goal-setting and decision-making by small, front-line groups of officers.
5. General enforcement officers will be a minority as departments employ larger numbers of specialists.
6. Although technology to improve policing will be available, there will be insufficient funds to acquire it or to use it effectively.
7. The public will continue to judge police on 'number of crimes solved' or 'average response time'.
8. The government will increase the number of specialized law enforcement agencies OUTSIDE of the police (for investment, environmental, computer crime etc).
9. Community involvement in policing will increase.
10. We will see police increasingly involved in various public or community activities and on committees and organizations.
11. The police will improve their public relations and break down the barriers that isolate them.
12. Police will succeed in their attempts to involve minority groups in joint crime prevention ventures.
13. Membership of police agencies will better reflect the distribution of minority groups and females in the general population.



14. The police will be expected to assume responsibility for enforcement of environmental laws.
15. Police will be forced to devote more manpower and resources to combatting terrorism.
16. The officer's potential for resolving interpersonal conflict will be considered in recruitment and training.
17. With the 'greying of society' police will have to deal with more 'fear of crime'.
18. Police morale problems will get worse.
19. Policing departments will move to less autocratic leadership styles.
20. We will see an increase in "problem oriented policing".
21. Higher levels of education will be required of police.
22. Police will encourage and use research.
23. Policing will actually change very little.
24. It will be difficult to keep the police independent of government influence.
25. Police management will assume more responsibility for the personal development and well being of individual officers.
26. The inmates of closed mental institutions, now living on the streets will occupy more and more police time.

## THE RESULTS

### Changes in Policing: Police and Police Related

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	6.38	1.67	86	Community Services
2	6.09	1.68	86	Proactive Policing
3	6.15	1.63	86	Private Orgs in Routine
4	5.74	1.77	86	Flatter Organizations
5	4.29	1.73	86	More Specialists
6	5.13	1.90	86	No Funds for Technology
7	5.33	1.89	85	Judging Police
8	5.75	1.69	87	Outside L Enf Agencies
9	6.48	1.48	87	Comm involved in Policing
10	6.47	1.39	87	P in Community Activities
11	5.93	1.58	87	PR and Barriers
12	5.69	1.43	87	Minorities in Cr Prev
13	6.44	1.20	87	Minority Members in P
14	4.16	1.94	87	Enforcement Env Laws
15	4.74	1.61	87	Terrorism
16	6.74	1.16	87	Interpersonal Conflict
17	6.68	1.08	87	Greying of Society
18	4.85	1.89	87	Morale Problems
19	5.62	1.94	87	Less Auto Leadership
20	6.47	1.03	86	Problem Oriented Pol
21	6.67	1.29	86	More Education
22	6.66	1.12	87	More Research
23	3.10	1.89	87	Little Actual Change
24	4.87	2.05	86	Govt Influence
25	5.71	1.70	87	Personal Dev of Pol
26	5.94	1.64	87	Closed Mental Instns

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### Changes in Policing: Scholars

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	5.48	2.03	50	Community Services
2	5.00	1.84	50	Proactive Policing
3	6.42	1.49	50	Private Orgs in Routine
4	4.84	1.66	50	Flatter Organizations
5	4.82	1.81	50	More Specialists
6	4.51	1.84	49	No Funds for Technology
7	5.50	2.02	50	Judging Police
8	5.84	1.66	50	Outside L Enf Agencies
9	5.54	1.76	50	Comm involved in Policing
10	5.68	1.61	50	P in Community Activities
11	5.10	1.81	50	PR and Barriers
12	4.64	1.65	50	Minorities in Cr Prev
13	5.60	1.77	50	Minority Members in P
14	4.54	2.07	50	Enforcement Env Laws
15	4.92	1.91	50	Terrorism

16	5.94	1.71	50	Interpersonal Conflict
17	5.82	1.48	50	Greying of Society
18	5.27	1.64	49	Morale Problems
19	4.86	1.69	50	Less Auto Leadership
20	5.71	1.26	49	Problem Oriented Pol
21	6.76	1.32	50	More Education
22	5.92	1.51	49	More Research
23	3.92	1.99	50	Little Actual Change
24	5.52	1.96	50	Govt Influence
25	5.28	1.55	50	Personal Dev of Pol
26	5.16	1.63	50	Closed Mental Instns

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**Changes in Policing: Recruits**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	5.72	1.51	64	Community Services
2	5.25	1.69	64	Proactive Policing
3	4.53	1.90	64	Private Orgs in Routine
4	4.46	1.47	63	Flatter Organizations
5	3.92	1.95	64	More Specialists
6	5.88	1.80	64	No Funds for Technology
7	6.55	1.33	64	Judging Police
8	4.98	1.62	64	Outside L Enf Agencies
9	6.06	1.57	64	Comm involved in Policing
10	5.88	1.27	64	P in Community Activities
11	5.31	1.64	64	PR and Barriers
12	5.47	1.47	64	Minorities in Cr Prev
13	5.70	1.52	64	Minority Members in P
14	3.97	1.92	63	Enforcement Env Laws
15	4.86	1.74	64	Terrorism
16	6.53	1.25	64	Interpersonal Conflict
17	5.92	1.23	64	Greying of Society
18	5.55	1.74	64	Morale Problems
19	4.67	1.38	64	Less Auto Leadership
20	5.49	1.22	63	Problem Oriented Pol
21	6.41	1.20	64	More Education
22	6.30	1.55	64	More Research
23	3.48	1.85	63	Little Actual Change
24	5.31	2.21	64	Govt Influence
25	4.92	1.80	64	Personal Dev of Pol
26	6.48	1.56	64	Closed Mental Instns

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**Changes in Policing: Mayors**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	6.38	1.23	37	Community Services
2	6.38	1.21	37	Proactive Policing
3	5.24	1.64	37	Private Orgs in Routine

4	5.23	1.50	35	Flatter Organizations
5	4.14	1.48	36	More Specialists
6	4.92	1.77	37	No Funds for Technology
7	5.36	2.06	36	Judging Police
8	5.75	1.13	36	Outside L Enf Agencies
9	6.35	1.32	37	Comm involved in Policing
10	6.43	1.12	37	P in Community Activities
11	5.92	1.21	37	PR and Barriers
12	5.84	1.36	37	Minorities in Cr Prev
13	6.19	1.10	37	Minority Members in P
14	3.49	1.77	37	Enforcement Env Laws
15	4.70	1.53	37	Terrorism
16	6.19	1.02	37	Interpersonal Conflict
17	6.08	1.25	36	Greying of Society
18	4.42	1.50	36	Morale Problems
19	5.53	1.58	36	Less Auto Leadership
20	6.06	0.92	36	Problem Oriented Pol
21	6.61	1.05	36	More Education
22	6.58	0.91	36	More Research
23	3.06	1.94	36	Little Actual Change
24	4.47	2.05	36	Govt Influence
25	6.00	1.41	36	Personal Dev of Pol
26	5.19	1.91	36	Closed Mental Instns

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**Changes in Policing: Citizens**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	6.23	1.68	39	Community Services
2	5.92	1.72	39	Proactive Policing
3	5.45	2.24	40	Private Orgs in Routine
4	5.62	2.20	37	Flatter Organizations
5	5.13	2.23	38	More Specialists
6	5.86	1.70	37	No Funds for Technology
7	5.30	2.21	37	Judging Police
8	5.83	1.97	40	Outside L Enf Agencies
9	6.54	1.47	41	Comm involved in Policing
10	6.39	1.56	41	P in Community Activities
11	6.12	1.71	40	PR and Barriers
12	5.90	1.58	41	Minorities in Cr Prev
13	6.05	1.69	39	Minority Members in P
14	4.51	2.35	41	Enforcement Env Laws
15	5.49	2.23	41	Terrorism
16	6.51	1.60	41	Interpersonal Conflict
17	5.70	1.79	40	Greying of Society
18	5.59	1.67	39	Morale Problems
19	5.23	1.70	40	Less Auto Leadership
20	5.82	1.66	38	Problem Oriented Pol
21	6.44	1.72	41	More Education
22	6.60	1.55	40	More Research
23	3.83	2.34	41	Little Actual Change
24	5.32	2.29	40	Govt Influence

25	5.68	1.62	40	Personal Dev of Pol
26	6.07	2.03	40	Closed Mental Instns

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**Changes in Policing: Others in the Justice System**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	5.10	1.51	21	Community Services
2	4.95	1.72	21	Proactive Policing
3	5.38	1.47	21	Private Orgs in Routine
4	5.05	1.63	21	Flatter Organizations
5	4.86	1.46	21	More Specialists
6	4.57	1.40	21	No Funds for Technology
7	5.76	1.48	21	Judging Police
8	5.95	1.53	21	Outside L Enf Agencies
9	6.19	1.12	21	Comm involved in Policing
10	5.48	1.33	21	P in Community Activities
11	4.95	1.80	21	PR and Barriers
12	5.00	1.67	21	Minorities in Cr Prev
13	5.86	1.53	21	Minority Members in P
14	3.76	1.76	21	Enforcement Env Laws
15	4.48	1.69	21	Terrorism
16	6.38	0.86	21	Interpersonal Conflict
17	5.71	1.62	21	Greying of Society
18	5.33	1.71	21	Morale Problems
19	4.86	1.59	21	Less Auto Leadership
20	5.75	1.33	20	Problem Oriented Pol
21	6.48	1.40	21	More Education
22	5.95	1.56	21	More Research
23	3.90	2.30	21	Little Actual Change
24	4.10	1.97	21	Govt Influence
25	5.48	1.50	21	Personal Dev of Pol
26	5.67	1.56	21	Closed Mental Instns

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**TABLE B5:  
PLACEMENT OF EACH STATEMENT FOR EACH GROUP**

SCORE	STATEMENT NUMBER, as scored by group					
	P	S	R	M	C	J
6.8		21				
6.7	16,17,21,22					
6.6			7	21,22	22	
6.5	9,10,20		16,26		9,16	21
6.4	1,13	3	21	1,2,9,10	10,21	16
6.3			22			
6.2	3			13,16	1	9
6.1	2		9	17,20	11,26	
6.0				25	13	8,22
5.9	11,26	16,22	6,10,17	11	2,6,12	13
5.8	8	8,17		8,12	8,20	7,20
5.7	4,12,25	10,20	1,13		17,25	17,26
5.6	19	13	18		4,18	
5.5		1,7,9,24	12,20	19	15	10,25
5.4				7	3	3
5.3	7	18,25	11,24		7,24	18
5.2		26	2	3,4,26	19	
5.1	6	11			5	1
5.0		2	8			2,4,11,12
4.9	24	15,19	15,25	6		5,19
4.8	18	4,5				
4.7	15		19	15		
4.6		12				6
4.5		6,14	3,4	24	14	15
4.4				18		
4.3	5					
4.2	14					
4.1				5		24
4.0			14			
3.9		23	5			23
3.8					23	14
3.7						
3.6						
3.5			23	14		
3.4						
3.3						
3.2						
3.1	23			23		

**TABLE B6:**

**MEAN SCORE OVER ALL STATEMENTS FOR EACH GROUP**

POLICE	SCHOLARS	RECRUITS	MAYORS	CITIZENS	JUSTICE
5.70	5.33	5.37	5.48	5.74	5.27

APPENDIX IV  
PART C OBJECTIVES

THE ALTERNATIVES

As someone who is considered an opinion leader in this area, which SIX (6) of the following would you most hope would change in a police officer as a result of UNIVERSITY study (in addition to study at a police academy)?

Please order the six you selected by assigning 6 -- to "THE MOST IMPORTANT" down to 1-- for "THE LEAST IMPORTANT (but still important)"

- 1 \_\_\_\_\_ ATTITUDES AND VALUES
  - 2 \_\_\_\_\_ BEHAVIOUR
  - 3 \_\_\_\_\_ DECISION-MAKING ABILITY
  - 4 \_\_\_\_\_ FLEXIBILITY
  - 5 \_\_\_\_\_ GENERAL KNOWLEDGE
  - 6 \_\_\_\_\_ KNOWLEDGE OF POLICING
  - 7 \_\_\_\_\_ KNOWLEDGE OF THE JUSTICE SYSTEM
  - 8 \_\_\_\_\_ KNOWLEDGE OF THE LAW
  - 9 \_\_\_\_\_ PHILOSOPHY OF POLICING
  - 10 \_\_\_\_\_ POLICING SKILLS AND TECHNIQUES
  - 11 \_\_\_\_\_ QUESTIONING APPROACH TO EVERYTHING
  - 12 \_\_\_\_\_ SKILLS WITH PEOPLE
  - 13 \_\_\_\_\_ TOLERANCE
  - 14 \_\_\_\_\_ WISDOM
  - 15 \_\_\_\_\_ ANY OTHER (please specify)
-



## THE PARTICIPANT GROUPS

P	POLICE AND POLICE RELATED	87 returns
S	SCHOLARS	50 returns
R	RECRUITS	65 returns
M	MAYORS	37 returns
C	CITIZENS	41 returns
J	OTHERS IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM	21 returns
X	REPRESENTS THE MEAN OF ALL THE MEANS.	

## THE RESULTS

### Objectives: Police and Police Related

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	3.58	2.48	86	Attitudes and values
2	1.14	1.86	86	Behaviour
3	2.17	2.18	86	Decision-making ability
4	1.47	1.93	86	Flexibility
5	1.84	2.11	86	General Knowledge
6	0.60	1.49	86	Unemployment
7	0.73	1.53	86	Tight Budgets
8	0.62	1.46	86	Population Density
9	1.43	1.94	86	Public Violence
10	0.73	1.38	86	Domestic Violence
11	0.59	1.37	86	Increased Mobility
12	2.27	2.11	86	Advances Technology
13	2.35	2.15	86	The Media
14	1.09	1.94	86	Illegal Drugs
15	0.34	1.18	86	Aids

### Objectives: Scholars

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	3.44	2.42	48	Attitudes and values
2	0.77	1.49	48	Behaviour
3	2.65	2.02	48	Decision-making ability
4	1.52	1.89	48	Flexibility
5	2.04	2.29	48	General Knowledge
6	0.40	1.23	48	Unemployment
7	0.79	1.68	48	Tight Budgets

8	0.83	1.83	48	Population Density
9	0.50	1.27	48	Public Violence
10	0.35	1.23	48	Domestic Violence
11	1.65	2.21	48	Increased Mobility
12	1.92	2.21	48	Advances Technology
13	1.81	2.02	48	The Media
14	0.85	1.79	48	Illegal Drugs
15	0.23	0.95	48	Aids

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**Objectives: Recruits**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	2.47	2.41	62	Attitudes and values
2	0.98	1.63	62	Behaviour
3	1.97	2.22	62	Decision-making ability
4	1.03	1.86	62	Flexibility
5	2.24	2.37	62	General Knowledge
6	1.35	1.98	62	Unemployment
7	1.16	1.75	62	Tight Budgets
8	1.77	2.18	62	Population Density
9	0.35	1.03	62	Public Violence
10	1.63	2.21	62	Domestic Violence
11	0.65	1.44	62	Increased Mobility
12	3.16	1.99	62	Advances Technology
13	1.15	1.77	62	The Media
14	0.60	1.30	62	Illegal Drugs
15	0.48	1.53	62	Aids

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**Objectives: Mayors**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	3.70	2.28	33	Attitudes and values
2	0.76	1.41	33	Behaviour
3	2.24	1.80	33	Decision-making ability
4	1.15	1.84	33	Flexibility
5	1.70	1.94	33	General Knowledge
6	1.18	1.79	33	Unemployment
7	1.12	1.75	33	Tight Budgets
8	0.79	1.62	33	Population Density
9	1.06	1.87	33	Public Violence
10	1.33	2.09	33	Domestic Violence
11	0.73	1.61	33	Increased Mobility
12	2.82	2.27	33	Advances Technology
13	1.15	1.97	33	The Media
14	1.27	2.00	33	Illegal Drugs
15	0.09	0.52	33	Aids

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**Objectives: Citizens**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	3.00	2.23	36	Attitudes and values
2	1.50	2.12	36	Behaviour
3	2.58	2.27	36	Decision-making ability
4	1.31	1.70	36	Flexibility
5	1.22	1.94	36	General Knowledge
6	0.61	1.42	36	Unemployment
7	1.28	1.88	36	Tight Budgets
8	1.14	1.78	36	Population Density
9	0.67	1.53	36	Public Violence
10	0.89	1.72	36	Domestic Violence
11	0.67	1.59	36	Increased Mobility
12	3.39	2.10	36	Advances Technology
13	1.22	1.61	36	The Media
14	1.31	2.08	36	Illegal Drugs
15	0.61	1.73	36	Aids

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**Objectives: Others in the Justice System**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	3.10	2.31	20	Attitudes and values
2	1.80	2.55	20	Behaviour
3	1.85	1.98	20	Decision-making ability
4	2.05	2.19	20	Flexibility
5	2.20	2.26	20	General Knowledge
6	0.15	0.67	20	Unemployment
7	0.85	1.66	20	Tight Budgets
8	0.75	1.29	20	Population Density
9	0.60	1.31	20	Public Violence
10	0.75	1.74	20	Domestic Violence
11	0.80	1.79	20	Increased Mobility
12	2.40	2.39	20	Advances Technology
13	2.95	2.19	20	The Media
14	1.40	2.06	20	Illegal Drugs
15	0.00	0.00	20	Aids

**TABLE C5: PLACEMENT OF EACH OBJECTIVE FOR EACH GROUP**

	OBJECTIVE NUMBER, as scored by group					
	P	S	R	M	C	J
3.7				1		
3.6	1					
3.5						
3.4		1			12	
3.3						
3.2			12			
3.1						1
3.0					1	13
2.9						
2.8				12		
2.7						
2.6		3			3	
2.5			1			
2.4	13					12
2.3	12					
2.2	3		5	3		5
2.1						
2.0		5	3			4
1.9		12				
1.8	5	13	8			2,3
1.7				5		
1.6		11	10			
1.5	4	4			2	
1.4	9		6			14
1.3				10,14	4,7,14	
1.2			7,13	4,6,13	5,13	
1.1	2,14			7,9	8	
1.0			2,4			
.9					10	
.8		2,7,8,14		2,8		7,8,10,11
.7	7,10			11	9,11	
.6	6,8,11		11,14		6	9
.5		9				
.4		6,10	9			
.3						
.2						6

Table C5 shows the agreement, or disagreement, between groups but this is clearer when not scores but rankings are compared. This is legitimate as participants were really ranking objectives against each other when they completed this part of the survey. For each group, the top four objectives

were selected, giving a set of six in all (because the groups did not agree on the top objectives). The rankings on each of these six factors is shown in the following table.

**TABLE C6: COMPARISON OF RANKINGS ON THE TOP FACTORS**

		RANKING GIVEN BY GROUP						
		P	S	R	M	C	J	X
1	ATTITUDES & VALUES	1	1	2	1	2	1	1
2	BEHAVIOUR	8.5	9.5	10.5	12.5	4	6.5	7
3	DECISION MAKING ABILITY	4	2	4	3	3	6.5	3
5	GENERAL KNOWLEDGE	5	3	3	4	8.5	4	4
12	SKILLS WITH PEOPLE	3	4	1	2	1	3	2
13	TOLERANCE	2	5	8.5	8	8.5	2	5

## APPENDIX V

### PART D CONTENT OF POLICE DEGREES

#### THE TOPICS

If you were planning a university education program for police and had to decide the program, what would you include? Use the numbers 0, 1, 2, 3, to indicate how much OF EACH you would have students study

0 -- if you would expect "NONE OF THIS"

1 -- if you would expect "JUST A LITTLE OF THIS"

2 -- if you would expect "AN EMPHASIS ON THIS AREA"

3 -- if you would expect "A MAJOR EMPHASIS IN THIS AREA"

- |                              |                        |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 ANTHROPOLOGY               | 17 BUSINESS STUDIES    |
| 2 CANADIAN STUDIES           | 18 CHILD DEVELOPMENT   |
| 3 COMMUNICATION STUDIES      | 19 COMPUTING           |
| 4 CONFLICT RESOLUTION        | 20 COUNSELLING         |
| 5 CRIMINOLOGY                | 21 ENGLISH             |
| 6 ETHICS                     | 22 HEALTH STUDIES      |
| 7 HISTORY                    | 23 HISTORY OF POLICING |
| 8 INTERPERSONAL INTERACTIONS | 24 LEGAL STUDIES       |
| 9 MANAGEMENT                 | 25 MEDIA STUDIES       |
| 10 MULTICULTURAL STUDIES     | 26 NATIVE PEOPLES      |
| 11 PHILOSOPHY                | 27 PHYSICAL EDUCATION  |
| 12 PLANNING                  | 28 POLICY STUDIES      |
| 13 POLITICS                  | 29 PRINCIPLES POLICING |
| 14 PSYCHOLOGY                | 30 RESEARCH METHODS    |
| 15 SOCIAL WORK               | 31 SOCIOLOGY           |
| 16 URBAN STUDIES             | 32 WOMEN'S STUDIES     |
| 33 OTHER (Please specify)    |                        |

#### THE PARTICIPANT GROUPS

P	POLICE AND POLICE RELATED	87 returns
S	SCHOLARS	50 returns
R	RECRUITS	65 returns
M	MAYORS	37 returns
C	CITIZENS	41 returns
J	OTHERS IN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM	21 returns

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X REPRESENTS THE MEAN OF ALL THE MEANS.

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## THE RESULTS

### Content Police Uni Ed: Police and Police Related

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	0.78	.82	86	Anthropology
2	1.31	.86	86	Canadian Studies
3	2.28	.85	86	Communication Studies
4	2.58	.64	86	Conflict Resolution
5	2.26	.67	86	Criminology
6	2.28	.79	86	Ethics
7	1.06	.73	86	History
8	2.55	.70	86	Interpers Interactions
9	1.82	.76	84	Management
10	2.20	.76	86	Multicultural Studies
11	1.34	.81	86	Philosophy
12	1.69	.86	86	Planning
13	1.22	.79	86	Politics
14	2.22	.76	86	Psychology
15	1.55	.85	85	Social Work
16	1.35	.77	85	Urban Studies
17	0.87	.82	86	Business Studies
18	0.93	.81	86	Child Development
19	1.70	.88	86	Computing
20	1.91	.83	86	Counselling
21	2.03	.91	86	English
22	1.02	.74	85	Health Studies
23	1.49	.79	86	History of Policing
24	2.47	.78	86	Legal Studies
25	1.28	.78	85	Media Studies
26	1.88	.82	86	Native Peoples
27	1.79	.97	86	Physical Education
28	1.44	.88	85	Policy Studies
29	2.20	.85	86	Principles of Policing
30	1.53	.79	86	Research Methods
31	1.77	.82	86	Sociology
32	1.26	.87	85	Women's Studies
33	0.21	.69	86	Other

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### Content Police Uni Ed: Scholars

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	1.02	.72	49	Anthropology
2	1.27	.81	49	Canadian Studies
3	1.65	.99	49	Communication Studies

4	2.31	.77	49	Conflict Resolution
5	2.45	.84	49	Criminology
6	2.08	.93	49	Ethics
7	1.14	.74	49	History
8	2.27	.67	49	Interpers Interactions
9	1.41	.79	49	Management
10	2.12	.78	49	Multicultural Studies
11	1.12	.86	49	Philosophy
12	1.08	1.00	49	Planning
13	1.33	.88	49	Politics
14	1.82	.75	49	Psychology
15	1.53	.79	49	Social Work
16	1.45	.87	49	Urban Studies
17	0.60	.71	47	Business Studies
18	1.04	.74	48	Child Development
19	1.21	.80	48	Computing
20	1.68	.67	37	Counselling
21	1.67	.88	48	English
22	0.71	.80	48	Health Studies
23	1.44	.68	48	History of Policing
24	2.21	.80	48	Legal Studies
25	1.23	.86	48	Media Studies
26	1.96	.68	48	Native Peoples
27	1.27	1.07	48	Physical Education
28	1.15	.85	48	Policy Studies
29	1.92	1.03	48	Principles of Policing
30	1.21	.90	48	Research Methods
31	1.77	.81	48	Sociology
32	1.42	.90	48	Women's Studies
33	0.23	.69	48	Other

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**Content Police Uni Ed: Recruits**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	0.41	.68	64	Anthropology
2	1.10	.71	63	Canadian Studies
3	2.37	.81	63	Communication Studies
4	2.60	.68	63	Conflict Resolution
5	2.27	.86	64	Criminology
6	2.08	.83	63	Ethics
7	0.71	.61	62	History
8	2.27	.72	63	Interpers Interactions
9	1.68	.88	62	Management
10	1.87	.75	63	Multicultural Studies
11	0.78	.89	63	Philosophy
12	1.27	.90	63	Planning
13	0.87	.75	63	Politics
14	1.86	.83	64	Psychology
15	1.65	.83	63	Social Work
16	1.03	.80	63	Urban Studies
17	0.86	.86	63	Business Studies



18	1.03	.88	63	Child Development
19	1.24	.89	63	Computing
20	1.76	.93	63	Counselling
21	1.94	.81	64	English
22	1.05	.87	63	Health Studies
23	1.02	.68	63	History of Policing
24	2.76	.61	63	Legal Studies
25	1.14	.76	63	Media Studies
26	1.48	.78	63	Native Peoples
27	2.63	.63	64	Physical Education
28	1.37	.81	63	Policy Studies
29	1.90	.86	63	Principles of Policing
30	1.38	.91	63	Research Methods
31	1.39	.77	64	Sociology
32	0.79	.79	63	Women's Studies
33	0.13	.55	63	Other

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**Content Police Uni Ed: Mayors**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	0.41	.50	34	Anthropology
2	1.24	.78	34	Canadian Studies
3	2.21	.77	34	Communication Studies
4	2.56	.56	34	Conflict Resolution
5	2.47	.83	34	Criminology
6	2.41	.70	34	Ethics
7	1.09	.83	34	History
8	2.47	.56	34	Interpers Interactions
9	1.79	.64	34	Management
10	2.03	.80	34	Multicultural Studies
11	1.38	.82	34	Philosophy
12	1.32	.81	34	Planning
13	0.94	.65	34	Politics
14	2.00	.95	34	Psychology
15	1.68	.84	34	Social Work
16	1.26	.90	34	Urban Studies
17	0.79	.69	34	Business Studies
18	1.18	.80	34	Child Development
19	1.44	.86	34	Computing
20	1.97	.76	34	Counselling
21	1.53	.71	34	English
22	0.71	.58	34	Health Studies
23	1.26	.67	34	History of Policing
24	1.91	.75	34	Legal Studies
25	1.26	.62	34	Media Studies
26	2.12	.64	34	Native Peoples
27	1.65	.98	34	Physical Education
28	1.33	.96	33	Policy Studies
29	2.12	.91	34	Principles of Policing
30	1.53	.83	34	Research Methods
31	1.62	.82	34	Sociology

32	1.91	.79	34	Women's Studies
33	0.00	.00	34	Other

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**Content Police Uni Ed: Citizens**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	1.23	.94	30	Anthropology
2	1.27	.87	30	Canadian Studies
3	2.16	.93	31	Communication Studies
4	2.61	.62	31	Conflict Resolution
5	2.42	.72	31	Criminology
6	2.27	.69	30	Ethics
7	1.13	.94	30	History
8	2.63	.61	30	Interpers Interactions
9	1.45	.78	29	Management
10	2.27	.87	30	Multicultural Studies
11	1.10	.71	30	Philosophy
12	1.47	1.01	30	Planning
13	1.23	1.01	30	Politics
14	2.32	.83	31	Psychology
15	2.06	.85	31	Social Work
16	1.67	.96	30	Urban Studies
17	0.80	.85	30	Business Studies
18	1.37	.96	30	Child Development
19	1.27	.74	30	Computing
20	2.17	.91	30	Counselling
21	1.66	.81	29	English
22	1.07	.78	30	Health Studies
23	1.47	.90	30	History of Policing
24	1.90	.83	31	Legal Studies
25	1.20	.66	30	Media Studies
26	2.17	.83	30	Native Peoples
27	1.53	.78	30	Physical Education
28	1.48	1.06	29	Policy Studies
29	1.94	.89	31	Principles of Policing
30	1.60	1.00	30	Research Methods
31	1.97	.93	30	Sociology
32	1.86	.83	29	Women's Studies
33	0.17	.65	30	Other

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**Content Police Uni Ed: Others in Justice System**

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	N	Label
1	0.71	.64	21	Anthropology
2	1.52	.75	21	Canadian Studies
3	1.86	.91	21	Communication Studies
4	2.48	.81	21	Conflict Resolution
5	2.48	.68	21	Criminology

6	2.43	.75	21	Ethics
7	1.33	.97	21	History
8	2.19	.81	21	Interpers Interactions
9	1.19	.68	21	Management
10	1.90	.89	21	Multicultural Studies
11	1.14	.79	21	Philosophy
12	1.14	.91	21	Planning
13	1.05	.59	21	Politics
14	2.05	.97	21	Psychology
15	1.76	.83	21	Social Work
16	1.05	.74	21	Urban Studies
17	0.43	.51	21	Business Studies
18	0.95	.67	21	Child Development
19	1.10	.77	21	Computing
20	1.57	.81	21	Counselling
21	1.57	.81	21	English
22	0.86	.65	21	Health Studies
23	1.52	.75	21	History of Policing
24	2.24	.77	21	Legal Studies
25	1.10	.54	21	Media Studies
26	2.10	.70	21	Native Peoples
27	1.81	.98	21	Physical Education
28	1.62	.80	21	Policy Studies
29	2.24	.62	21	Principles of Policing
30	1.29	.90	21	Research Methods
31	1.52	.93	21	Sociology
32	1.35	.81	20	Women's Studies
33	0.14	.65	21	Other

**TABLE D5: PLACEMENT OF EACH TOPIC FOR EACH GROUP**

	TOPIC NUMBERS, as scored by group					
	P	S	R	M	C	J
2.75			24			
2.70						
2.65			27		8	
2.60	4		4		4	
2.55	8			4		
2.50						4,5
2.45	24	5		5,8		6
2.40				6	5	
2.35			3			
2.30	3,6	4			14	
2.25	5	8	5,8		6,10	24,29
2.20	10,14,29	24		3		8
2.15					3,20,26	
2.10		6,10	6	26,29		26
2.05	21			10	15	14
2.00				14		
1.95		26	21	20,	29,31	

1.90	20,26	29	29	24,32	24	10
1.85			10,14		32	3
1.80	9,27	14		9		27
1.75	31	31	20			15
1.70	12,19	20	9	15		
1.65		3,21	15	27	16,21	
1.60				31	30	28
1.55	15,30	15		21,30	27	20,21
1.50	23		26		28	2,23,31
1.45	28	16,23		19	9,12,23	
1.40		9,32	30,31	11		
1.35	11,16	13	28	28	18	7,32
1.30	2,25			12		30
1.25	32	2,25,27	12,19	2,16,23,25	1,2,13,19	
1.20	13	19,30		18	25	9
1.15		7,28	25		7	11,12
1.10		11,12	2	7	11	19,25
1.05	7	18	16,18,22		22	13,16
1.00	22	1	23			
0.95	18			13		18
0.90						
0.85	17		13,17			22
0.80	1		11,32	17	17	
0.75						
0.70		22	7	22		1
0.65						
0.60		17				
0.55						
0.50						
0.45						17
0.40			1	1		
	P	S	R	M	C	J

**TABLE D6: MEAN SCORE OVER ALL ITEMS FOR EACH GROUP**

POLICE	SCHOLARS	RECRUITS	MAYORS	CITIZENS	JUSTICE
1.69	1.52	1.52	1.61	1.71	1.55

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