

CHANGING THE ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE: COMMUNITY POLICING IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Abstract

Over the recent past many police agencies in Canada claim to have changed their practices to reflect the needs of 'the community'. This has led to the introduction of community policing which has been defined as a recognition and acceptance of the community in influencing the philosophy, management and delivery of police services. This thesis attempts to assess the extent of organizational change from traditional policing practices to community policing in British Columbia.

By conducting in depth, personal interviews with all municipal police leaders and supplementing these data with information gained from a survey of police officers and from a brief analysis of police policy reports, the dissertation examines the potential for organizational change in municipal police agencies in one Canadian province. The thesis argues that to understand the development of community policing adequately academics need to draw on both criminological research and current organizational theories. This dissertation applies organizational culture theory in analysing community policing in both independent municipal police departments and RCMP municipal contract police detachments in British Columbia.

The opinions of police leaders and police officers are reported and compared and contrasted with the content of

federal, provincial and local policy documents on policing. Analysis of these findings is then grounded in organizational culture theory.

The research demonstrates how theories and constructs from the organizational culture literature provide an enhanced interpretation of change within police agencies that goes beyond what would have been possible had the analysis been kept within the bounds of the criminological literature alone. The findings show that organizational change is evident in the content of federal and provincial policy documents and the policy documents of the larger police agencies. To a somewhat more limited extent organizational change is cautiously endorsed by police leaders, while police officers expressed the most concern. The research concludes that municipal police agencies in British Columbia are still in the very preliminary stages of the change process. Organizational change is currently occurring in an incremental fashion and will take place more easily in independent police departments.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Over the recent past many police agencies in Canada claim to have changed their practices to reflect the needs of 'the community'. This has led to the introduction of community policing which has been defined as a recognition and acceptance of the community in influencing the philosophy, management and delivery of police services (Clairmont, 1991; Goldstein, 1987; Murphy and Muir, 1985; Normandeau and Leighton, 1990; Skogan, 1990). The community policing philosophies have been articulated, costed and operationalized in the strategic planning documents of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP, 1990). Furthermore, a number of independent police agencies such as Vancouver and Toronto have written their own corporate planning documents detailing how community policing will be introduced in their departments (Toronto Police, 1991; Vancouver Police, 1991). It is speculated, however, that while community policing rhetoric is evident within the municipal policing hierarchy in British Columbia (BC), there may be little evidence of its existence lower down the organization.

This thesis attempts to assess the extent of organizational change from traditional policing practices to community policing in BC. By conducting in depth, personal interviews with all municipal police leaders and supplementing these

data with information gained from a survey of police officers and brief analysis of police policy reports, the dissertation strives to examine the potential for organizational change in municipal police agencies. The thesis argues that to adequately understand the development of community policing academics need to draw not only on criminal justice research but to look at current organizational theories. This dissertation applies organizational culture theory to analyse community policing in both independent municipal police departments and RCMP municipal police detachments in BC.

Assessing the extent to which the police are adopting community policing philosophies and implementing organizational change is an under researched area. The methodology for approaching the research question has not been fully developed and there is a lack of theory and research on the topic (Ledford et al., 1989). In addition, with the exception of one study (Murphy, 1987) Canadian scholars have tended to ignore differences that may exist between police agencies. In BC both the RCMP and independent police departments are responsible for delivering municipal policing, however little comparative work exists on municipal police departments and RCMP detachments. The bureaucratic nature of the RCMP, an organization which has been primarily focused on rural policing, is difficult to equate to the municipal police agencies who are responsible

to local police boards and council. Although both agencies are charged with municipal policing, the RCMP Officers in Charge (OIC's) in BC are legally responsible to the RCMP organization, not local authorities.

The research problem to be addressed by this thesis flows from an interest in organizational change in policing. There is an opportunity to explore the impact of a mandate for change from how the police existed prior to the introduction of community policing, to how they currently or potentially may exist in the near future. In order to be able to understand the potential for change it is necessary to go beyond the criminological literature and draw upon organizational change and development theory. In applying theories and constructs that have developed within both the criminological literature and the management literature a deeper understanding of organizational change can be achieved.

By drawing upon organizational change and development theory and specifically the concept of organizational culture, this dissertation will pursue two goals: firstly explore whether the organizational cultures of RCMP and independent municipal police agencies in BC can be identified; secondly, the thesis will seek to ascertain the degree of change that has already occurred, potentially could occur and the

barriers that may exist following a changing mandate which requires the adoption of a community policing philosophy.

Operational Definitions.

The following are brief operational definitions of the key terms used in this dissertation. Many of these terms have variable meanings and are used in different ways in different contexts by different researchers. The main body of the thesis will expand on them in order to provide a greater understanding and analysis of these concepts.

Community.

Consists of persons existing over a period of time in social interaction within a geographical area and having one or more common ties. More generally the concept of community refers to a group of people who have something in common.

Community Policing.

A recognition and acceptance of 'the community' in influencing the philosophy, management and delivery of police services (Murphy and Muir, 1985). There are four broad principles to community policing: (i) a commitment to a broader problem oriented policing philosophy and a move away from crime fighting; (ii) decentralization, new patrol tactics and a two-way communication between police and citizens; (iii) police react to citizens' definitions of

their problems and (iv) police help neighbourhoods help themselves by serving as catalysts (Skogan, 1990).

Traditional Policing.

A bureaucratic, reactive, hierarchical system which implements policing policies that have been developed within the organization, with little influence from external agencies. Traditional police agencies are reactive 'line' types of organizations: police officers respond only when called to do so by a citizen and are not proactive nor do they undertake self initiated policing.

Organizations.

Organizations are instruments for attaining specific goals and emerge in situations where people recognise a common or complementary advantage that can best be served through collective as opposed to individual action. Organizations therefore provide the formal structure and arrangements to obtain specific goals.

Organizational Change.

An altering of conditions within an organization in the formal and informal structures, processes, status, role patterns, the physical environment or in the linking of feedback mechanisms in response to perceived changes or alterations in the organization's internal and external environments (Rogers and McIntire, 1983). Organizational

change comprises of two constructs: change in the organization's character and change in the organization's performance. Change that takes place in the character of the organization implies the way the organization relates to its environment, the way it deals with human resource management and in the way goods and services are delivered. Change in organizational performance means changes in the level of performance as indicated by using existing criteria, or by altering the criteria by which effectiveness is measured (Ledford et al., 1989).

Culture.

Culture has been defined as: "the pattern of underlying assumptions...that are implicit, taken for granted and unconscious" (Schein, 1990, p.23) and as the shared social constructs implicit in the minds of individuals that are transmitted through a process of socialization (Bate, 1984). These social constructs which people hold in common define the social or organizational 'reality'.

Organizational Culture.

The basic taken-for-granted assumptions and deep patterns of meaning shared by organizational participants and manifestations of these assumptions and patterns (Jermier et al., 1991).

Subculture.

Subcultures are cultural groups within a larger parent culture. Subcultures represent alternative forms of cultural plurality that exist within a culture (Brake, 1980). Certain individuals who interact regularly with one another often identify themselves as a distinct group, may share a set of problems commonly defined to be the problems of all and routinely take action on the basis of collective understandings that are unique to the group (Van Maanen and Barley, 1985).

Cultural Change.

Cultural change occurs when members of an organization develop new behaviours, assumptions and values not just as individuals but in the shared interpretive schemes that inform their action as groups (Wilkins and Patterson, 1990).

Figure 1.1 below illustrates the levels of cultural analysis that can be undertaken on police organizations. The aim of this thesis will be to focus upon organizational culture and subculture.

FIGURE 1.1

LEVELS OF CULTURAL ANALYSIS

Culture

Nation = Canada
Region = British Columbia

Occupational Culture

Policing

Organizational Culture

Municipal Police Departments
RCMP

Subculture*

Police leaders
Middle management
Police officers
RCMP detachments

(*Subcultures do not exist in neat, well defined categories. These four layers represent subcultures that have been identified in the policing literature, others may also exist).

The Research Aims

This thesis seeks to make significant advancements to both the fields of criminology and organizational change and development. In drawing upon aspects of these two fields an attempt is made to give a deeper, relatively untried approach to the understanding of police culture. This union makes it possible to fill the void of information about community policing by developing a new approach¹.

The research aims have been derived to accomplish the research goals. To reiterate these goals are: to explore whether the organizational cultures of RCMP and independent municipal police agencies in BC can be identified; and, to ascertain the degree of change that has already occurred, potentially could occur and the barriers that may exist following a changing mandate which requires the adoption of a community policing philosophy. Specifically the research aims to:

1. Make a contribution to the organizational change and development literature, by applying these theories and constructs to the relatively unresearched organizational domain of law enforcement.

¹ This new approach could also be applied to policy changes that are occurring in other criminal justice agencies.

2. Provide an alternative analysis of police culture to that advanced by the dominant criminological literature on policing.

3. Describe the level of commitment that both police leaders and police officers in the RCMP and independent municipal police agencies in BC have towards community policing. In determining how these individuals are interpreting and enacting community policing, tentative predictions of the extent to which community policing may become the dominant policing paradigm in BC policing can be made.

4. Provide valuable, previously unavailable, critical comparative analysis on police leaders who influence policing in BC and those police officers who are responsible for performing day-to-day policing duties.

5. Identify the opinions of both independent chief constables and RCMP OIC's towards a variety of policing issues and provide an analysis of the two organizational structures in which these officers work.

6. Enhance the Canadian policing literature by making a original, unique contribution to it.

In summary the thesis aims to make a contribution to the organizational change and development literature, provide an

alternative analysis of police culture, explore the commitment police officers have for community policing, provide comparative analysis between police leaders and police officers, identify the opinions of police leaders and enhance the literature on Canadian policing.

In order to be able to address these research aims a theoretical framework must be developed. To understand organizational change and development a review of the organizational change and development literature was conducted. This review illustrated the importance of understanding organizational culture in the change process, but drew primarily on examples from the private sector. A literature review of the policing literature illustrated that while the more traditional organizational theories had been applied to policing the newer ones, such as organizational culture, had not.

To obtain a deeper understanding of the potential for organizational change in police agencies, elements and constructs from the organizational change and development and organizational culture schools were used to inform the theory development and research methodology. By conducting literature reviews in two areas (organizational change and policing) a new approach by which to understand policing has been developed in this thesis.

The organizational change and culture literature stresses the importance that leaders play in either cultural change or cultural stability. Therefore this dissertation sought the views of police leaders to ascertain their commitment to community policing and organizational change. In addition, a survey of police officers was conducted to learn of their opinions and contrast these with those of police leaders. A brief review of the recent policy documents on policing was also conducted. Once collected data were analysed using both criminological police related theories and organizational culture and change theories. This approach awarded a potentially clearer understanding of the possibility for organizational change in municipal police agencies in BC than if this thesis had stayed within the traditional realms of criminology.

This dissertation does not argue for a rejection of previous criminological or organizational theories, nor is it suggesting that one theory may be superior to another, but rather that the newer organizational theories have a relevance and should be applied to policing. In particular the concept of organizational culture which has developed in organizational theory as a way to understand organizational change is of specific relevance to an understanding of organizational change in the police. Just as Allison (1979) in his analysis of the Cuban Missile Crisis was able to illustrate the insights gained in applying different

theoretical frameworks to the same situation, this thesis demonstrates how an understanding of policing can be enhanced by drawing on the newer organizational theories. The thesis goes beyond the traditional organizational theories that have been applied to the police, to illustrate how aspects of organizational culture theory are applicable to a study of organizational change in Canadian policing.

The information presented in this dissertation represents one of the first times organizational culture and change theory has been applied to a number of different police agencies. In choosing to collect data primarily from interviews with all municipal police leaders, other approaches (eg ethnographies) which could have been applied to assess organizational culture and change were foregone. The analysis of organizational culture in this dissertation is derived primarily from interviews with police leaders and as such is open to methodological criticisms by those who may argue that organizational culture can not be gleaned by using only one method of data collection. While many of these criticisms may be justified it is vital to see this as an exploratory study which aims to strengthen the existing shallow knowledge of police culture in Canada, test a new combined discipline approach and in so doing illustrate areas for future research. An understanding of police organizational culture could be enhanced by others drawing

upon the findings of this thesis and conducting further study using other research approaches such as ethnographies.

Theory Development

Grimshaw and Jefferson (1987) draw on the work of Althusseur to describe how a study's theoretical starting point sets the limits on the types of analysis that can be adopted: certain questions will be addressed while others will be suppressed or ignored. The theoretical starting point, they advance, defines the 'problematic' - the theoretical structure. The theoretical starting point adopted by police researchers will, according to this logic, not only affect the outcome of their study but will also influence the methodological tools which are employed by way of obtaining information.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) argue that all theories of organizations are based upon a philosophy of science and a theory of science. Approaches to policing research will therefore be dependent upon the philosophical assumptions about the nature of the world and how it is to be investigated. When Burrell and Morgan's thesis is applied to policing, it can be argued that the history of policing research has been dependent upon the explicit and implicit assumptions held by the social scientists who have conducted the studies. Moreover, the research methodology adopted has been positioned around certain issues and how they are seen

by the social scientist. The issues identified and interpreted as important to the social scientist have been dependent upon his/her understanding of policing and the facts and methods s/he uses to explain them (Miller, 1987).

In examining police organizational research clear theories and methods can be identified: the epistemological and ontological assumptions of the researcher have influenced what they have chosen to examine. These assumptions have shied away from recent developments in the field of organizational studies.

Organizational theorists (and police scientists) have tended to treat organizations as either mechanistic or organismic systems (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Czarniaswska-Joerges, 1992). Over the last decade there has been intense criticism of traditional organizational theory directed at the presumed rationality of organizations. There is a need to question the methodological and theoretical assumptions upon which the traditional theories are based and supplement these existing theories with interpretations which take ambiguity and irrationality into consideration:

...the culture metaphor came to serve as a counter metaphor to the rational machine or organic systems metaphor that had previously dominated the market of organizational theories (Alvesson and Berg, 1992, p.203).

While criminologists have appeared content to retain police research within its theoretical sociological foundations, this thesis illustrates the benefits of widening the theoretical landscape. There is a considerable volume of sociological research on the police subculture (although primarily of the lower ranks) and yet this has not been placed in the wider context of the police organization or analysed in regard to the broader social structure in which the police operate (Holdaway, 1989). This relates to the need to examine policing not just within the confines of criminology or sociology but to treat the function of policing on the level of organizational analysis and to apply the theories that have been developed in the field of organizational studies to police agencies. A significant volume of literature on organizational culture exists within the organizational theory literature. The criminological literature contains information on the police subculture from a sociological base. An aim of this thesis is to make theoretical advances by combining these two literatures.

Over the last fifteen years many police agencies in Britain and North America have claimed to be adopting a community based policing approach by adapting their policies and practices. They are therefore trying to implement organizational change and yet for the most part criminologists and others interested in policing have been unaware of the theoretical developments that have occurred

in the field of organizational change and development. These advances provide a theoretical framework to conduct an analysis of organizational change in the police.

Likewise, with few exceptions (eg Jermier et al., 1991; Van Maanen, 1973, 1986) the academics working in the field of organizational studies have paid little attention to criminal justice agencies including the police. There are therefore advantages in merging aspects from the two disciplines in order that policing research can develop in both a practical and theoretical way. The organizational culture literature has shown there to be a dearth of information about organizations operating within the same sector, with research by and large concentrating on individual organizations (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). This thesis addresses this shortcoming by providing comparative analysis on a number of police agencies in BC.

It is not, however, just within the realms of theory development that the thesis seeks to contribute to the academic literature, it also considerably enhances our somewhat limited knowledge of Canadian policing. While influential studies on Canadian policing have been undertaken (eg Ericson, 1982; Murphy, 1987; Shearing, 1981) most work has been of a small scale, consequently there is a continued reliance upon research from other countries. The administrative and bureaucratic structure of Canadian

policing which includes the RCMP, provincial police departments and independent municipal police agencies can not be paralleled to the police service in Britain, which has larger police forces, nor to the USA which has a greater number of smaller police agencies. The structure of policing in Canada falls somewhere between these two extremes and justifies its own research agenda. One of the aims of this thesis is to contribute to research on Canadian policing.

Organization of the Thesis.

To acquaint the reader with organizational culture theory, the second chapter of the thesis gives an overview of the organizational theories and then proceeds to discuss how organizational cultures have been examined as a way to assess organizational change. Chapter two recognises key elements which have been identified as pertinent to organizational change. These elements assist with the theoretical development, methodology and analysis and interpretation of organizational change in the police. In subsequent chapters these elements are then applied to understanding the introduction of community policing in municipal police organizations.

The third chapter focuses on the theories used to describe police organizations. A critical review of the two main theoretical frameworks, the research techniques that have been employed and an analysis of the existing studies on

subculture and leadership is given to illustrate the gaps in the literature and to propose a more comprehensive perspective in which to examine police organizations. This information is then compared and contrasted with that presented in the previous chapter on organizational culture. The final part of this chapter demonstrates how the findings of this review and the one conducted in chapter two led to the development of the six primary research aims of the thesis.

Chapter four provides an in depth analysis of the term community, and then goes on to discuss community policing. By citing the policy statements and documents published during the last few years chapter four illustrates how the community policing philosophy has been advocated and endorsed by a number of police agencies in Canada. Community policing is then explained through comparative analysis with similar policing initiatives in the United States and Britain. After providing a review of the term, the problems and issues relating to its development and adoption by police agencies in Canada are examined.

Chapter five outlines the structure of policing in BC. The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the current composition of policing and to give the background information necessary for understanding organizational change in municipal policing.

Chapter six explains how research on organizational change in municipal police agencies in BC was conducted. The first part extends some of the preliminary discussions detailed in chapter two to illustrate the methodological options available to the researcher interested in assessing organizational culture change and the advantages and limitations of the various approaches. This review is undertaken to justify the approach adopted in the study. This chapter then proceeds to illustrate how the research was undertaken, informed and analysed by the theoretical framework identified within organizational culture and change literature.

Chapter seven briefly reviews the policy documents that have been recently released by the federal and provincial governments and various police organizations. This chapter examines the externally espoused physical units of text which document the plans and developments occurring within police agencies.

Chapters eight presents the findings of the interviews with police leaders. These findings are outlined under the headings of biographical data, community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture. The aim of this chapter is not to offer analysis and interpretation but to document the findings.

Chapter nine presents the findings from the survey of police officers. This data is detailed under the headings of biographical data, community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture. Comparative analysis with the information received from police leaders is then undertaken.

Chapter ten links the theoretical underpinnings as outlined in chapters two, three and four with the findings presented in chapters seven, eight and nine in order to address the main research aims. This chapter presents a summary of the main findings established throughout the research then relates these findings back to the theoretical discussions of organizational culture and change presented in the earlier chapters.

CHAPTER 2

Organizational Culture and Change Literature

Introduction

This chapter explores the way in which organizational theorists have assessed organizational culture and change. By conducting this review it is possible to identify key elements that are pertinent to a study of organizational change in policing, specifically issues relevant to theory development, methodology and the analysis and interpretation of results.

In order to ground the discussion of organizational culture within the broader context of organizational theories, the first section of this chapter briefly describes the organizational theories that have developed over the last century. Many of these theories have been applied to police agencies and will be revisited in the following chapter. This section then goes on to describes how organizational theorists became interested in the concept of culture and how they have chosen to define culture and subculture. This discussion is relevant to the definition of police organizational culture and subculture and will be contrasted with the analysis of how criminologists have applied the terms in police research in the following chapter. This first section therefore provides a theoretical discussion of

the concept of culture and subculture as seen by organizational theorists.

The second section of this chapter illustrates the values and benefits derived from studying organizational culture. The way in which organizational cultures manifest themselves and can be interpreted and the research paradigms in which organizational cultural theorists work are also discussed. The review recognises key elements which are pertinent to determining the research methodology appropriate for researching organizational change in policing and is therefore relevant for methodological development.

The final section of this chapter reviews the literature on organizational change and recognises key issues, specifically the role of leadership, reinforcing agents, incremental vs transformational change and the size, depth and pervasiveness of change, which have been identified as influencing organizational culture change. These issues will be applied to the findings of the research conducted in the thesis and are relevant for the analysis and interpretation of these findings which is undertaken in the final chapter.

Organizational Theories

There is no such thing as *the* theory of organizations. Rather there are many theories that attempt to explain and predict how organizations and the people in them will behave in varying

organizational structures, cultures and circumstances (Shafritz and Ott, 1987, p.4).

Academics differ in the names they award to the various theories of organizations and offer differing interpretations on the divisions of organizational theory. For example, Swanson et al. (1993) provide three categories for organizational theories: traditional theories, bridging theories and open systems theory. Shafritz and Ott (1987) on the other hand, offer six categories of organizational theory: (i) classical, (ii) neoclassical, (iii) modern structural, (iv) system and contingency, (v) power and politics, and (vi) culture. Morgan (1987) uses metaphors in order to explain theories of organizational life. His interpretations can be paralleled to those of Shafritz and Ott with the machine metaphor referring to classical organizational theory, the brain metaphor to neoclassical, the organism metaphor to systems-contingency and he uses the same wording for culture and politics but then proceeds with three other categorizations; organizations as psychic prisons, as flux and transformation and as instruments of domination. In an earlier work Burrell and Morgan (1979) delineated three different intellectual traditions, all which have been utilised to study the police. Firstly the classical school addressed management concerns, secondly the sociology of organizations which looked at organizations from a sociological rather than a management stance and

finally, the human relations movement which focused on the individuals within an organization.

As will be illustrated in the next chapter, discussions which specifically relate organizational theory to policing provide a narrower interpretation of organizational theory (eg Munro, 1974; Langworthy, 1986; Swanson et al., 1993) and draw on the more established older organizational theories than do academics such as Shafritz and Ott (1987) and Morgan (1987) who are interested in organizational theories in their own right, not their application.

Classical Organizational Theory

Classical organizational theory suggests that organizations can be regarded as machines and as such should develop rational systems and operate in the most efficient manner possible in order to obtain their goals. The late nineteenth century saw the emergence of large scale organizations in both the public and private sectors. These developments prompted commentators such as Adam Smith and Max Weber to draw parallels between the development of mechanisation and the increases in bureaucratic forms of organization.

Classical organizational theorists utilised a deductive approach which sought an ideal form of organizational structure and a set of management principles upon which management practice could rest (Bradley et al., 1986). Henry

Fayol, a French manager who attempted to design rules for managers is regarded as the founding father of classical organizational theory.

Related to classical organizational theory is scientific management theory which involves a similar type of rationality. Frederick Taylor developed this hierarchical control approach which attempts to increase management control by separating the conception of tasks from their execution. While it is the manager's role to conceive plans and lay down rules the worker merely conforms, thus a highly predictable (scientific) minute division of labour is created (Bradley et al., 1986).

Morgan (1986) argues that mechanistic approaches to organizations have been popular for two reasons: firstly because of their efficiency in performance and secondly because of their ability to reinforce and maintain existing patterns of power and control. As will be illustrated in the following chapter, classical organizational theory is the management theory which has had the greatest effect on policing.

Neoclassical Organizational Theory

The Neoclassical school of organizational theory developed during the 1940s and 1950s and challenged the traditional classical theories by introducing research from the

behavioural sciences and by offering what was seen as a humanistic approach. The Neoclassical theorists argued that organizations do not exist in isolated environments and advocated an 'opening up' of these organizations (Shafritz and Ott, 1987). Two of the major contributors to this school were Simon (with his contribution of bounded rationality) and Lindblom (with his concept of incremental decision making) (Friedman, 1987), both were concerned with how decisions are made within organizations. The Neoclassical school introduced the behavioral sciences to the study of organizations and in so doing introduced an empirical impetus to the existing knowledge that was available (Shafritz and Ott, 1987). However, in many respects this theoretical development can be regarded as either just a modification of the classical school or as a springboard to launch many of the theories that developed in the 1960's.

Systems/Contingency Theory

Systems theory builds on the principle that organizations are like organisms 'open' to their environment and that they must achieve an appropriate relationship with that environment in order to survive (Morgan, 1986). As such an organization is a complex set of dynamically interwoven and related components including inputs, outputs, feedback loops, processors and the environment; "...system school organizational theorists study interconnections, frequently using organizational decision processes and information and

control systems as their focal point of analysis" (Shafritz and Ott, 1987, p.235). The key to systems theory is that organizations are not seen as autonomous entities divorced from the environment but are dynamic structures which must change and adapt to the environment in order to survive.

A 'close cousin' to systems theory is contingency theory (Ott, 1989; Shafritz and Ott, 1987) which stresses the need for different managerial techniques in order to undertake different tasks, with the premise that the most effective form of structure is contingent upon key aspects of the internal and external environment (Morgan, 1990).

Contingency theory sees organizations operating in an environment that they cannot control and to which they must therefore learn to adapt.

Political Systems Theory

Another organizational theory which has recently been developed sees organizations as political systems. Unlike the Neoclassical and Systems approach that regard organizations as unified systems that act as integral parts, the political metaphor draws attention to the strains and tensions that stem from a diverse set of interests (Morgan, 1986). Organizations are viewed as being more complex and of containing groups and individuals who each have their own preferences and perspectives. These coalitions compete with each other and consequently conflict arises. This approach

seeks to understand the nature of power and politics that an organization contains.

Organizational Cultural Theory

The cultural theory of organizations is a relatively recent and emerging school of thought which departs radically from the mainstream schools, representing what some have termed a 'counter culture' within organizational theory (Shafritz and Ott, 1987) and an oppositional/modernist movement (Smircich and Calas, 1987). Its recent development has meant there is little consensus over principles as basic as what organizational culture is, how it can be determined and the best tools by which to understand it. Commentators have noted that the organizational culture literature is full of competing and often incomplete views (Smircich and Calas, 1987), nonetheless it has recently been awarded considerable attention by organizational theorists.

The organizational culture school argues that in order to make sense of organizations, the culture of that organization must be understood. The culture of an organization has been described as consisting of values, beliefs, behavioral norms, artifacts and patterns of behavior, or more emotively as the "social energy that drives the organization" (Kilmann et al., 1990, p.422). To be able to understand an organization the cultural researcher must understand the patterns of basic

assumptions, beliefs, values, practices and artifacts that exist within the organization as these will influence behavior and decision making. In addition, organizational culture also recognises the importance of formal and informal rules as codified practices and patterns of authority as cultural phenomenon. This school of thought departs significantly from the Neoclassical and Systems approaches which saw organizational members as restricted by formal rules and authority existing within the organization.

Definitions

While the foundations of criminological interest of police culture and subculture from a sociological stance can be traced back to the 1960s, contemporary interest in these issues from organizational theorists has been confined to the last 15 years, when the number of studies of organizational culture has grown considerably (Morgan, 1986). Prior to this time interest in organizational culture was sporadic (Barley et al., 1988).

In developing the concept of culture, organizational theorists looked towards the social sciences, particularly anthropology and sociology as a way to ground their work (Van Maanen and Barley, 1985). Anthropologists believe that to understand culture one needs to understand cultural phenomena such as rites, rituals, customs, habits, patterns of thinking etc., while sociologists advocate a less

homogeneous and monolithic view tending to focus on subgroups of a society (Sackman, 1991). Organizational theorists have drawn selectively from both the anthropological and sociological schools in order to develop their own concepts. Their work is guided by practical preferences geared at suggestions on how organizations can become more efficient and effective (Alvesson and Berg, 1992; Sackman, 1991). It has been argued that practitioners have, over time, influenced the academic view of organizational culture leading to a more pragmatic treatment of the topic (Barley et al., 1988).

Culture

What exactly is a culture? Nobody knows for sure, nor will there ever be a clear definition that meets everyone's approval. (Kilmann, 1990, p.351).

It has been suggested that there are almost as many definitions of culture as there are people writing about it (Sackman, 1991), and that as a result, cultural researchers have devoted numerous books and articles to exploring the nature of the concept and to a discussion of what it includes and excludes (Reicher and Schneider, 1990). Despite this volume of literature others believe it to be an 'elusive concept' and consequently often misused or ignored by those who study organizations (Thompson and Luthans, 1990).

The literature states that there are two ways in which to see culture: Adoptionist and Ideational. The Adoptionists view culture as those things that are directly observable about members of a community, for example patterns of behavior, speech, use of material objects and artifacts. This has also been referred to as the Phenomenal approach (Kopelman et al., 1990). The Ideational view, on the other hand, defines culture as the beliefs, values and ideas that people have that are shared (Sathe, 1990). Definitions of culture have consequently tended to err towards one or other of these camps and have been linked to interpreting the organization as a machine where culture is independent, (Adaptionist) or as seeing an organization as a living organism which cannot be separated from its culture (Kilmann et al., 1990).

Schein defines culture as; "the pattern of underlying assumptions...that are implicit, taken for granted and unconscious" (Schein, 1990, p.23) and clearly is grounded in the Ideational school. Wilkins and Patterson (1990) adopt the same perspective when they argue that culture "...consists of the conclusions a group of people draws from its experience" (p.267), while Bate (1984) offers three components to his Ideational interpretation, firstly that the components of organizational culture are social constructs implicit in the minds of individuals, secondly these constructs are shared and thirdly that they are

transmitted through a process of socialization. He states;
"Thus the term 'culture' can be defined as the meaning or
aspects of the conceptual structures which people hold in
common and which define the social or organizational
'reality'" (p.47).

Proponents of the Ideational school have tended to use
surveys and in depth interviews to collect data on
organizational culture and to a lesser extent have
illustrated that cultural analysis can focus upon more
observable phenomena (Kopelman et al., 1990).

This review illustrates the elusiveness of the term. It
would appear that the most comprehensive understanding would
be to classify culture based upon a broad range of
definitions which incorporate both Adoptionist and
Ideational components. This is the stance taken in this
thesis. Most writers when defining culture recognise both
the Ideational and observational behavior and as such define
culture in a way that incorporates both these concepts;

Culture may be defined as the basic, taken for
granted assumptions and deep patterns of meaning
shared by organizational participants and
manifestations of these assumptions and patterns
(Jermier et al., 1991, p.170).

Ott (1989) provides a six point summary of organizational
culture as;

- (i) the culture that exists in organizations is similar to societal culture.
- (ii) it comprises of values, beliefs, assumptions, perceptions, behavioral norms, artifacts and patterns of behavior.
- (iii) it is socially constructed and is an unobservable force behind organizational activities.
- (iv) it is the social energy that moves organizational members to act.
- (v) it is the unifying theme which provides meaning for organizational members.
- (vi) it functions as an organizational control mechanism in that it informally approves and prohibits behavior.

Climate and Culture

Definitional problems with the term culture are further compounded when a discussion of organizational climate is introduced. Research on organizational climate preceded that on culture, tended to focus on employee morale and did not go as far as organizational culture in terms of analysing symbols, artifacts, values and assumptions. Kopelman et al. (1990) have defined the climate of an organization to consist of three components. Firstly, the psychological descriptions of the work place which serve as a basis for interpretation and consequently influences behavior. Secondly, on an individual level, climate provides an interpretation which can be aggregated to the organizational

level. Thirdly, as a central core of dimensions that can apply across the work environments. In these respects climate and culture are very similar concepts as both deal with the individuals' interpretation of their environment, both are learned through social interaction and both attempt to identify the environment that influences behavior in the organization (Reicher and Schneider, 1990).

Some commentators cite the lack of interest in organizational culture as attributable to equating the two terms (Bate, 1984). While there are obvious similarities the difference is that culture is "...probably a deeper, less consciously held set of meanings than most of what has been called organizational climate" (Reicher and Schneider, 1990, p.23-24). The concept of culture also has more Ideational components than the concept of climate.

Subcultures

Smircich and Calas (1987) note that corporate culture researchers rarely discuss the subcultures of managers or workers, while Davis (1985) argues that organizational culture has been treated as a unitary homogeneous entity with only few studies looking at organizational subcultures or countercultures. This, he argues, is because most organizational research is undertaken from a management standpoint, mostly conducted by management scientists or

consultants who are brought into a firm to investigate organizational behavior from the management's perspective.

When subcultures have been discussed in the management literature they represent occupational and hierarchical differences, from this perspective organizations are not seen to have one distinct (often leader generated) culture but rather to display a number of distinct subcultures.

Siehl and Martin (1990) identified three types of subculture: enhancing subcultures where assumptions, beliefs and values held by subcultural members more or less accord with those of the dominant culture; orthogonal subcultures which accept the basic assumptions of the dominant organizational culture but also hold some unique views of their own; and counter-cultures whose basic assumptions conflict with the dominant organizational culture. "Thus, subcultures may enhance, refine or challenge a dominant organizational culture" (Ott, 1989, p.47).

In contrast to criminologists, organizational theorists are inclined to use the term culture rather than subculture resulting in written works describing the culture of specific organizations. For example, Deal and Kennedy (1982) do not detail subcultures in describing the importance of culture for organizational performance. Likewise, Peters and Waterman (1982) talk about the modification of culture and although Kilmann et al. (1990) acknowledge there to be

various groups existing within an organization they still refer to these as cultures at the top and bottom of the organization, not subcultures (Kilmann et al., 1990).

In the same vein Schein (1985) argues that one may find several cultures operating within a company or organization including amongst others a management culture, occupationally based cultures, group cultures based on geography and worker based cultures based on hierarchy or experiences. Clearly what Schein refers to as cultures, criminologists and others would interpret as subcultures leading to the conclusion that most cultures may be seen as subcultures within some larger social system (McCollan, 1993).

Distinctions have been drawn between the use of corporate culture and workplace culture or organizational culture. The former is applied to a culture devised by management and conveyed to the rest of the organization, the latter refers to a culture which grows within the organization itself, emphasises the creativity of organizational members in developing culture (Linstead and Grafton-Small, 1992) and has a more 'sociological flavor' (Alvesson and Berg, 1992).

This review has illustrated that there is little consensus over the term culture and subculture. Although both terms are open to numerous, imprecise definitions for the purpose

of this thesis culture has been defined as the patterns and manifestations of underlying assumptions that are implicit, unconscious and taken for granted, while a subculture represents an alternative form of cultural plurality that exists within the larger parent culture.

As will be shown in chapter three, criminologists, in contrast to organizational theorists, have tended to use the term subculture as opposed to culture when discussing police organizations and have focused on the subculture of the rank and file (eg Ericson, 1982; Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987; Holdaway, 1984; Reiner, 1985). They have failed to identify a variety of subcultures in policing. The review of the organizational culture literature illustrates the need to be aware of numerous subcultures existing within a single organization and is relevant for the development of a comprehensive theoretical framework which draws on organizational and criminological theories to study police culture. As will be illustrated in the next chapter, criminologists have tended to focus on one subculture in policing and have rarely explored the possibility of more. This review of organizational culture has highlighted the need to be cognisant of many subcultures existing within one organization, a component that is also applicable to the analysis and interpretation of the findings of this research.

The Value of Studying Organizational Culture

By drawing upon the work of proponents of organizational culture, this next section illustrates the value of studying organizational culture and the way it can be done. This review is necessary to justify and develop a research methodology appropriate to an examination of organizational change in policing.

Culture is to societies more or less what personality is to individual people: a kind of collective quality, distinctive on the whole but neither altogether homogeneous nor unique in its elements (Hunt and Magenau, 1993, p.69).

The gradual recognition that culture influences the performance of an organization has led to the growth of interest in the concept (Dyer, 1990; Sackman, 1991). The benefits of knowing and understanding an organization's culture have been described as an increase in members' commitment, greater behavioral clarity and sense making, greater consistency in decision making, enhanced individual acculturation and socialization, and more successful planning (Kopelman et al., 1990). In this respect organizations can not be regarded as isolated from their social contexts: they are culture producers and culture carriers (Hunt and Magenau, 1993). These claims must be seen as speculative as the amount of systematic research in the area to date remains small.

Culture has been described by proponents of the Ideational school as "the social energy that drives the organization" (Kilmann et al, 1990, p.422); most of what occurs within an organization is guided by cultural qualities. A denial of these qualities be they shared meanings, hidden assumptions or unwritten rules would, some advocate, result in an inadequate understanding of that organization (Kilmann et al., 1990). Knowing an organization's culture is also vital if one is involved with wanting to change that culture (Dyer, 1990).

Morgan has outlined four strengths of what he terms the organizational culture metaphor: (i) it directs attention to the symbolic aspects of organizational life; (ii) it illustrates that organizations exist through shared sets of meaning; (iii) it helps in the reinterpretation of the relationship between an organization and its environment; (iv) it helps in the understanding of organizational change (Morgan, 1986). A recent summary of organizational culture literature concluded that most academics and practitioners agreed on the importance of understanding organizational culture (Sackman, 1991).

It would therefore appear that an analysis of organizational culture leads to an in-depth understanding of an organization and, as illustrated by Morgan (1986) and Dyer (1990), can assist in the analysis of organizational change.

As the aim of this thesis is to examine organizational change in policing, organizational culture provides the mechanism by which this can be undertaken.

Cultural analysis is not however without its opponents and those who believe that studies of organizational culture are difficult (and may be impossible) for several reasons:

1. Because organizational culture exists on a number of different levels.
2. Because organizational culture not only encompasses people and their beliefs but also their views and opinions.
3. Much of organizational culture is taken for granted making it difficult to study change which is implicitly part of someone's thinking and behavior.
4. Organizational culture has deep historic roots.
5. Political issues make organizational culture difficult to uncover.
6. Most firms do not have one but many cultures.
7. Organizational culture is linked to the politics of the firm, its structure, systems and people as well as to the outside environment (Pettigrew, 1990).

These seven limitations identified by Pettigrew highlight the problems that organizational researchers may face. They do not, however, outweigh the arguments presented above for justifying this approach. The many existing studies that have been conducted under the organizational culture

research umbrella provide testimony to the benefits of organizational culture theory and of undertaking culture research.

Interpreting Organizational Culture

Smircich (1985) has provided an interpretation of how to view culture by proposing the External, Internal and Root Metaphor perspectives. The External perspective sees culture as an independent variable, a background factor which influences the development and reinforcement of beliefs. Views and beliefs are developed external to the organization through family and friends and other non-work related experiences. From this perspective the organization is passively shaped by the predisposition of its employees.

The Internal perspective, in contrast, regards organizations as culture producing and focuses on the unique elements of that culture, for example symbols, rituals and ceremonies, while at the same time acknowledging that within an organization there may be different layers of culture.

The Root Metaphor perspective argues that culture is not a separate or distinct variable but rather that an organization should be understood as a culture. This perspective sees culture as something the organization is as opposed to being something the organization has (Thompson and Luthans, 1990).

The External and Internal perspective can be paralleled to Schein's (1985) view that the content of a culture can be derived from two sources: the assumptions that the founder, leader and workers bring with them to an organization; and secondly the actual experiences people have had in working out basic problems of adaptation to the external environment and internal integration while in the organization (Sathe, 1990).

Sackman (1991) has advocated three alternative perspectives of culture in the management literature. The first she describes as the Holistic perspective which defines culture as the patterned way of thinking, feeling and reacting that are acquired and transmitted by symbols. This approach which draws from anthropology, integrates the historical development of culture with its dynamic evolutionary nature in focusing on all possible aspects of the culture. As such, studying culture from this stance is difficult as it involves long term ethnographies with varying sources of data.

The second perspective is the Variable perspective which focuses upon the expressions of culture. This view looks at the tangible cultural manifestations which are behavioral, artificial or symbolic. Emphasis is placed on observable behavior such as ceremonies, activities, rites, rituals as

well as collective verbal manifestations such as jargon, stories, legends and myths. Material artifacts are also included in this perspective.

The final perspective is the Cognitive perspective which recognises ideas, concepts, norms, beliefs and shared understanding as a way to interpret culture. This perspective acknowledges that over time a body of cultural knowledge is created and conveyed within the organization.

Reicher and Schneider (1980) ignore Sackman's Holistic perspective and argue that there are only two ways of seeing culture, the first is a descriptive account which highlights the structure of the organization, the second regards culture as something an organization has and promotes by way of shared meanings, assumptions and underlying values. This final account, while presenting stark contrasts does illustrate culture as something which can be either quantified or alternatively interpreted in a more qualitative way.

All these perspectives may be regarded as variations on a theme and all in their own way are relevant to the study of culture. The decision over which approach to take is dependent on the social scientist and his/her own epistemological and ontological preferences.

A thorough understanding of organizational culture would most adequately be found by taking elements of each perspective (triangulation). The merits of these perspectives will be examined at length in chapter six, when a discussion of the research methodologies appropriate to the study of police organizations is undertaken.

Manifestations of Organizational Culture

The culture of an organization can be seen to manifest itself in one of three ways, by behavioral norms, hidden assumptions and by human nature (Kilmann et al., 1990). Behavioral norms refer to the behavior and attitudes expressed by members of the group: they are not written but transmitted from one generation of employee to the next, some regard them as pivotal to an understanding of organizational culture (Ott, 1989). Hidden assumptions are the fundamental beliefs that lie behind all decisions and actions of a culture. Human nature describes the deepest level of a culture and is the collective assortment of human dynamics, wants and desires that make a group of individuals unique (Kilmann et al., 1990).

These three levels described by Kilmann et al. adhere to the Ideational view of organizational culture. Schein (1985) takes a similar stance in stating that there are three levels in which to view a culture. The first level, (which is Adoptionist as it focuses on observable phenomena) is

artifacts and is composed of the technology, art and visible behavioral patterns. The second level is values and beliefs and examines how people rationalise, justify and make sense of the first level. The third level goes still deeper and focuses on the ideas and assumptions that govern an individual's justification and behavior. Schien's work has been criticised for leaving gaps regarding the importance of symbols and processors in the understanding of organizational culture (Hatch, 1993).

Dyer (1990) proposes four manifestations of organizational culture in the form of artifacts, perspectives, values and assumptions, while Berg (1989) draws attention to the character of the symbolic field in interpreting an organization's culture and more importantly in facilitating organizational change. The importance of the manipulation and creation of symbols for organizations has also been mentioned by others (Egri and Frost, 1991; Pfeffer, 1981).

The above examples illustrate how a culture can be manifest in a number of different spheres, it is therefore the responsibility of the researcher to determine what components of organizational culture there are, and which should be focused upon. This relates back to Miller's (1987) thesis that the issues identified and interpreted as important to the social scientist are dependent upon his/her understanding of them and the facts and methods s/he uses to

explain them. The role of the social scientist is therefore vital in the overall process, as illustrated by Martin and Meyerson (1988).

Martin and Meyerson (1988) offer another 'matrix' of organizational culture by drawing attention to cultural manifestations in the form of practices, artifacts and content themes. Practices include both the formal practices of the organizations rules, procedures and structures and the informal practices such as communication norms. Artifacts refer to elements such as rites and ceremonies, physical arrangements in the work place as well as language and jargon. Content themes are the abstractions used by researchers and cultural members to interpret practices and artifacts (Martin and Meyerson, 1988). Content themes therefore acknowledge the role of the social scientist in interpreting organizational culture and go beyond the mere categorization of organizational culture manifestations. As will be illustrated in chapter six, the application of content themes will be utilised in this thesis.

Research on Organizational Culture

There is a paucity of any kind of empirical research on culture (Reicher and Schneider, 1990, p.22).

There is a lack of research on organizational culture. This has been acknowledged by a number of commentators (Alvesson

and Berg, 1992; Ledford et al., 1989; Pettigrew, 1990; Sackman, 1991; Snyder, 1988), although others have suggested there have been a 'large number' of studies on corporate cultures (Berg, 1985). The relatively recent recognition of the importance of gaining an understanding of organizational culture has meant that the topic has only been deemed worthy of analysis during the last few years, and therefore it is difficult to draw any conclusions from a literature that is only a few years old (Alvesson and Berg, 1992).

Clearly there are other issues which have contributed to this dearth of analysis. Reicher and Schneider (1990) propose that, in addition to the youthfulness of the topic, the difficulty of doing qualitative research and getting it published has also contributed to the lack of research.

The dimensions of a culture under analysis may be numerous and the social scientist is faced with the problem of which one to address (Sackman, 1991). Not only must the researcher define which paradigm in which to work (Martin and Meyerson, 1988), but must also make choices concerning which level of culture - observable manifestations or underlying interpreted meanings - are to be addressed. Furthermore, assumptions about the culture of the organizational setting are required. Most work on organizational culture sees culture as either a pattern of assumptions that are either homogeneous and shared among members or alternatively leader

generated (Sackman, 1991). While this dialectic has been disputed by others who regard studies of leadership as ignoring culture (Trice and Beyer, 1991), the issue for the researcher is whether to focus upon leadership to gain an understanding of culture, or look more broadly at other factors.

When deciphering a culture it is important to consider who is conducting the investigation because this also determines what is revealed (Sathe, 1990, p.240).

Drawing on the concept of paradigm as developed by Kuhn (1970), Martin and Meyerson argue that researchers have tended to view cultures from one of two paradigms. The Integrative paradigm emphasises consistency among cultural manifestations and organizational consensus amongst members. Researchers in this tradition frequently draw from a relatively small number of informants, often those who have high ranking positions and consequently provide narrowly focussed studies.

In contrast, the Differentiation paradigm stresses inconsistency and lack of consensus and focuses on non-leader centered sources of cultural content frequently drawing attention to subcultures. Martin and Meyerson (1988) go on to advocate a third paradigm: the Ambiguity paradigm which sees culture as having no universally shared integrating set of values except one, the awareness of

ambiguity itself. More recently Martin (1992) has refined this analysis and renamed the Ambiguity paradigm Fragmentation.

There has been debate over the methodologies employed to study organizational culture. This debate has questioned whether research tools which are grounded in positivist methodologies are relevant for an analysis of organizational cultures (Alvesson and Berg, 1992). Positivism can be defined in many ways so it could well be that certain 'positivistic methodologies' (whatever they may be) are more relevant to the study of organizational culture than other 'positivistic methodologies'.

In discussing how to research organizational culture there may be cause for adopting Miller's (1987) thesis which rejects any attempt to establish general methodological rules that can be applied to the social sciences and which argues instead for realism. Miller discards positivist interpretations and argues for more topic-specific treatment of the phenomena under analysis.

While quantitative methodologies have led to numerous attempts to study organizational change and development (Egri and Frost, 1991), they tend to be specialised and focus upon a few cultural manifestations that can be measured (Martin, 1992). More recently what has been termed

the cognitive perspective (Pfeffer, 1981) or interpretive perspective (Egri and Frost, 1991) has emphasised the importance of language and symbols in an organization and stressed the use of qualitative methodologies such as ethnographies and case studies. They have therefore adopted a subjective vision of social reality and an interpretive epistemology.

While some believe the split between the positivist or functionalist and interpretative paradigms - one advocating quantitative methodologies and the other a more qualitative approach - cannot be overcome (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), this distinction may be the result of the definitions employed to categorise each term. There is more relevance in seeing the division between quantitative and qualitative methodologies as a continuum. More recently the advantages of a combined, triangulation approach in studies of organizational culture has been advanced (Jermier et al, 1991; Martin and Meyerson, 1988; Rousseau, 1990). The interpretative organizational culture literature provides a recent oppositional/modernist movement in organizational theory and a movement away from the dominant discourses of positivist/functionalist views in organizational theory and research (Smircich and Calas, 1987).

This section has highlighted both the advantages and limitations to a study of organizational culture, proceeded

to describe the elements used to interpret organizational culture by social scientists and then concluded by analysing the research methodologies that have been utilised. The issues raised in this section will be revisited in chapter six when the value of triangulating research methods and the analysis of data by use of content themes to assess organization change in police agencies is outlined.

Cultural Change

The next section provides a review of the literature on cultural change. After defining cultural change the key elements that have been recognised by organizational theorists as promoting and inhibiting change are reviewed and discussed. In the final chapter of the thesis these elements will be applied to an analysis and interpretation of the findings of the research. These elements are the role of leadership, reinforcing agents, incremental vs transformational change and the size, depth and pervasiveness of change.

Definitions

In order for an organization to change significantly its members must develop new skills, assumptions and values and not just as individuals as groups as well...the correlative tugging and pulling within organizations under going large strategic changes is thus rarely smooth and systematic (Wilkins and Patterson, 1990, p.264).

The above quote is just one of many which attempts to define organizational change. A review of the literature illustrates the various interpretations, for example Berg (1985) unlike Wilkins and Patterson quoted above, focuses upon the symbolic arena and describes organizational change as a "...symbolic transformation process whereby the form and/or content of a symbolic field is altered" (p.283), while Sathe (1990) draws attention to assumptions and describes change as involving a significant number of shared, high ranking assumptions which are more alien than the original ones (Sathe, 1990).

In discussing organizational change it is important to distinguish between large scale organizational change and small organizational change (transformational or incremental change). Ledford et al. (1989) provide the most comprehensive analysis of large scale organizational change and describe it as a "...lasting change in the character of an organization that significantly alters its performance" (p.2). Organizational change therefore comprises of two constructs: change in the organizational character and change in the organization's performance. Change in the organization's character includes a change in the way the organization relates to its environment, in the human resource management within the organization and in the way it delivers goods and services. Although it could be argued that each of these elements changes in an incremental way

regularly in organizations, generally these changes do not lead to a change in organizational character. Change in an organization's character demands changes in that organization's design (organizational structures, strategies, decision making and human resource systems) and processes (communication, decision making, participation, cooperation). Ledford et al. conclude that;

...structural changes that shuffle departments and reporting relationships, alter performance appraisal systems, or introduce new technology constitute large scale organizational change only if they are accompanied by changes in the nature of behaviour (p.3).

Change in organizational performance refers to how an organization measures its effectiveness, which may be evaluated in a totally new way, or alternatively by utilising existing methods which evaluate new criteria. Performance can be measured by quality of service offered to clients or by changes in product or services, in addition various aspects of performance may be valued differently than previously, thus illustrating change (Ledford et al., 1989).

While some argue that organizational change is "relatively common" and found in "virtually every sector of the economy" (Ledford et al., 1989, p.1) others caution that there are few studies of it (Berg, 1985; Snyder, 1988) and that cultural change is rare and difficult to manage.

Consequently it may not be possible to change an organization's culture (Kilmann et al., 1990 Snyder, 1988; Thompson and Luthans, 1990; Trice and Beyer, 1990).

Organizational change and the management of change is of course dependent upon the degree of change; small scale organizational change is easier to manage than large scale change. It is also dependent upon the rate of change: slow cautious change is easier to control than rapid change, however the literature tends to gloss over these issues. Attention has however been awarded to the problems of organizational change. Trice and Beyer (1990) list five reasons why cultural change is difficult;

1. Cultures are too elusive to be diagnosed, managed and changed.
2. Cultural change is not a practical endeavor as it takes such a long time to define and understand a culture let alone change it.
3. Cultures arise spontaneously and can not be created or managed.
4. Organizations often exhibit multiple cultures making it difficult to imagine how they can be harmonised and changed.
5. Cultures provide stability and continuity to individuals and therefore it is natural that people should resist change.

Trice and Beyer's points illustrate issues which are pertinent to a study of organizational change in policing. Points one and three draw attention to the management of change, an issue which will be explored in the following section on leadership, while the last point highlights the actors' reluctance to change and has been cited by others as the key obstacle to change within an organization (Wilkins and Patterson, 1990).

Each of these five points should be borne in mind when analysing cultural change in the police. However these are not the only constructs discernible in the organizational culture literature that are applicable to a study of policing. The role of leadership, reinforcing agents, incremental or transformational change and the size, depth and pervasiveness of change are all applicable to the analysis of organizational change.

Role of Leadership

Although the view exists that the part leadership plays in organizational change has yet to be systematically explored (Snyder, 1988; Trice and Beyer, 1991), cultural change has been seen to occur through top management's behaviors or alternatively, through a more general socialization process (Trice and Beyer, 1990). This interpretation of change reflects the assumption within the management literature that organizational culture is either leader centered and

generated or homogeneous and shared among members of the organization (Sackman, 1991). There is also the view that change can occur in a combination of both ways.

Proponents of the first approach, which has its roots in Weberian sociology, argue that the key to cultural change is to develop a new set of values or an alternative 'management philosophy'. This new style is then conveyed to old and new employees. Peters (1982) has argued that leaders can alter a culture by changing their activities, agendas and interpersonal skills to reinforce new behavior; the management of symbols and their accompanying meaning is the agent of cultural change (Dyer, 1990). This opinion has been advanced in the much cited work In Search of Excellence by Peters and Waterman, (1982) and has also been stressed by others (Sapienza, 1990).

Some have gone as far as to describe culture to mean the beliefs top managers in a company share about how they should manage themselves, their employees and conduct their business (Lorsch in Kilmann, 1985). Advocates of this approach believe it impossible to separate the process of leadership from the process of building or changing a culture because leadership is the "creation and management of culture" (Schein, 1985, p.171).

Taking a slightly different view of leadership, Pettigrew (1979) argues that since leaders are the creators of culture, cultural change can only be accomplished by a change in leadership. If an organization is serious about change it must therefore replace its leader.

Leaders may however have few effects upon the organization, as they are constrained by the social systems in which they are working (Pfeffer, 1981) and limited by the demands of subordinates and peers. It is therefore questionable whether management's principles do indeed cascade through the organization (Sackman, 1991). This point illustrates the need to understand leadership not as a panacea but as something dependent upon organizational structure and size. Texts which advance that leadership either does or does not influence organizational change are too extreme in their analysis. The leadership and management of cultural change will in no small degree be dependent upon the nature of the organization under analysis and therefore a thorough understanding of the organization is vital to the understanding of cultural change.

Likewise, the effects of leadership will be dependent upon the leader's position within the organization (at the top, able to control the entire organization, or lower down in control of a subsection) and the degree of autonomy granted by any external influences. This illustrates a distinction

between managers and leaders. Managers are concerned with planning, controlling and directing the organization whereas leaders are innovators, change agents and risk takers with an orientation to the future.

Reinforcing Agents

An alternative approach advocates that cultural change takes place as a gradual socialization process, this interpretation does not see culture as being controlled by management but rather acknowledges the impact of management but rather reinforcing agents, for example reward and promotional criteria, organizational symbols and training priorities, that need to be influenced if cultural change is to be successful (Thompson and Luthans, 1990). Proponents of this approach stress the importance of social learning in creating change (Trice and Beyer, 1990).

Incremental or Transformational Change

Understanding the rate of change is also an important factor in analysing organizational change. As mentioned above, a distinction can be drawn between deep, large scale, fundamental organizational change and shallow change (Ledford et al., 1989) or as others have interpreted it, transformational as opposed to incremental or first order change (Egri and Frost, 1991). First order change implies incremental modifications, for example altering work processes or implementing an organizational strategy,

whereas second order change is a radical shift in interpretive schemes representing fundamental shifts in the organizations strategy and mission. In this respect organizational change does not occur if only structural change, involving only minor alterations takes place, but rather must be accompanied by changes in the nature of behavior. "Deep or large scale change affect the most fundamental aspects of the organization. They entail shifts in members' basic beliefs and values and in the way the organization is understood" (Ledford et al., 1989, p.11).

Transformational change is more difficult in older organizations that have strong cultures (Sathe, 1990; Wilkins and Patterson, 1990) where the culture is deep seated and when there exist multiple cultures (Kilmann et al., 1990). There are consequently advantages to seeing cultural change as a process and not an outcome: organizations should be viewed not as existing in a vacuum but rather as constantly in transition (Egri and Frost, 1991), or as always evolving (Morgan, 1986:139).

Size of Organization, Depth and Pervasiveness of Change

There are three dimensions to the scale of organizational change: the depth of the change; the pervasiveness of change; and the size of the organization (Ledford et al., 1989). The depth of change refers to the extent to which members of the organization shift their beliefs and values

to reflect new values and the way they understand their organization and enact their roles. Ledford et al. relate this to a paradigm shift, while Kilmann et al. (1990) refer to this as a directional change.

The second dimension is the pervasiveness of change which relates to the proportion of the organizations elements and subsystems that are changed. Pervasive change takes years and must occur across every level of the organization and involve cooperation between subgroups within the organization. Many traditional organizations have treated units separately but for change to be called pervasive it needs to take place in all subunits to successfully occur.

The third dimension is size, the larger the organization the larger the change needed to alter its character. Although a number of criteria can be used to illustrate size (employees, physical capacity, assets) employees is usually the criteria used (Ledford et al., 1989). In addition, Kilmann et al. (1990) also consider that the strength of the culture exerts an impact on organizational members and may either compel members to follow the dictates of the culture or only mildly suggest that they do so.

The process of organizational change is therefore dependent upon many different variables, not least of which is the

unique culture which the organization under analysis displays.

In reviewing the literature on organizational culture change this section has determined four key elements that should be considered when accounting for organizational change in the police; the role of leadership, reinforcing agents, incremental vs transformational change and the size, depth and pervasiveness of change.

Summary

This three section review of organizational culture literature has provided valuable background information for analysing and understanding organizational culture change in police agencies. After briefly describing organizational theories, Section One reviewed the theoretical development of the terms culture and subculture used by organizational theorists. The use of these terms will be contrasted in the next chapter with definitions of the same terms developed by criminologists and applied to an understanding of police organizations, therefore providing a comparative review between the two disciplines.

Section Two discussed the value and relevance of organizational culture research, illustrated the debate over qualitative and quantitative methodologies and acknowledged the importance of triangulation and content themes as a way

to understand organizational culture. This will be revisited in chapter six when the research methodologies employed in the thesis are discussed. Section Two therefore provided the basis on which to consider methodological issues pertinent to the use of organizational culture when studying police organizations.

Finally Section Three identified key factors within the organizational culture literature that affect organizational change: the role of leadership (Dyer, 1990; Schein, 1985), reinforcing agents (Thompson and Luthans, 1990), incremental vs transformational change (Ledford et al., 1989) and the size, depth and pervasiveness of change (Ledford et al., 1989). These factors will be included in the analysis and interpretation of organizational change in police agencies.

This chapter has reviewed the literature written by organizational theorists on organizational culture and change. The next chapter will illustrate the way in which criminologists have reviewed police organizations, police subculture and leadership.

CHAPTER 3

Review of the Theory and Research on Police Organizations, Subculture and Leadership

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the normative theories used to describe the police organization and then proceeds to describe the empirical theories. A critical review of the two main theoretical frameworks, the research techniques that have been employed and an analysis of the existing studies on subculture and leadership is given to illustrate some of the gaps in the literature and to propose a more comprehensive perspective in which to examine police organizations. The information on police subculture is then compared and contrasted with that presented in the previous chapter on organizational culture. The final part of this chapter demonstrates how the findings of this review led to the development of the six primary research aims of the thesis.

As shown in Chapter 2, the recent growth in the number of organizational cultural studies has led to a recognised school of organizational culture theory (Morgan, 1986; Shafritz and Ott, 1987). Likewise, subcultural theory is a well established discipline in criminology. Criminologists however, in contrast to organizational theorists, have tended to direct their attention towards subcultures within

an organization whereas organizational theorists have tended to focus more broadly on organizational cultures. Both fields draw on similar, primarily qualitative methodologies, illustrating their debt to anthropology, and in studying cultures or subcultures obtain inspiration from the sociological and ethnographic frame of reference (Alvesson and Berg, 1992,). They differ in the basic ontological and epistemological assumptions established at the outset: namely the specific subject matter, the reasons for conducting the research and the focus of the study. These differences can be explained by tracing the historical development of both disciplines. Sociological criminology was born out of the desire to explain crime and deviance. In contrast organizational theory arose from the pragmatic desire to establish conditions for the successful functioning of organizations so that existing ones may be improved (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992,).

In order to strengthen the criminological literature on police organizations, subculture, leadership and change, comparative analysis with organizational theory's use of the terms culture and change needs to be undertaken. This comparative review illustrates the gaps in the policing literature which could be filled by incorporating findings from the organizational culture school. First, however, it is necessary to review the existing studies of police organizations.

Normative and Empirical Approaches.

Although by no means exclusive categories, criminological studies of police organizations can be seen to have been conducted through two distinct theoretical lenses: the normative lens and the empirical lens. Normative theories tend to advocate and prescribe the way in which police work should be done, address management and administration issues and draw on a number of organizational theories to inform their analysis. In contrast empirical theories analyse the framework of policing using observable and measurable variables in order to offer an interpretation of police work and use concepts that are based on normative assumptions. Normative theories therefore make recommendations on the 'best way' in which to operate a police organization, whereas empirical theories are explanatory and concerned with describing why policing exists as it does. The testing of normative theories is rare, whereas in non-normative theories testing is more frequent.

Grimshaw and Jefferson (1987) suggest that the structure of police organizations is best studied as two dimensions. The first they refer to as 'organizational' depicting the vertical dimensions of rules, policies and procedures, command and control, the second the 'occupational' relating to the norms and practices of colleague groups. Normative theories have focused on the vertical structure whereas empirical theories have, for the most part,

addressed the horizontal strata, but primarily the rank and file members. In developing such categories academics can be criticised for limiting the scope of their analysis.

Normative Studies of Police Organizations.

The organizational element of police work is woefully neglected in much of our thinking about the police. Most studies treat police officers as the unit of analysis and do not take the total organization seriously (Guyot, 1977, p.105).

Langworthy (1986) has illustrated how most theories of police organization are normative theories which give advice regarding "structures and behaviors associated with efficiency and effectiveness" (p.7). These theories are frequently divided into three categories: bureaucratic theories, democratic theories and contingency theories. These categories relate back to the classical, neoclassical and systems-contingency organizational theories detailed in the previous chapter.

Bureaucratic theories.

The literature on the police has tended to assume that the police are organised according to traditional organizational theory and refer to the police organization as quasi-military (Bittner, 1970) para-military (Sandler and Mintz, 1974) and conventional (Angell, 1978). These terms refer back to the management philosophies of Weber (1947) and Taylor (1947). Classical organizational theory has had more

impact on police organizations than any other organizational theory and has spawned works advocating the approach by Smith (1940), Eastman and Eastman, (1969) and the much quoted work by O.W. Wilson (1950). Most of this work focuses upon the ideal way organizations ought to work rather than how they actually operate (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987).

O.W. Wilson's work dominated the field of police management throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Wilson believed that police organizations needed to be centrally organized and bureaucratic. He argued that procedures should be implemented and aimed at well defined objectives that are highly operational (Thibault et al, 1990). Although spanning half a century the issues raised by the bureaucratic theorists are similar and concur with each other, they emphasize the police role and advocate how police organizations ought to be organized. They advance the view that the police should be administered according to size with larger ones having higher hierarchies to control the more specialised tasks: they all contend that the organization should be centralized whatever its size (Langworthy, 1986).

Criticisms were made towards the bureaucratic theories in the 1960s. As proponents of the bureaucratic model preceded interest in evaluation, their works were prolific on the criteria for organizational structure but silent with regard

to how the organization is evaluated (Langworthy, 1986). In addition they failed to examine the relationship between the individual and the organization (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987) and did not question the complex nature of the police role within society. Moreover, classical organizational theory emphasised structure to the exclusion of culture and treated the internal culture of the organization as highly susceptible to the whims of those in authority (Greene et al., 1994).

Democratic theories

Democratic theorists of police organizations have different ontological and epistemological assumptions than the bureaucratic theorists and as such argue that the role of the police officer is too broad and varied to make bureaucracy work. Instead they advocate a decentralized structure which is flexible to reflect the needs of the organization.

The organization that the democratic theorists prescribe is spatially differentiated to allow informed neighbourhood level problem identification, and hierarchically undifferentiated to facilitate collegial, participative staff interaction, and has little or no structural specialization (either occupation or functional) in police operations so as to further encourage professional responsibility (Langworthy, 1986, p.28).

Academics proposing this approach include Angell (1976) who suggests that the conventional police organizational design has been responsible for the decline of police-community

relations. He proposes the 'democratic' model which involves the police adopting a more service and prevention oriented role a participatory, community based police organization. Bittner (1970) has also advocated that the quasi-military structure of the police is and will always be at odds with the core of the police mandate, while Goldstein (1977) has argued that the police need to move from what he terms as an 'authoritative climate' towards a more democratic form of organization. Despite receiving support by some, the democratic model was frequently dismissed because it was seen to be too radical in advocating the abolition of middle management and an overhaul of police structure. There are clearly similarities between the democratic model and community policing as will be illustrated when community policing is defined in the next chapter.

Contingency theories

A third interpretation of the police organization can be found in the work of contingency theorists who contrast different types of police organizations. By looking at styles, missions and organizational structures they advance that police agencies can not be viewed as either bureaucratic or democratic, but rather by examining the environments in which they function and exist one can decide how best they can be organised. Therefore, departments that are functioning in less stable environments would function better if they were democratically organized than those that

were operating in stable environments and could adopt a more bureaucratic structure. Environmental variety, according to these theorists prohibits the adoption of a single organizational model (Langworthy, 1986).

The main advocate of Contingency Theory is Roberg who in 1979 wrote Police Management and Organizational Behavior: A Contingency Approach. Roberg claims that there is a need to link management structure to practice and organizational design to characteristics of the environment. In a subsequent work with Kuykendell (1982), he develops an organic-mechanistic continuum to illustrate the way police work, as a complex activity performed in an unstable environment, would be improved if it shifted from its dominant mechanistic type of environment to a more organic form. By taking the example of team policing they illustrate how a police department can make an effort to become more organically structured.

Elements of Contingency Theory have been applied to studies of community policing, where it has been shown that a police organization that has invested heavily in a traditional bureaucratic structure will have more difficulty in creating an environment conducive to community policing than a police organization that is less bureaucratic (Wilkinson and Rosenbaum, 1994).

There would appear to be some disagreement over the type of organizational structure that exists in police organizations today. Indeed, it may be impossible to state that one organizational structure is prevalent in all police organizations as the size, location and composition of police agencies varies considerably between jurisdictions. Despite the fact there have been alternative theories to the bureaucratic model of policing some have argued that most police departments operate on the traditionally organized principles as they were first stated by O.W. Wilson (Swanson et al., 1988; Thilbault et al., 1990), and adhere to the traditional bureaucratic structure (Gaine, 1975). Lynch (1986), however believes that since the 1950s there has been a shift towards more democratic and participatory management structures as the behavioral sciences have become more influential to police managers, a development that has occurred in many large organizations. Others caution that models of change such as team policing may only survive for limited periods of time and that the bureaucracy will be a structure almost impenetrable to change (Swanson et al., 1988).

Normative theories, as categorised by Langworthy, have been described by Grimshaw and Jefferson (1987) as studies conceptualising the organization as a machine, focusing upon how organizations ought to function by stressing standards

and needs, rather than detailing how they actually work. As such these theories are criticised for being idealistic.

Proponents of community policing (eg Goldstein, 1990; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988) may be regarded as offering a normative model of police work in that they advocate and prescribe ways in which police organizations can improve the quality of service they provide by implementing community policing philosophies. As such, community policing is the latest development in the line of normative theories, although clearly it has similarities to both the democratic and contingency approaches.

Criminologists interested in police organizations have drawn upon the traditional organizational theories to inform their analysis but to date have ignored the newer organizational theories. Classical views of organizations focused on structure not culture. Normative theorists of police organizations have adopted this stance thus illustrating their preferences as social scientists.

The value of normative theories of police organizations lies in the leads they provide for empirical analysis (Langworthy, 1986). Normative theories recognise logical, unambiguous relationships which suggest links between agency size, for example and environment but do not test the relationship and as such are, Langworthy argues, "untestable

articles of faith" (p.14). Empirical theories, on the other hand, can be more readily tested and challenged, and tend to discard any overtly positivist interpretation (although may still themselves be seen as positivistic) in favour of a more topic-specific treatment of the phenomena under analysis.

Empirical Studies of Police Organizations

Sociological studies of police organizations have been divided up into two groups: structurally grounded studies which look at the structure of police departments and portray them as bureaucratic, rule dominated deterministic environments; and action studies that focus on the dynamics of the organization and recognise the diversity of settings that influence behavior (Murphy, 1987). Alternatively they have been described as environmental or subcultural models of police organizations (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987).

To a certain extent this division reflects the research methodologies employed. The former adopts a formal empirical analysis by use of survey research: the latter tries to conceptualise the wider context in which policing takes place by adopting an ethnographic approach and looking at the insiders' view (Punch, 1983). In many respects empirical studies test normative theories using a range of assumptions about how the police should function.

Structurally grounded/environmental studies

James Q. Wilson's book Varieties of Police Behavior (1968) is cited as one of the first empirical analysis of police organization. Wilson developed a typology of departmental styles by treating eight police departments in America as discrete entities. He demonstrated that the role of the police officer is different in what he termed the 'night watchman', 'legalistic' and 'service oriented' departments. While these categories may be open to question, he was able to illustrate that the sum of the police officers' actions produced different working styles in the departments and that these were related to the communities in which the police officers patrolled. Thus the watchman style was hierarchically flat and decentralized with an emphasis on order maintenance, where bureaucratisation had barely developed. The legalistic was specialised, hierarchically tall and centralised operating a law enforcement approach whereby universal standards were imposed upon all communities in a city. Finally the service oriented was administratively centralised, operationally decentralized, specialised and hierarchically tall with a stress on community involvement.

Wilson's work promoted a number of studies which examined the relationship between police organization, community and behavior. Rossi et al. (1974) undertook an empirical study in the 1960s of police practices, public opinion and police

and political leaders' attitudes. The findings illustrated that certain cities were more law and order oriented and others were more civil rights oriented, and that policing styles seemed closely associated with the views of the local politicians and the police chief. The study concluded that operational styles and practices seemed to be a feature of the whole organizational culture.

Similar findings have been revealed in a study by Jones and Levi (1983) who sought to determine public attitudes towards policing in two areas of England where chief constables held opposing views, one favoring community policing, the other law and order. Jones and Levi found that residents of the area whose chief supported community policing had more favorable judgments of their police.

Swanson (1978) undertook empirical analysis to illustrate the way that community characteristics are powerful predictors of police behavior. Cain (1973) although not addressing organizational styles, examined the organizational culture of two British police forces, one rural and one urban to offer an explanation of the different roles police officers took. She suggested that this role varied according to the community that was being policed. Langworthy (1986) has also sought to determine the extent to which the structure of a police department is influenced by factors beyond management's control such as city size,

socioeconomic composition of the population or by more internal considerations such as how policing is done.

These structurally grounded/environmental studies illustrate that interest in police organizational culture has existed for over twenty years and suggest there to be significant differences in the organizational culture of policing in different areas. However the extent to which these variations are the result of conscious efforts made by police departments is unspecified. As Reiner (1985) notes, department style is inferred from data on police practices and then used in a tautological way to explain them. The acknowledgment of the differences in policing styles which exist in different organizational cultures does however question the studies of the rank and file subculture which sees it as prolific and unchangeable across all police organizations.

Action-oriented studies

In contrast to these structural interpretations of police organization "action-oriented studies of the police...challenge the ideal bureaucratic models proposed by police administrators and undermine the overly deterministic conceptions offered by most formal structural analysis of police organizations" (Murphy, 1987, p.29). Interactionist theories of this type seek to decode the formal structures of policing by providing information on the informal

processors and behaviors that occur in police organizations. Much of the work of these action oriented academics begins to draw attention to the subculture of the police as a mechanism for understanding how the police organization operates. Cohen (1955) in defining subcultures states that their emergence must involve "effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment" (p.59). Police subcultural studies focus on the activities, values, beliefs and attitudes of police officers.

Grimshaw and Jefferson (1987) in fact label what Murphy (1987) sees as action-oriented studies, subcultural. They argue that in relation to organizational theory, subcultural analysis borrowed from the notion of 'informal organization' and the human relations approach that was a reaction to the classical management school and which spawned the bureaucratic policing theories outlined above. This subcultural approach focuses on the less rational elements of human behaviour and examines the characteristics of specific occupational groups.

The Police Subculture

Despite the contention that our knowledge of the police occupational subculture remains slight (Holdaway, 1989) the matter of police subculture has been of interest to police researchers since Westley (1970) Niederhoffer (1967) and

Skolnick (1966) wrote the initial texts on policing. These early works have been supported by a wealth of sociological literature employing both quantitative and qualitative techniques that have illustrated this subculture to have a profound effect on policing policy and initiatives in a variety of contexts (eg Bittner, 1967, 1970; Chatterton, 1976, 1983; Ericson, 1982; Fielding, 1988; Graef, 1989; Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987; Holdaway, 1979, 1983; Manning, 1977, 1979; Punch, 1983; Rubinstein, 1973).

As mentioned above, subcultures are learned through a process of socialization or acculturation. Some of this acculturation is formal but most of it is implicit and is an intergenerational process by which individuals are indoctrinated and acquire a set of beliefs, values and attitudes (Hunt and Magenau, 1993).

It has been argued that police management in North America, which is promoted up through the rank and file, operates within the context of one of the strongest vocational subcultures (Thibault et al., 1990) and that both policing resources and policing ideologies are dominated by a culture which is articulated in its purest form by the rank and file (McConville and Shepherd, 1993). This subculture of the lower echelons is depicted as so uniform and sustained that any attempts by senior management to alter policy or

practice is frequently seen to be subverted by the police officers' actions (Fielding, 1988).

The literature states that in conjunction with the formal, bureaucratic, militaristic structure of the police organization, the police subculture acts as a distinct system of internal control (Goldsmith, 1990) where the lower ranks of the profession control their own work situation (Holdaway, 1979). As such the "occupational culture of the police has found reference points in virtually every publication about policing" (Holdaway, 1989, p.55).

There is a considerable volume of policing literature that has attempted to detail and explain the subculture of policing. General agreement exists that police agencies encourage a broadly coherent set of outlooks, beliefs, customs and norms among police officers and that this is reinforced resulting in a distinct police 'subculture' (Holdaway, 1984; Jermier et al., 1991), or 'cop culture' (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987; Jefferson, 1990; Reiner, 1985) or 'occupational culture' (Ericson, 1982; Fielding, 1988; Hunt and Mageneau, 1993; Manning, 1979; McConville and Shepherd, 1993; Reiss, 1971). Certain commonalities of police outlook are discernible between British and American police officers (Manning, 1979) and from the reports and studies of policing across many countries (Bayley, 1985; Das, 1993; Mawby, 1990).

Reiner (1985), like many other commentators (eg Chatterton, 1976; Ericson, 1982; Fielding, 1988; Holdaway, 1984; Hunt and Magenau, 1993; McConnville and Shepherd, 1993) argues that the subculture of the police is attributable to the police function itself, and that this subculture manifests itself at the rank and file level. In reviewing much of the literature on the topic he provides a list of what he sees are the seven core characteristics of 'cop culture': 1) 'mission - action - cynicism - pessimism'; 2) suspicion; 3) internal solidarity coupled with social isolation - the 'us and them' division; 4) conservative views; 5) machismo; 6) racial prejudice; 7) pragmatism. Reiner's review of the core characteristics of the police subculture has been developed from his own research and from studies by other academics in both the United States and Canada.

Other commentators have provided alternative criteria for depicting the key concepts of subculture (Thibault et al., 1985) or have provided a narrower characterisation. For example Punch (1983) argues that solidarity and secrecy are the distinguishing characteristics of police occupational culture. As mentioned above, early work on the police subculture was pioneered in the USA by Skolnick (1966) and Westley (1970) and mirrored in Britain by Banton (1964) and Cain (1973). The 1970's saw a burgeoning of research on the police subculture, often employing participant observation

and ethnographic techniques in order to account for the subculture (Chatterton, 1976; Holdaway, 1979; Manning, 1977), although in some instances information was gathered by interviews (Graef, 1989; Reiner, 1978). More recently the police subculture has been examined in a political context (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987) and has been recognised as a barrier to new developments in policing (McConnville and Shepherd, 1993). In contrast it has also been proposed that if correctly harnessed this subculture can act as an important resource in addressing difficult policy and practice issues (Goldsmith, 1990).

Subcultural analysis of police organizations have taken place in the United States (Jermier et al., 1991; Skolnick, 1966; Neiderhoffer, 1967; Van Maanen, 1973), England (Chatterton, 1976; Holdaway, 1979) and to a lesser extent in Canada (Ericson, 1982; Shearing, 1981) as a way to conceptualise and understand the activities of the police. Sociological studies of police work in Canada indicate similar patterns to those found in Britain and the USA (Mawby, 1990). The theoretical underpinnings for studies of this nature was the pioneering work of Becker (1963). As Becker illustrated the process by which an individual becomes a marijuana user through acquiring the norms and values and the 'know how' of smoking, so academics interested in police subculture have found that the actions of police officers become defined by their occupational

culture. The training academy and probationer period provides the initial introduction into this subculture (Fielding, 1988; Van Maanen, 1973) and an intensive socialization process occurs on the streets (Chatterton, 1979; Punch, 1979), resulting in core subcultural characteristics. While some early work on the police suggested there was a recognisable 'police personality' this has now been discredited. Characteristics of police adaptation to their role and status have been developed to such an extent that although the subculture may vary between police departments and police officers, the overall recognition that there is a distinct police subculture is an accepted fact.

Two Policing Subcultures.

A study undertaken in the 1970s (Reussi-Ianni, 1983) showed for the first time that the organization of policing is best understood in terms of the interaction between two subcultures: a street cop culture and a management cop culture. The existence of two distinct subcultures has implications for how academics view the police organization. Reussi-Ianni (1983) describes the existence of two subcultures as "almost a classical case of what organizational theory describes as the opposition of bureaucratic and organic forms of organization" (p.5).

In extending Reussi-Ianni's analysis, Hunt and Magenau (1993) state that the two cultures idea can be understood as the result of an institutional collision between an established occupational culture of policing, where the police officer is the protagonist and the contemporary social and political forces advocated by management that aim to change this occupational culture. The acknowledgment of two cultures has also been made in the Canadian literature where Loree (1988) has shown there to be perceptual disjunctions between those who manage the organization and those who work on the street. This reiterates the division identified by Holdaway (1977) of what he termed the 'practical professionalism' of the rank and file and the 'managerial professionalism' of the higher echelons, a distinction also acknowledged by Punch (1983).

While these researchers recognised a distinction between the cultures of management and the rank and file no analysis of this distinction was attempted. Reussi-Ianni's research used participant observation of the rank and file but not of management in New York City Police Department and, as such, the interpretation of the management subculture can not be explicated as confidently as that of the street cop subculture. While the Reussi-Ianni study does provide valuable data on what can occur when management attempts to provoke change rather than negotiate it, like other subcultural studies the focus is upon the lower echelons.

While previous research has illustrated that the style of policing may vary between different police agencies (Cain, 1973; Wilson, 1968) the existence of various subcultures within the same organization has been recognised but rarely systematically explored. An exception is the work of organizational theorists Jermier et al. (1991) who identified a number of different subcultures existing within one police organization in the United States and illustrated how these subcultures respond and react to the official culture which they identified as a crime-fighting command bureaucracy.

Overall there is a considerable amount of commentary which presents the occupational culture as solid and cohesive, although more recently this interpretation has been under review (Fielding, 1988). Commentators have noted that policing can be differentiated into variants or subcultures based on rank (Reussi-Ianni, 1983), function (Van Maanen, 1986) and local environment (Wilson, 1968). While these subcultural variants will each be distinctive in some ways, at the same time they are all seen as 'variations on a theme' (Hunt and Magenau, 1993, p.71; Reiner, 1992, p.466). As noted by Fielding (1988): "...being a cop is not an either/or but a more or less a thing" (p.204).

The extent to which these subcultures are indeed all 'variations on the same theme' is debatable. The findings of the structurally grounded/environmental studies that have identified variations between police organizations would suggest the emphasis on the autonomy of the rank and file subculture requires qualification. There is a need to analyse police subcultures *within* and *between* police organizations and to build upon the few works that have been able to identify a variety of police subcultures within policing. Research of this nature would help support or refute the few studies that have recognised different police subcultures and lead to a more comprehensive understanding of police subculture. This is one of the aims of this dissertation.

Police Subculture and Community Policing.

Features of the police organization that provide cohesiveness and integration also make it the most resistant to change and innovation (Manning, 1977) prompting one commentator to state that promoting change in the subculture is as easy as bending granite (Guyot, 1979). Descza (1988) in summarising the literature on the Canadian police subculture has detailed three costs to policing that this subculture promotes: firstly police alienation from the public and its institutions (and vice versa); secondly police officer alienation from management; and, thirdly

resistance to changes that could assist in addressing personal and organizational problems.

Descza (1988), like many others who have studied police subculture, presumes there to be one subculture at the rank and file level and fails to recognise any diversity. However, he does contribute to the growing volume of research which shows the police subculture to be resistant to crime prevention and community policing philosophies which detract them from 'fighting crime'. The broader service role has been described by police officers as 'bullshit' (Reiss, 1971) 'codswobble' (Reiner, 1978), and 'Micky Mouse bullshit' (Reussi-Ianni, 1983). In Canada the police subculture has been seen to inhibit the movement towards community policing (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990). This is one of the key issues that will be explored in this thesis.

One of the most recent additions to the subcultural area of research details the police subculture as unsympathetic towards the service model of policing with little time for community policing (McConnville and Shepherd, 1992). This disregard is not attributed to the pathologies of individual officers, but rather is the result of the institutional attributes of the police subculture. While this study illustrates the discrepancy between the views advanced by police managers and the views of the rank and file, it draws

primarily from the opinions of police officers at the lower levels of the organization and not those of the more senior ranks.

Like much of the literature and research on policing it describes a specific police subculture and assumes it is evident at the lower level of the organization and across all police agencies, irrespective of their geographical and structural composition. While the authors acknowledge that police subculture is not monolithic and does vary between and within police agencies they recognise commonalities which are discernible in varying forms in each force, an issue which has been noted by others (Hunt and Magenau, 1993). This subculture is that of the lower levels of the police organization.

In England and Wales a study (Operational Policing Review, 1990) was recently undertaken comparing the opinions of operational police officers and those of the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO). The study found that the rank and file favored a 'strong' approach to policing and dismissed community policing as soft. In contrast the ACPO ranks implied strong support for many aspects of the community policing approach. They placed greatest value on community related activities such as liaison with schools and ethnic minorities and placed less importance on law and order approaches. Reiner's (1990) study of police chiefs

illustrated that many had a broad view of the police role, only identifying crime as one aspect of it, unlike operational police officers. The empirical findings of these studies add further support to the notion of two subcultures of policing.

Despite the volume of findings that suggest significant organizational change in policing is impossible, there is evidence that it can take place. Large scale structural changes have occurred and can be evidenced by the creation of provincial police forces in Ontario and Quebec, the increased use of technology during the 1960s in the United States and with the amalgamation of a number of police forces in Britain. While all these examples illustrate structural change there are fewer examples of cultural change. One recent exception is a study by Foster (1987) who conducted ethnographic research in East London and illustrated how alterations occurred in police management, community initiatives and training in order to improve police community relations in one subdivision. Change was achieved because it was backed by the entire management hierarchy. Similar findings are also presented by Skolnick and Bayley (1986) in their review of six innovative police chiefs in the USA. However the extent to which these changes were sustained over time is unclear.

In discussing change in police organizations it is important to consider the rate and extent of change. Foster's research illustrated that change was possible, but her sample was small. Skolnick and Bayley argued change was possible but did not show whether change was retained over time. The extent to which the police subculture influences the movement towards community policing will vary between different police organizations. The size, location and structure of these organizations will influence their desire and ability to adopt community policing strategies. Therefore theories of organizational change need to be considered in conjunction with theories of subculture to gain a thorough understanding of the potential for community policing to develop.

Most of the work on the police subculture pays attention to the activities of the rank and file who do everyday policework. As illustrated above the theoretical understanding of this subculture has come a long way in the last twenty years. However, only a few of these studies have addressed middle management and police leadership. At best the police literature informs us of the bottom end of the hierarchy, but not the top or middle.

Research on Police Leadership.

While action-oriented theories on police subculture provides a rich insight into the daily activities of police work,

they ignore the wider aspects of the organization and the policies and practices of senior management. As Grimshaw and Jefferson (1987) observe "...the 'realistic' examination of rank and file beliefs and activities is, ironically accompanied by a hopelessly idealistic conception of the beliefs and activities of police managers" (p.9).

The concept of police leadership has been treated as a panacea in the policing literature. While the management theorists have devoted considerable attention to the distinction between management and leadership functions chief executives in policing have recognised little difference between the two (Roberg, 1979). Stamper (1992) argues that while this may not be a huge concern in a small organization it is critically important in a large bureaucracy. As this thesis examines police leaders in varying organizational sizes and structures it is necessary to be cognisant of differences between management and leadership. Management definitions are associated with planning, controlling and directing the organization to ensure the job gets done, leadership definitions, on the other hand, import leaders to be innovators, change agents, risk takers who are open to criticism and have an orientation to the future. Any understanding of police leadership must account for the organizational structure in which the leader is working as this may influence their ability to direct and change the organization.

Several authors have pointed out that there is little research on police leadership (Crank, 1986; Cohen, 1980; Hunt and Magenau, 1993; O'Reilly and Dostaler, 1983; Reiner, 1991; Potts, 1982) although the importance of leadership style in affecting policy and exploring police officer perceptions has been acknowledged (Cohen, 1980; Talarico and Swanson, 1982; Wilson, 1968) and recently has been argued to be the single most important factor in determining whether or not community policing innovations will succeed (Loree, 1988).

The reasons for the lack of research on police leadership may be attributed to the commitment to participant observation research techniques which precludes an understanding of the upper echelons of the organization (Cain, 1979) in addition to the 'politics of access' which direct researchers towards the rank and file. It has been suggested that those granting access are reluctant to have their own environments placed under scrutiny (Punch, 1981) as the knowledge gained is less useful to this group and can even be dangerous to them (Reiner, 1990). While this may also be the case in some other organizations it conflicts with the experience of the organizational theorists and researchers, many of whom have gained data by focusing on the upper levels of the organization.

The few studies of police leadership that been conducted have been undertaken from different theoretical positions using both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Hoover and Madner (1990) applied management theories to examine the attitudes of police chiefs to private sector management principles, such as letting employees have input into the decisions of the organization and recognising what the client wants and delivering that service. They constructed a Likert-style questionnaire and mailed it to 100 police chiefs in the state of Texas. They found the chiefs accepted and supported the principles but there was the belief by the respondents that police personnel would not accept the implementation of these principles.

Cohen (1984) conducted a study of organizational structure and change in the New York City Police Department. He hypothesised that structural transformations from a Weberian traditional, authoritarian, dictatorial and restrictive doctrine to a reform doctrine emphasising more flexibility would be dependent on certain types of leadership style. He concluded leadership was a significant factor. Pursley (1974) found some police chiefs express strong personal needs to structure and control their agencies and are unwilling to consider outside influences, contrasting starkly to the community policing philosophy.

Reiner (1990) has argued that the police research literature is replete with studies of the "canteen cop culture" and yet little is known of the "top cop culture". He interviewed forty police chiefs in England and Wales and, although he does use quantitative techniques, most of his analysis and interpretation is derived from language conveyed by the respondents themselves. His analysis focuses upon who the police leaders are rather than analysing the organizational cultures in which they work and as such draws on the theories of C. Wright-Mills. More recently Hunt and Magenau (1993) adopted what they term as an "institutional and organizational analysis" of North American police chiefs. Their work draws heavily on the biographies of police chiefs of large departments to illustrate the changing role of the chief. They argue that the police chief is a tangible focal point of institutional change. The final chapters of their book provide a discussion of the importance of police leadership in initiating change and the barriers that exist to inhibit this change. They conclude:

Of course management is important to operating any organization but the essential function of the principle executive is leadership: the will and the ability to articulate a mission, an agenda and a set of legitimizing values for an enterprise to develop operational means and for their expression and to which others can commit their energies (p.145-6).

In 1992 the RCMP External Review Committee, an independent body which reports directly to Parliament, surveyed the

membership of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, the Canadian Police Association and the Directors of Human Resources in 143 private sector companies. The research found that Canadian police managers were more authoritarian than private sector managers and sought to control the activities of their subordinates. The report went on to state that this need to control is detrimental to the introduction of community policing (Koenig, 1992).

Further Canadian research has been conducted by Descza (1988) who attempted to show, by drawing on the corporate culture and leadership literature, how Canadian police managers communicate purpose to operational police officers while trying to affect organizational change. The methodology he employed involved 44 in depth semi-structured interviews with chiefs, deputy chiefs, superintendents and inspectors lasting 45 minutes in three municipal police departments. The study concluded that chiefs were in a unique position to transform their organizations by providing a new direction and sense of purpose and that communication processes lay at the center of this change. It would therefore appear that chiefs in some jurisdictions are in a position to change the nature of their organizations, if they have the desire to do so.

The desire for police leaders to initiate change is an important consideration within the organizational change

process. Organizations may resist change if they are deemed to be currently successful. Police organizations in Canada have enjoyed a steady increase in funding over the past and opinion polls routinely monitor overall public support for the police (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994). With these facts in mind police leaders may find any arguments endorsing change untenable.

The current research on police leadership illustrates the various theoretical and methodological starting points adopted by the social scientists and is only of limited applicability to a study of BC municipal policing. The organizational structures of police agencies in BC, characterised by both the RCMP and independent police departments, varies considerably to that of the USA and Britain where most of the studies have taken place. The ability of the chief to introduce change should be dependent not only upon personal characteristics but also upon the organizational structure in which he/she is working, the size of the department and of course the police subculture.

Leadership, Change and Community Policing.

Campbell and Wright (1993) Goldstein (1990), Hunt and Magenau (1993) and other advocates of community policing have stressed the importance of leadership in articulating a sense of purpose for the organizations and for shaping direction. Leaders must be able to accept why organizational

change is desirable and have an understanding of how to ensure the appropriate restructuring and the resistance against it (Angell, 1976). The police leader has been recognised to be instrumental in changing the culture of the organization (Wilkinson and Rosenbaum, 1994). In Canada the role of top management in this regard has been ignored (Clairmont, 1991) although recently acknowledged as crucial to the success of community policing in BC (Oppal, 1994) and Canada (Campbell and Wright, 1993).

As detailed in the previous chapter, in discussing change it is important to define what sort of change is being proposed and by whom. In police organizations change can be either promoted from within the organization itself or be the result of external pressures from governments or interest groups. Moreover the rate of change in police organizations has to date been shown to be incremental in nature although the community policing philosophy endorses fundamental large scale organizational change.

The leadership style of the police executive is important in promoting policy making and in defusing opposition to it (Angell, 1976). The commitment of police leaders to new policing philosophies has been shown to be more than just rhetorical and yet seems unable to penetrate the rank and file subculture (McConville and Shepherd, 1992). Police leaders need to articulate an abiding commitment to the

values they espouse and must have the support of the rank and file. This may be achieved by concentrating on informing younger members of the department, urging the retirement of the old guard, flattening the hierarchy, determining who specifically is resistant to change (and if all else fails sanctioning them) and by sending trained middle management out as team leaders (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). In the United States a new generation of police chiefs, trained in public administration, sociology and criminal justice is now attempting to implement progressive ideas (Manning, 1977) and therefore over time may succeed in promoting change.

To supplement the criminological literature on police subculture, leadership and change comparisons and contrasts with organizational theory on culture and change should be conducted. As noted by Punch (1983):

We would do well to avoid being blinded by narrow academic considerations that lead us to flaunt the uniqueness of our police material when we could be learning from, and contributing to, a more general concern with organizational theory and the comparative study of organizations and professions (p.XV).

Comparing Criminological and Organizational Theory.

In comparison to the organizational culture literature, police subcultural studies have tended to be both descriptive and explanatory, illustrating the links between the phenomena under investigation but stopping short of

making pragmatic policy recommendations for change. Studies conducted in organizational theory have been undertaken by academics, who work independently of those they study, and by management consultants who are commissioned by the organization under review. Both academics and consultants seek to establish recommendations for improving effectiveness and efficiency. In contrast empirical police subcultural research is frequently undertaken by social scientists grounding their analysis more in the pursuit of theory development.

The organizational change and development literature offers an applied interpretation. As noted by Alvesson and Berg (1992) organizational change and development theory has to a large extent been adjusted to meet the expectations and demands of industry and has given priority to "usefulness" and practical relevance.

While acknowledging there to be subcultures or "layers" of culture within an organization, organizational change and development theory has tended to focus on the organization itself, whereas the policing literature pays more attention to subcultures within the organization.

While it could be advanced that studies of the police have touched on the organization, these works have primarily focused on administration and management (e.g. Bradley et

al., 1986; Lustgarten, 1986) and have not addressed organization theory nor combined organization theories with information on management and administration. They have failed to utilise knowledge from organizational theorists to ground their own work of police organizations. It is the distinct subculture which makes the operation of law enforcement agencies somewhat different from the operation of private business and other public agencies (Thibault et al., 1990, p.1). This may account for the reason why criminologists have chosen to examine facets of police work while ignoring the broader institutional framework in which it takes place. Despite this limitation criminologists have, by and large, chosen to ignore the literature from other disciplines on work, occupations and organizations (Punch, 1983) and as such have severely restricted their analysis. An organizational analysis of the police remains absent from much of the literature on policing (Terrill, 1992).

The previous chapter illustrated the importance of understanding organizational culture and by citing the literature showed how these concepts are relevant to a study of organizational change. Greene et al. (1994) correctly argue that in policing these concepts have been arrested by a management ethos which emphasises unitary cultures and management control of these cultures. However, although they can be praised for making reference to organizational culture theory they then proceed to draw primarily on police

subculture research to inform their study of change in the Philadelphia Police Department and therefore fall within the bounds of traditional police subculture theory. Considerable advances can be made to our understanding of police organizations if we combine criminological subcultural theories with organizational cultural theories.

Summary.

This chapter has shown that criminological research on police organizations can be categorised as either normative or empirical. The normative theories which include community policing are prescriptive stressing how police work should be done while the empirical theories examine how the work is actually undertaken.

The review of police organizational literature and the contrast with organizational culture research has identified a number of key issues that influenced the research aims of this dissertation:

- 1) Structurally grounded/environmental studies suggest there are differences between police departments. It is not however known whether these differences are the result of conscious effort by police managers or attributable to other factors internal or external to the organization. Is it possible to identify different subcultures within and between municipal police agencies in British Columbia? One

could conjecture that differences exist between those independent police officers who have been trained at the Justice Institute of BC and the RCMP officers trained in Regina. These differences (if they do exist) therefore question many subcultural studies which see police subculture as prolific and unchangeable. Answering these questions will address the second research aim as detailed in chapter 1: to provide an alternative analysis of police culture to that advanced by the dominant criminological literature on policing.

2) Criminological police subcultural studies tend to treat the police subculture as a homogeneous entity at the lower levels of the organization. Few studies acknowledge that there may be a variety of subcultures within one police department or alternatively different subcultures evident between different police agencies. Can municipal police agencies in BC be seen as a homogeneous group and, if not, what subcultures can be identified both between and within agencies? Answering this question will again address the second research aim as detailed above.

3) Although there is a large amount of literature on the police subculture this is the subculture of the rank and file. Little has been written on police executives and leaders. However, the importance of this group in facilitating change has been recognised by both the

criminological and organizational literatures. By determining the views and opinions of police leaders in BC this thesis will begin to fill this void and address the fourth and fifth research aims by providing: valuable previously unavailable, critical comparative analysis on those individuals who influence policing in BC, and by identifying the opinions of both independent chief constables and RCMP OIC's towards a variety of policing issues.

4) Subcultural studies suggest it will be the rank and file who limit the possibility of organizational change. This issue has also been mentioned in the organizational literature. In accessing the views of police leaders and police officers the dissertation will address the third research aim that seeks to explore the level of commitment that both police leaders and police officers in BC have towards community policing.

5) Criminologists and police scientists have to date remained unaware of many recent developments in organizational theory which could be applied to their own field. Likewise organizational theorists have tended to focus their attention on private sector organizations, paying less attention to public sector agencies such as the police. In applying elements of organizational change and development theory specifically as it relates to

organizational culture to the police this study addresses the first research aim: to contribute to the organizational change and development theory by applying these theories and constructs to the relatively unresearched organizational domain of law enforcement.

6) In reviewing the criminological and organizational literature it has been necessary to draw primarily on works from the United States and Britain. In looking at policing in BC this study will address the sixth research aim: to enhance the Canadian policing literature by making an original contribution to it.

The previous chapter illustrated how aspects of organizational change and development literature, as it relates to organizational culture, influenced the theoretical, methodological and analytical development of the study. This chapter has shown that those writing about community policing have used normative theoretical approaches. Elements of the organizational culture literature will be applied in this thesis to community policing to explore its potential within police agencies in BC. This requires a thorough understanding of community policing which is the remit of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Community Policing

Introduction

This section provides a discussion of community policing in Canada. The initial part of the chapter describes the term 'community' and illustrates how imprecise and elusive this concept is, how it is applied to new and reforming policies to give them credibility, and how and why it receives support from both the political right and left.

The chapter then proceeds to show through an in-depth analysis how the term 'community policing' mirrors the semantic imprecision found in the term community. By citing the policy statements and documents published during the last few years it illustrates how the community policing philosophy has been advocated and endorsed by a number of police agencies in Canada. Community policing is then explained through comparative analysis with similar policing initiatives in the United States and Britain. After providing a review of the term, the problems and issues relating to its development and adoption by police agencies in Canada are examined.

Community

This review of the term 'community' will highlight five points which are pertinent to a discussion of community policing: (i) there is no clear definition or understanding of it; (ii) despite this vagueness, the term is used because of its positive connotations; (iii) it is frequently applied to give credibility to new policy initiatives; (iv) it is theoretically undeveloped; and (v) it can be used by both the left and the right to justify new policies.

Variety of Definitions

It is understandable why most writers on the police-community relations neglect an indepth discussion of the 'community': it is a difficult and elusive subject that perplexes even the experts" (Trojanowicz and Dixon, 1974, p.6).

Although the term community is far from clear and was described as unfashionable during the 1960's (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990,)), it has received favor since the 1970s as a label for new and reforming policies. This has led to an increasing number of community labelled policies: community care; community architecture; community education; community radio; and community policing (Friedmann, 1992; Wilmott, 1987).

Despite the increased use of the term there is genuine confusion over what is actually meant by the word community (Buerger, 1994; Duffee, 1980) and calls for clarification

have been made (Mastrofski, 1989; Marennin, 1989). Some have argued that it is well embedded in commonsensical ideas that make it a symbol of vast undifferentiated and vague notions (Manning, 1988).

In acknowledging that the concept is used loosely, Wilmott (1987) has characterised it as referring to people who have something in common. He makes the distinction between: (i) territorial community defined by geography and the people who live in a particular area; (ii) interest community a group of people who have something in common over and above territory (e.g. gay community, academic community); and (iii) attachment community where individuals have an attachment to a place and people which gives the place its defining characteristics. Nelken (1985) taking a different perspective, provides a much more focussed interpretation of the term, seeing a community of interests which survives as long as there is a shared interest, or a community of solidarity derived from a shared awareness of local, national, ethnic, religious and political identity. Commentators have also sought to define the term by describing the functions of community as being institutional (agencies which facilitate social and economic living) or service (agencies that provide education, recreation and socialization facilities) (Trojanowicz and Dixon, 1974).

The term community is not static but open to numerous definitions. In the 1950s Hillery identified 94 different meanings of the concept (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990), it would appear that forty years later the term still receives criticisms for its imprecise nature. These definitional problems are also found when it is applied to policing (Buerger, 1994)¹.

Theoretical Interpretations

Theoretical analysis of the concept of community has a long history in the social sciences. Aristotle believed that societies evolved in a triadic schema from family to community to state (Nisbet, 1970), while Tonnies proposed his notion of *Gemmeinschaft* (communal ties of family and village) developing into *Gessellschaft* (impersonal, atavistic and mechanical relationships) as societies grew. Durkheim also defined his concept of anomie within society by describing the process from mechanical to organic solidarity. Although there is only scant theoretical analysis of the term community, much of it draws on the work of Durkheim, as he influenced many at the Chicago School who were some of the first contemporary sociologists attempting to identify communities (Park and Burgess, 1925; Shaw and McKay, 1942).

1. Other words used in criminology have been subject to the same vagueness, for example, justice, crime, deviance, public policy.

Wellman and Leighton (1979) propose that definitions of community should include three ingredients: (i) networks of interpersonal ties; (ii) sociability and support to members; and (iii) residents in common locality. They go on to explore three interpretations of community. Firstly, 'community lost', this view contends that the transformation of westernised societies to centralised bureaucratic structures has made the individual more dependent on formal organizations and has weakened ties to communities. This was understood as early as 1938 when Louis Wirth suggested that the process of urbanisation resulted in a weakening sense of community (Podolefsky and Dubow, 1981). More recently James Q. Wilson (1975) has argued that the city is made up of people who have no interest in creating and maintaining a sense of community.

The second interpretation is of 'community saved'. This argues that neighbourhood communities have persisted in some places despite the development of urbanisation. Evidence to support it is found in studies undertaken in the 1960's such as Young and Willmott (1962), "Family and Kinship in East London" and Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1969), "Coal is our Lives".

The third interpretation is the 'community liberated' one which sees that despite industrial bureaucracy weakening

neighbourhoods, communities still flourish in the city. Communities are liberated because of cheap transportation and communications, the separation of work and kinship ties and the high rates of social and residential mobility.

Although attempts have been made to place the current interest in community involvement within a theoretical framework (e.g. Beck, 1979 and Iardicola, 1988) the majority of writing especially on community policing has tended to shy away from theory (Trojanowicz and Dixon, 1974).

'Community' and Policy Change

Certain words can be real sources of power for the guidance and justification of policy changes and for insulating the system against criticism (Cohen, 1985). The word 'community' can be seen in this light: being described as 'warmly persuasive', never used unfavorably and always intended to encourage public support (Shapland and Vaag, 1987).

Beck (1979) has shown how the term community has been applied in the policy of deinstitutionalisation in what he terms a facile and sentimental way to justify that development. He cautions against introducing what he sees as sentimentality in the formation of public policy, but illustrates the success of such policies depends on sentimental acceptance not only by the public but by professionals in the field, academics and independent

observers who are, as a result, blinded to the underlying (fiscal) reality. Beck illustrates that for deinstitutionalization to be accepted a persuasive, false and idiosyncratic picture of life outside the institution is painted, with society having recognisable, flourishing, self-conscious and responsible communities. He concludes: "Although this happy vision of community pervades discussions of deinstitutionalisation there is very often nothing in reality that corresponds to the image" (p.9). Beck's analysis can be applied to community policing when the question may be: Do advocates of community policing hold similar sentimental views of the community they see as influencing community policing philosophies?

Smith (1987) has suggested that three broad themes can be indentured in thinking about why the idea of community has become acceptable in directing social policy. The first is a reaction against what may be deemed as large scale and remote. Secondly, the suggestion that people should come together to share their common needs and tackle common problems and thirdly, public policy and practice should act to strengthen voluntary and informal structures and work with them. While Smith's interpretation is valid he offers little by way of in-depth theoretical or political interpretation.

Cohen (1985) argues that it would be impossible to exaggerate how the term community has come to dominate western crime control discourse during the last two decades. He suggests that the symbolic power of the term is that it lacks any negative connotations: it is not a neutral concept but rather a moral quest and therefore can be used to justify forms of policy change. Support for 'community' has come from four directions: firstly, from the pragmatic and utilitarian camp who saw that the system simply was not working; secondly, humanitarian and civil libertarians argued that institutions were brutal and inhumane and therefore required community input; thirdly, social scientists, specifically labelling theorists saw the community as a new form of social control operated by social workers; and, finally from the conservative lobby who were concerned with costs.

Cohen's categories draw attention to the fact that the term has political credibility for both the political left and right. The right see the involvement of the community as a way in which individuals can help the forces of law and order (at a cheaper cost) and shift legal and moral responsibilities on to the elusive community, so rationalising expenditure cuts or alternatively transferring costs. The left see that the mobilization of the community will help empower the disenfranchised to be able to affect existing institutions and hierarchies (Nelken, 1985). Both

political camps employ a vague term to justify policy reform, which can in addition also be supported by the political centre. As such, the term community is applied by all political persuasions to give criminal justice policies credibility. As the sentiments can be supported by any political position so can they also be criticised (Manning, 1984).

Community Summarised

This review of the term 'community' has highlighted a number of points which are pertinent to a discussion of community policing:

1. There is no clear definition or understanding of it.
2. Despite being vague, the term is used because of its positive connotations.
3. It is frequently applied to give credibility to new policy initiatives.
4. It is theoretically undeveloped.
5. It can be used by both the left and the right to justify new policies.

Community Policing History

Some writers on the subject of community policing believe that it started in Britain with the introduction of Robert Peel's force in 1829 (Jones, 1983; Normandeau and Leighton, 1990; Leighton, 1991), and in America see that it was initiated as early as 1914 by the then Commissioner of the

New York City Police, Arthur Woods (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). Others contend that there has always been community policing especially in rural areas (Wassen and Crawford 1977) and that as a concept it offers no clear definition which allows us to distinguish it from conventional bureaucratic policing (Murphy and Muir, 1985).

Most commentators however regard it as a development of the last twenty years which has arisen in response to a number of social, political and economic factors (Anderson, 1982; Green and Taylor, 1989; Kelling, 1986; Kelling and Moore, 1989; Leighton, 1991; Wassen and Crawford, 1977). As such, community policing was a reaction to the heavily bureaucratic police organization and encourages community involvement so the police can deal with community problems in a proactive, innovative and creative way (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990).

It is also possible to combine both these perspectives and to view community policing as a re-emergence of the original style of policing rather than something that developed over the last twenty years.

For many years the police in North America and Britain existed within a paradigm which was characterised by rapid response, militaristic style and a detachment (accentuated by technology) from the community they served. This paradigm

has been referred to as 'Modern State' (Clarke, 1987) and 'Bureaucratic' (Manning, 1989). Anomalies in this style were discovered in the 1960s and early 1970s (eg expenditure and efficiency were questioned as was the use of discretion and treatment of ethnic minorities). These anomalies developed to form a crisis which can be pinpointed in Britain to the 1981 riots and the subsequent Scarman Report (1982) and (less precisely) in the United States to the increasingly vocal disillusionment with policing (Crank, 1994). It is important to view any impetus for change in Canada in light of the political and economic climate of the day and in relation to influences of other western democracies.

Some have argued that policing is currently in a period of transition. Kelling and Moore (1989) have defined three distinct phases to policing in North America: the political phase which characterised early development from 1840-1900; the reform phase, which dominated policy from the 1920's until quite recently and incorporated notions of advanced organizational and technical thinking and professionalism; and the transition phase from the reform to the community strategy of the moment. Policing in Canada and other western democracies in the 1990s can be seen to be in this transitional phase, as such community policing should be regarded as an ongoing evolving process (Oettmeir and Brown, 1989).

The notion of three distinct phases of policing questions the premise that organizational change in police agencies is virtually impossible. If Kelling and Moore's thesis is accepted then there has been change since the inception of policing. However the changes that have occurred have been slow and incremental with the last major change occurring at the beginning of the century. It is yet to be determined whether police agencies will successfully complete the metamorphose from the reform to community policing.

Community Policing Defined

As was the case for the word 'community', a literature review on community policing illustrates that there is also confusion over how this term is defined. This has led one commentator (Murphy, 1994) to propose that the term be abandoned and another be introduced which: does not become confused with community relations; connotes the structural changes involved; emphasises the collaborative relationship between the police and community; and delineates these developments from previous policing philosophies. Although fluid categories, definitions can be broadly placed in five categories which see community policing as: (i) a meaningless rhetorical term including every and any initiative; (ii) a philosophy focusing on the police and community working together to influence the management and delivery of police services; (iii) a particular crime prevention program; (iv) a form of increased social control;

(v) an imprecise notion, impossible to define. Table 4.1 below presents a summary of these definitions. However, the most widely held opinions purport community policing to be:

distinguished by its recognition and acceptance of the role of the community in influencing the philosophy, management and delivery of police services (Murphy and Muir, 1985,p.81).

While this may be the preferred definition (and further clarification could justifiably be sought for the words 'community', 'influencing' and 'philosophy'), other interpretations are available.

TABLE 4.1

SUMMARY OF DEFINITIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF COMMUNITY POLICING DERIVED FROM THE LITERATURE.

Community Policing	Interpretation	Advocate
RHETORICAL.	Meaningless expression. Metaphorical.	Weatheritt (1987) Manning (1984)
PHILOSOPHY.	Community influences management and delivery of police services. Organizational change.	Murphy (1988) Goldstein (1987) Normandeau and Leighton (1990) Skolnick and Bayley (1988)
PROGRAM.	Blockwatch, consultative groups, crime prevention. No organizational change.	Alderson (1982)
CONTROL.	Covert way to penetrate communities to acquire information. Social control.	Klockars (1989) Bunyan (1981)
IMPRECISE.	Numerous definitions.	Mawby (1990)
	No definition.	Hunt and Mageneau (1993)
	Indistinguishable from traditional policing.	Broderick (1991)
	New definition needed.	Murphy (1994)

Rhetorical

Some have suggested that community policing is no more than a consensus rallying cry used to convey a sense of nostalgia, with the word community encapsulating considerable emotive appeal (Mawby, 1990). Community policing evokes powerful metaphors that play to contemporary cultural concerns and is therefore appealing (Manning, 1984) and does little more than summon up images of a world we have lost standing for inspiration for a better future (Weatheritt, 1987). Community policing is therefore seen to be a new legitimating mandate which evokes powerful metaphors of democracy, small town morality and local autonomy (Crank, 1994) but in many respects lacks substance and may be little more than rhetorical.

Philosophy

The community policing philosophy frequently advocates a 'partnership' between the police and the community to address numerous social issues. The key elements/ingredients/definitions of community policing have been condensed to three points by certain commentators (Clairmont, 1991; Goldstein, 1987), four by others (Kelling and Moore, 1989; Manning, 1984; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988; Wycoff, 1989) six by one other (Murphy, 1988) eight by another (Loree, 1988) and more recently extended to include sixteen points (Leighton, 1991).

In their publication for the Solicitor General, Normandeau and Leighton (1990) argue that community policing involves a police community partnership to deal with crime and disorder problems, while Skogan (1990) cites four broad principles to the community policing movement: (i) a commitment to a broader problem oriented policing philosophy and a move away from a focus on crime fighting; (ii) decentralization, new patrol tactics and a two-way communication between police and citizens; (iii) police respond to the citizens' definitions of their problems; (iv) police help neighbourhoods help themselves by serving as catalysts.

Broderick (1991) has noted that these last two principles are not that different to those proposed by Shaw and Mackay (1945) at the Chicago School and put into practice by Saul Alinsky and his colleagues, supporting the conclusion by some that community policing is really just old wine in new bottles.

Although no clear definition of community policing may exist, just as no clear definition of community exists, a number of programs and policies which include community involvement or facilitate increased contacts between the police and the community are frequently cited as being compatible with it. These include foot patrols, police store

fronts, community consultative groups, neighbourhood watch and crime prevention initiatives.

In practice, the community policing philosophy advocates not only listening to (elusive) community input, but creating the opportunities for the community to have a say in policing policy. It therefore promotes the need for structural change within police departments. This is a big step for most police agencies who throughout their existence have seen themselves as professionals who know better than anyone else what needs to be done to maintain social order and enforce the law (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988).

Program

From philosophical definitions one can go to much more focussed interpretations which see community policing as requiring only three demands: community policing councils; inter-agency co-operation; and community constables (Alderson, 1982). Some commentators believe community policing exists as a program that can be added onto the existing organizational structure.

Control

Critical interpretation of the development towards community policing has been given by Klockars (1989) who claims that the movement from bureaucratic to community policing is best understood as the latest edition in a long tradition of

"circumlocations" whose purpose is to conceal, mystify and legitimate police distribution of nonnegotiable coercive force. Other circumlocations were legalization, militarization and professionalism of policing. He regards the progression towards community policing not as a radical shift but as a cumulative process. Community policing is a more covert way to penetrate communities to acquire information (Bunyan, 1981).

Imprecise

Various authors have noted that despite the term 'community policing' being readily adopted, the words 'community', 'policing' and 'community policing' are open to numerous definitions (Mawby, 1990). There is consequently confusion over what exactly community policing is, so some have suggested there are no standard definitions at this point in time (Hunt and Magenau, 1993). Definitions that do exist range from those who see it as a variety of forms of social control involving community effort (Alderson, 1982) to any initiative which includes the police and the community (again undefined) working together (Leighton, 1991; Murphy, 1989; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). Although more cynically it has been described as a term "used to describe virtually any policing activity which its proponents approve" (Weatheritt, 1987, p.7), and as any form of policing so long as it gains the support of the community (Mawby, 1990). A recent survey

of chief constables in England and Wales found 45% believing it to be a meaningless expression (Reiner, 1991).

This review of the definitions of community policing found them as falling into five categories:

1. Those who see community policing as a meaningless term, a 'rallying cry' which includes every and any initiative. This definition relates back to the initial discussion of the term community and how it is seen to justify policy reform which is frequently just a rhetorical sentiment.
2. Those who see it as focusing on the police and community working together to influence the delivery and management of police services. This is the most widely held interpretation within the academic literature, advocating the two basic premises of increased community involvement and a change in structure of police organizations. In many respects it represents the 'ideal' by endorsing complete organizational change and a new organizational philosophy.
3. Those who regard it as a particular crime prevention program, not an overall philosophy, which can be added on to the existing organizational structure.
4. Those who regard it as a form of increased social control by the state.
5. Those who believe it is an imprecise notion that can not be defined.

While remaining cognisant of all definitions, this thesis in discussing organizational change and the introduction of community policing will apply the second 'ideal' definition in its discussion of community policing. However, in undertaking empirical analysis of police officers' views on community policing, all definitions will be applied to the data to determine which accord with the views of the members of the organization.

Recent Calls for Community Policing

The inception of the community policing philosophy in Canada can be traced back several years to a publication sponsored by the Solicitor General: 'Community Based Policing: A Review of the Critical Issues' which argued that there was a strong mandate for reassessing the present police beliefs and practices. This document went on to stress that community policing offers a viable and creative management response to what was seen as a restrictive police environment (Murphy and Muir, 1985). Since that time the community policing movement has gained momentum so that more recently it was described as the "official morality" of policing in Canada (Clairmont, 1991, p.469) and that there is now "no turning back" (Kennedy, 1991, p.286)

In 1990 the Solicitor General of Canada, Pierre Cadieux stated community policing was "the most effective way to police the Canada of the future" calling upon line officers

and police chiefs to "get on with the business of systematically implementing community policing" (Cadieux, 1990). It has subsequently been endorsed by the Canadian Police College and supported by the Solicitor General of Canada in the widely quoted A Vision of the Future of Policing in Canada: Police Challenge 2000 document

(Normandeau and Leighton, 1990). While this publication did not articulate defined policies to be adopted, nor implementation strategies, it did promote discussion and confirm that the Solicitor General supported community policing. The authors of the report claimed community policing is the object of growing consensus and that no competing views of policing exist. More recently the Ministry of the Solicitor General (1994) produced a series of reports on community policing. These reports aimed to assist police agencies with the implementation of community policing initiatives.

There currently exists evidence that, as an idea, community policing has been awarded increasing attention and has been "lauded by community and police leaders alike" (Kennedy, 1991, p.279). Canadian police leaders have adopted "as their conventional wisdom that community policing represents the most progressive approach to contemporary policing" (Leighton, 1991, p.486) and have made sweeping promises to implement the philosophy (Leighton, 1994). Researchers too have voiced their opinions by arguing that fundamental

changes are required to the traditional, centralized organizational culture found in many police departments (Descza, 1988). Since the 1980s there has been a slow and steady increase in the number of community policing texts. While initial works illustrated some skepticism over the philosophy more recently authors have displayed an "unbiased enthusiasm for the changes, an enthusiasm uncommon in the social sciences" (Broderick, 1991, p.130).

Firm evidence of formal commitment can be found in the 1990's mission statements of every major force in Canada, all of which use the term community policing (Bayley, 1991; Horne, 1992). The Ontario Police Services Act 1990 legislated community policing through six key principles. In 1991 the RCMP issued the Strategic Action Plan for the Implementation of Community Based Policing in the RCMP, a year later their mission statement provided a lengthy reference and definition to community policing which now appears on a poster in all reception areas of RCMP detachments. In 1992 the Metropolitan Toronto Police published Beyond 2000...The Strategic Action Plan of the Metropolitan Toronto Police which advocated the implementation of community policing. In addition the Vancouver Police Department Corporate Strategy illustrates the way that department proposes to adopt community policing (Vancouver Police, 1991).

The Vision of the Future (1990) provides the catalyst for many police agencies to seriously consider changing their operational policies and introduce community-policing practices. As mentioned above, this publication has been followed by a series of reports on implementing community policing (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1994). While the rhetoric may be evidenced in the policy documents and mission statements cited above, it may well not be matched by the reality of actions in the police agencies themselves.

The extent to which community policing has replaced the professional crime control or bureaucratic model of policing in many police organizations as the official or dominant philosophy is yet to be determined. The Vision of the Future illustrates the government's commitment to the philosophy. It is not a scholarly text of policing strategies but rather a "purposive document seeking to create the conditions for consensus on the necessity and a specific direction for change" (Melchers, 1993, p.50). In many respects community policing is advancing because it makes sense both fiscally and politically, not because it has been shown to work: "this is dangerous because policy making unsupported by facts is fickle" (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988, p.69). The extent to which community policing represents organizational change in every police agency in Canada is yet to be determined. The vagueness and inconsistency of definitions, while problematic, does not conceal the fact that in the

final analysis community policing requires fundamental change: one of the aims of this thesis is to explore the potential for change in municipal police agencies in British Columbia.

Some believe that community policing represents a paradigmatic shift (Bayley, 1989; Chacko and Nancoo, 1993; Greene et al., 1994) and an entire philosophy of policing (Goldstein, 1987), rather than a specific program and that this philosophy incorporates an expanded police role in society, internal organizational change and a greater linkage between the police and the community (Clairmont, 1991). Most commentators agree that it involves not only increased police involvement with the public but a complete overhaul of police management and structure. In this respect it is seen to propose the most fundamental change to policing this century (Bayley, 1986).

As with the term 'community', community policing is receiving endorsements from both the political left and the political right. It is therefore: "...an acceptable organizational theory for both conservative and liberal advocates of police change" (Crank, 1994, p.345) and consequently looks set to survive any changes in political complexion.

Community Policing in the USA

Community policing in the USA has grown considerably over the last few years, illustrated by the few references that can be found on the subject in 1985 contrasted to the volumes of literature that exist now. Despite this contention, research which draws a distinction between community policing and traditional policing can be traced back to the 1960's. For example, Bittner (1967) provided an analysis of policing on skid row to illustrate the peace keeping role of police officers: this would be seen by many as community policing today.

The development of community policing in Canada may be seen in part as a reaction to what has occurred in the United States (Murphy, 1989). It emerged in the USA in response to a number of factors including expensive and expansive police services, declining neighbourhood safety in urban areas, class and race based conflict and an academic critique of police efficiency. Although some of these social, economic and political factors have been recognised as influencing the shift to community policing as long ago as 1969 (Germann, 1969), they have been reiterated and expanded over the last twenty years when the position of the police has been undermined by social change, a better educated heterogeneous population, a more critical media and a greater devotion to individual rights (Marquis, 1991). The

change in political complexion towards the conservative policies of Reagan and Mulroney aided this development.

There was clearly a crisis in policing in the USA in the 1960s which saw the police as distant from the populations they served (Crank, 1994). This issue was compounded by the increased use of technology (Kelling and Moore, 1989; Leighton, 1991; Mawby, 1990) and epitomised by the widespread introduction of the patrol car and improved communication addressing the proposed need for rapid response. In addition, fear of crime and the perceived incivilities illustrating signs of disorder led to a demand for the police to address order maintenance and quality of life problems. Considerable reaction against 'fire brigade' policing, articulated in the 1960s by the President's Crime Commission, stimulated a variety of initiatives so that by the 1970s team policing, problem oriented policing and community policing approaches were being advanced (Mawby, 1990). Policies such as team policing which attempted to democratize and decentralize policing were the fore-runners to community policing (Green and Taylor, 1989).

Recently community policing has been described as the centrepiece of the Clinton administration's anticrime policy (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994), with the administration setting aside 150 million dollars in the fiscal year 1993 supplemental budget to hire 100,000 community police

officers (Grinc, 1994). Despite this commitment, a recent Canadian study which reviewed literature from the United States found that for most police forces in America community policing remains largely theoretical (Oppal, 1994).

Community Policing in Britain

In Britain many of the community policing initiatives were a reaction to militaristic policing (Lea and Young, 1984) and a direct result of the recommendations of the The Scarman Report: The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981 (1982) which followed the riots of the early 1980s (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988; Waddington, 1984). While the catalyst to Scarman were the inner city disturbances, many existing under-currents stimulated the need to reconsider police strategies, specifically a crisis in legitimacy and public confidence, unsatisfactory results in clear-up rates and crime prevention, and clear indications from the Home Office that further resources were not available (Reiner, 1985). Scarman's recommendations, encouraged by Her Majesty Inspectorate and the Home Office, sent a clear signal to police forces of the need to reform. The need for organizational reform to restore public confidence in the police is now a priority for police leaders and unions in Britain (Reiner, 1992).

A recent study initiated by the three staff unions indicated public preference for community policing policies. This has led to a number of initiatives including a 'Statement of Common Purpose and Values' in which the staff associations endorse the idea of service to the community, the Metropolitan Police Plus Program, which advocates community policing, and commitment from the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) to "reconsider police culture and practice around the ethic of service to the customer" (Reiner, 1992, p.141). A strategic planning document of quality of service was recently supported by the three associations with emphasis placed on *customer* requirements and a *service* culture (Reiner, 1992).

Community Policing In Canada

Leighton (1994) has argued that in adopting community policing, police organizations in Canada are simply returning to their nineteenth century origins after a few years of 'flirting' with the professional policing model. However, others see the adoption of community policing policies and practices as influenced by events in the USA (Mawby, 1990) and to a lesser extent in Britain (Friedmann, 1992)². Canada has traditionally looked south for new ideas because of the lack of indigenous research and innovative police leadership (Murphy, 1989). There are merits in both

2. The Leighton and Murphy arguments are not incompatible but rather dependent upon the time frame used.

these positions and in addition to a number of other social and economic concerns.

Community policing sits well with programmatic policies. As concern is expressed over the efficiency and effectiveness of policing, community policing, by involving the community, is beneficial in fiscal and political terms. In shifting some responsibilities and costs for policing back to the community and reducing the funding for government funded public policing, community policing is both a pragmatic and politically appealing reform (Murphy, 1988).

A number of developments in Canada were regarded as distancing the police from the community. For example, the Canadian Police Information Center and the Police Information Reference System as well as certain events such as the Bathhouse raids in Toronto in the early eighties that have strained police-community relations (Taylor, 1980). However, the actual amount of pressure both internal and external to reform Canadian policing has not been extensive (Leighton, 1991). The autonomy of the RCMP and the belief that it needs to be independent from political direction has been shown to be a problem for Solicitor General directives (Taylor, 1980). Commentators have noted that community policing developments are not as evident in the RCMP compared to independent police forces (Mawby, 1990; Oppal, 1994).

The extent to which police departments and detachments in Canada are paying lip service to a vague and untested idea that developed in the United States is a point of conjecture. Although some believe that in comparison to five years ago Canadian policing has firmly embraced the community policing paradigm (Chacko and Nancoo, 1993; Leighton, 1994) a recent study of policing in British Columbia found that despite recent developments concern over other policing issues such as investigation procedures, performance measurement, race relations and domestic violence have diminished the importance of community policing (Oppal, 1994). There would appear to be a gap between the optimistic rhetoric and the implementation reality.

Community Policing and Problem Oriented Policing

The terms community policing and problem oriented policing have been used interchangeably by some (eg Riechers and Roberg, 1990). Neither lend themselves to precise definition. Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990) argue that (community policing refers to police activities focused on community level issues (whatever these may be), where the police cooperate with citizens to deal with problems and citizens have an input into the policing agenda.) In contrast, problem oriented policing develops to address more specific problems, not requiring open ended input from

citizens. Problem oriented policing attempts to improve policing by emphasising a proactive and analytical police response to repetitive problems in the community (Murphy, 1992).

In 1990 Goldstein published Problem Oriented Policing, in this work he undertakes to redefine the operational role of the police and the relationship the police have with the public to develop a distinct perspective on policing. This work expands on an original article published in 1979 which advocated the problem oriented policing approach and which has been readily adopted in the USA and to a lesser extent in England (Weatheritt, 1986).

Goldstein acknowledges the connection between problem oriented policing and community policing and argues that the premise for reforming American policing was based on two elements, firstly the on-going criticism advanced at the apolitical Taylorist professional model of policing as articulated by O. W. Wilson, and secondly, informed research findings which illustrated the need to rethink the deployment of resources and analyse the complexity of the policing task.

Community policing and problem oriented policing have been regarded as a particular management ethos taken from the private sector and incorporated under the umbrella of 'total

quality management' (Hunt and Magenau, 1993). This movement stresses the need to understand customer needs and analyse problems to improve the quality of service offered. Many of the cliches advanced in the total quality management arena can be paralleled to those articulated by proponents of community policing and reflect the movement to recognise the similarities police agencies have with private sector organizations.

Goldstein advocates problem oriented policing as he believes it to be more feasible and has fewer 'downside risks' (Hunt and Magenau, 1993). Indeed problem oriented policing stresses the need for police officers to specifically define problems and emphasises the role of research in facilitating this and in the ongoing monitoring and evaluation process (Weatheritt, 1986). As will be shown below, one of the criticisms of community policing is that it is not adequately researched, an issue addressed by problem oriented policing. However overlaps are obvious: problem oriented policing, like community policing involves significant organizational change and is regarded by some to be the precursor to community policing in traditional police agencies (Leighton, 1994).

Community Policing Problems and Issues

There are of course problems related to the adoption and implementation of community policing. These have been listed

by a number of commentators (Skogan, 1990; Skolnick and Bayley, 1986; Smith, 1987; Wycott, 1989). The two basic premises of community policing: greater involvement with the community and a change in the structure of the police organization have been queried. Although benefits to the community have been outlined (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988) there are many doubts. Three broad issues can be examined which incorporate all the concerns expressed. Firstly, the role of the community; secondly the lack of research; and, thirdly the commitment of the police to organizational change.

Role of the Community

The first issue concerns the participation of the community: how can the community be defined (Hunt and Magenau, 1993) and presupposing that it can, what evidence is there that they will participate in policy decision making (Goldstein, 1987), want to be involved (Nelken, 1985) and will be prepared to tell the police their concerns (Skogan, 1990). As illustrated above, it is difficult if not impossible to form a working definition of community because communities tend not to be homogeneous consensus bodies (Leighton, 1991). There remains to date no adequate working definition of community. As there is obviously no single community it follows that there can be no single way to conduct community policing (Reichers and Roberg, 1990).

The social composition of an area is bound to influence community policing initiatives. Community policing will always be in danger of being adopted by the affluent white middle class areas leaving the poorer ones to traditional reactive policing (Bayley, 1989; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). There are problems with moving empowerment philosophies to actual programs and in this respect community policing often fails to penetrate the areas where it is arguably needed (Clarke, 1987; Kinsey, Lea and Young, 1986; Lea and Young, 1984). Empirical evidence of this has been collected in the study of neighbourhood watch in three police forces in England. This study illustrated that the schemes tended to be adopted only in white, middle class property owning areas (McConville and Shepherd, 1992). Similar findings have been revealed in the United States (Grinc, 1994). Community policing programs seem to be more readily adopted by homeowners and those who already have roots in the community (Skogan, 1990).

Not only can the social structure influence the nature of community policing but the size and location of the community will also be a determinant. The fact that community is "such a different animal in rural and urban areas" (Shapland and Vagg, 1988, p.2) has not been addressed. There exists confusion at the moment over whether the police operating in rural and frontier areas of Canada are already operating community policing (Wasson and

Crawford, 1977) or whether they are operating under what may be interpreted as conventional urban crime control policing (Murphy, 1989). Community policing has been proposed as a panacea for all policing. Its applicability to inner city areas may be questionable given the social problems and the harsh realities of crime that exist in these environments (Jones, 1983; Skogan, 1990).

The fact that some groups, neighbourhoods or jurisdictions may not want community policing has not been addressed. Rather community policing seems to have been accepted as the suitable model of policing for all areas, irrespective of the wishes of individuals living there. While the recognition that differing (community policing) policies and practices will be required in different areas has been made, the fundamental question of whether the community wants community policing has not been asked.

Actually involving members of the community in crime prevention and related projects is problematic. Research undertaken in Britain on Police Community Liaison Panels introduced in 1984 to facilitate dialogue between the police and the public have shown them to be wanting on three accounts. Firstly, they are unrepresentative of the community - a point also demonstrated by others who have conducted research on community involvement (Lea and Young, 1984; Nelken, 1985); secondly, they have had problems

attracting members; and finally, they are not politically accountable (Lea and Young, 1984; Morgan, 1987). In addition, active interest groups may be able to influence police and community perceptions of crime and disorder by attending these committees, increasing the importance given to a particular problem by their direct intervention, (Melchers, 1993). The RCMP are currently in the process of introducing similar groups in their detachment areas (Seagrave, 1993).

It would appear that even the proponents of community policing are themselves unclear about the role of the community. Should the community be seen as a consumer of police services, as a partner/coproducer, as a source of authority and influence or as an alternative? (Murphy, 1989). Although in both Canada and the USA structures exist for public involvement in policing policy, in practice there has been little evidence of the wider public having any influences in police policy and practices (Mawby, 1990). There exists little empirical data on why this is so, but it could be conjectured that the problems faced in North America are similar to those experienced by the British Police Community Liaison Panels.

Lack of Research

Although the rhetoric may rebound within police and policy fields over the success of community policing - for example

the recent policy document of the Toronto Police Department which argued that it was based on "sound proven ideas" (Toronto Police, 1991, p.17) - there has been little empirical evaluation of it, leading to the conclusion that community policing has traded on its philosophical and moral appeal and has failed to examine the underlying assumptions on which it is based (Weatheritt, 1983). Evaluation studies require goals and objectives and one of the reasons for the lack of evaluation may well be that police agencies are unsure of the goals of community policing initiatives and do not know how to conduct research on community policing (Seagrave, 1992).

The lack of research has been highlighted by many (Bayley, 1991; Broderick, 1991; Clairmont, 1991; Green and Taylor, 1989; Leighton, 1991; Murphy and Muir, 1985; Murphy, 1988) and in Canada has led to a reliance on American literature (Murphy, 1989). The efficiency of the public as co-producers of crime prevention remains untested (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). With few exceptions (e.g. Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1994), the community policing literature generally offers typologies and normative statements and criticisms of professional policing rather than implementation and impact analysis (Clairmont, 1991). The studies that have been conducted in North America have provided contradictory findings and upon closer inspection do not test the proposed theoretical rationale for the philosophy of community

policing (Green and Taylor, 1989). The outcome of community policing policies in the USA remains uncertain (Greene and Mastrofski, 1988; Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990).

Likewise in Britain many community policing initiatives such as community constables, neighbourhood policing and neighbourhood watch have been shown to be unsuccessful. Reiner (1992) in reviewing these initiatives suggests that difficulties lie both in implementing the programs as intended and in measuring effectiveness, an issue also identified in North America (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994). The evaluation of initiatives is contentious for as a concept community policing is difficult to test because it is unknown what should be defined and measured as an indicator of success (the goals and objectives) and if it cannot be defined operationally, it cannot be evaluated systematically (Green and Taylor, 1989; Murphy, 1989).

It is hard to measure the effect of innovations on broad outcomes like recorded crime or victimisation rates which are affected by numerous other factors than the policing initiative (Reiner, 1992, p.155).

The research undertaken in America, despite receiving praise by some (Linden, 1991), has been shown in the main to be descriptive. Moreover it has been criticised as being little more than anecdotal (Mastrofski, 1989) and of revealing inconsistent results which did not test the theoretical rationale (Green and Taylor, 1989). There has been little

systematic in-depth exploration about what the police actually do in the name of community policing, likewise there is limited information on the nature of community involvement in problem solving (Goldstein, 1990).

There is debate over the extent and benefits of community policing in Canada. Murphy (1989) believes this is because there has been no evaluation of its impact that would meet classical evaluation standards. He goes on to illustrate that the few studies that have been undertaken have focused on the implementation process rather than the possibility of organizational change and as such have involved survey data which provide limited information on the impact, and success or failure of a program. He concludes that if community policing is to progress, police and funding agencies have to pursue more critical and methodologically sophisticated evaluation studies. Clairmont (1991) has argued that only Halifax and Halton police departments have introduced community policing, while Leighton (1994) illustrates that there have only been two formal published reports which provide comprehensive rigorous impact evaluations of community policing programs. Normandeau (1993) however, adds another three to this list, while Kennedy (1991) contends that while there may be evaluations of pilot projects ongoing monitoring of new initiatives is virtually non-existent. Despite this bleak scenario there have been a

few notable evaluation studies (Hornick et al., 1990, 1993; Walker and Walker 1989).

Implementation problems have been identified in many community policing innovations. The RCMP action plans have received criticism for their lack of clear instructions on how the organizational and operational elements of community policing program should be addressed (Walker, 1992).

Recently efforts to address this criticism were made by the RCMP who initiated pilot projects in a number of detachments to assess the potential for implementing community policing policies.

The scant research mirrors the lack of theory and illustrates that community policing is a concept frequently discussed but rarely fully defined or analysed in depth.

Commitment from the Police Organization

There are two distinct systems of internal control within police organizations, the police subculture and the formal military-bureaucratic system comprising of a strict hierarchical chain of command and a formal organizational code (Goldsmith, 1990). The community policing philosophy argues for a more participatory management approach, a flattening of the hierarchy and that a new style of policing be adopted - proactive as opposed to reactive: community policing as opposed to bureaucratic policing. It therefore

advocates changing the bureaucracy from being mechanistic and centralised to being organic and decentralised and recommends the input not only of the community but of police employees as well. It becomes apparent that major structural, managerial and personnel changes are required in police organizations before community policing can be implemented (Riechers and Roberg, 1990; Roberg, 1994).

While the benefits of this new philosophy for the organization have been described as increasing morale, enhancing career development, increasing consensus, creating job satisfaction and making the organization more professional (Greene, 1987; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988; Wycott, 1989), these propositions are merely speculative. Research remains inconclusive. For example Greene (1987) assessed several community policing programs in the United States and found that police officers' attitudes towards the community and police work did improve as a result of these programs. In a similar approach Lurigo and Rosenbaum (1994) reviewed 12 studies of police officers to find a number of positive effects that community policing had for police employees. However, the methodological soundness of these studies made them conclude that it was impossible to draw firm conclusions about the effects of reform on police officers' attitudes. Sceptics have queried whether an organization such as the police can change a strategy and ideology which places such emphasis on the 'thief taking'

role and the segregation of police from civilians (Baldwin and Kinsey, 1982).

As illustrated in the previous chapter, there is a wealth of literature which has shown the traditionally conservative police subculture to be resistant to change (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987; Goldstein, 1987; Holdaway, 1984).

Commitment from the police to organizational change has been identified as a problem for community policing (Clairmont, 1991; Mastrofski, 1989; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). This cynicism has been attributed to the police subculture which is regarded as unsympathetic towards the service model of policing with little time for community policing ideals and an under valuation of community beat work (MacConville and Shepherd, 1992).

In their study of neighbourhood watch MacConville and Shepherd (1992) argue that most police officers at the 'sharp end' of policing regard community beat work as a sop to liberal society which, if undertaken at all should be done by misfits or officers due for retirement. They go on to show that community policing was not attractive to most police officers who characterised it as "drinking tea with old ladies", "visiting schools and talking to children" and attending meetings which was not real police work (p.151). This observation reflects findings of an earlier study in the United States where police officers were noted as seeing

community relations as "Micky Mouse bullshit" (Reussi-Ianni, 1983, p.121).

The success of community policing may not only be dependent on the police subculture but will also be a product of organizational structural and management reform (Murphy, 1989; Riechers and Roberg, 1990; Trojanowicz and Trojanowicz, 1975). Indeed, a key difference between a department which is experimenting and tinkering with programs and one that is striving for a comprehensive community policing strategy is to be found in the changes that have occurred within the operational and administrative systems (Moore, 1994).

Despite the enthusiasm expressed by some senior police officers to the community policing philosophy, an outlook which may well have been influenced by the need to accommodate pressure from government and social elites (Reiner, 1992), it is currently unknown whether the introduction of community policing has led to changes in the organizational structures of police departments. It has been suggested that community policing policies and programs have just been incorporated into the existing bureaucracy (Murphy, 1988). Community policing has to overcome what has been termed 'organizational rigidity' (Bayley, 1991). It is the organizational environment that creates the difficulty for community policing (Fielding, 1989) and yet it is the

organizational medium through which this new style of policing should take place which is the under-studied area (Greene et al., 1994).

The ability of any initiative may be dependent on the chief officers' abiding and energetic commitment to it (Brown, 1986; Deszca, 1988; Skolnick and Bayley, 1986), or alternatively to a few key individuals who have promoted changes and who have taken a lead in initiating structural change and innovation in service delivery (Kennedy, 1991). Any shift towards community policing will be undermined if management is uncommitted or only paying lip service to the rhetoric. On an extremely pessimistic note one recent publication (Oppal, 1994) has commented that community policing requires changes that may be too complex for traditional police managers and which require sophisticated and unusual leadership skills not normally associated with police management.

While police leaders may articulate commitment to community policing, there may be a certain strata of the police subculture who are not so favorable. The literature has suggested that problems arise particularly with middle management many of whom have based their careers around traditional policing philosophies and therefore are reluctant to embrace change (Clairmont, 1991; Roberg, 1994). Community policing, if it is to produce the desired results

must be the operating philosophy of the whole department (Goldstein, 1987). In this regard it is as much a force for organizational change as it is an attempt to change the police role in the community (Murphy, 1986).

Community policing not only implies a shift in police style but a substantial change in the traditional role and power of the police which incorporates an expansion of both the formal and informal authority into the community (Murphy, 1988). Police organizations have been shown to be some of the most intractable of public bureaucracies (Greene et al., 1994) and highly resistant to change. The reform of policy is more complex for police organizations than for other bureaucracies (Manning, 1977). Difficulties in implementing community policing in BC has been attributed to the archaic structure of policing organizations (Oppal, 1994). The question exists as to how far the police can adopt new organizational principles:

The difficulty for community policing may lie...in securing an organizational environment in which it can endure (Fielding et al, 1989, p.62).

Greene et al. (1994) have cautioned that, historically, organizational change in police agencies has met with only limited success with the change efforts adopting to the organization rather than the organization adopting to the

intended change². This they attribute to the culturally inward looking police organization which distances itself from clients and civilian oversight.

Despite this contention it would appear that there are signs or impressions of a growing change amongst the managerial ranks who want to reform the subculture of the lower ranks and implement change (Holdaway, 1989). Currently this is just an impressionistic view readily open to challenge. Others see police agencies as all too often containing the failings of other not-for-profit bureaucracies, whose leaders lack vision and the ability to change and instead are addicted to formal rules which no longer work and have low managerial competence (Punch, 1983). The extent to which the community policing philosophy will be successfully adopted in Canada will be dependent upon fundamental changes in the management, administration and organizational structure of police agencies.

Summary

This chapter has shown how the terms community and community policing are somewhat imprecise nebulous concepts, prone to numerous definitions. It went on to illustrate how the community policing movement has developed in Canada, what it

2. As mentioned above, there has been structural change in police agencies, for example the creation of provincial police departments in Ontario and Quebec, but such structural changes have not been accompanied by similar philosophical or cultural change.

is, its influences and the problems it faces. In discussing these issues three areas of concern were identified: the involvement of the community; the lack of research; and, the commitment from the police organization to organizational change.

This thesis is concerned primarily with this last problem and, by drawing upon organizational change and development literature and specifically applying data on cultural change, seeks to understand how the police organization can adjust to the new philosophy. It explores the obstacles that could mitigate against this development. The most comprehensive definitions of community policing which regard it as a philosophy presuppose that unless changes in policies and practices are accompanied by internal police organizational changes, which consistently support the philosophy, then the likelihood of success will be limited. The community policing concept provides the example which will be examined in light of the organizational culture and change literature and criminological subcultural literature outlined in the previous chapters, to assess the potential for organizational change in municipal police agencies in BC.

CHAPTER 5

The Context of Municipal Policing In British Columbia.

Introduction

To provide the necessary details to ground the information documented in the thesis, a brief discussion of the context of policing that currently exists in BC is required.

Historical accounts of the development of policing in BC have been documented elsewhere (Kelly and Kelly, 1986; Talbot et al., 1983; 1986; Stonier-Newman, 1991), while a contemporary account of policing in the province can be found in the Oppal Report (1994) which is reviewed in Chapter 7. The purpose of this next section is to provide an overview of the current structure of policing in BC to give the background information necessary for understanding organizational change in municipal policing.

Policing in BC

British Columbia has a provincial police force (RCMP) in addition to 12 independent municipal forces and 52 RCMP contracted municipal forces. These provincial and municipal forces provide police services to their own geographical locations, which together cover the whole province. In 1992 there were 1,932 independent municipal police officers, 2,161 RCMP police officers in the province on municipal contract and 1,505 RCMP officers in the provincial force

(Attorney General BC, 1993). Authorized police strength increased by 7.5% between 1988 and 1992 (Oppal, 1994).

Provincial Policing

The provincial RCMP provides policing services to unincorporated rural areas and municipalities of under 5,000 population. In 1992 there were 124 provincial RCMP detachments. The cost of this force is shared under the terms of the Federal/Provincial Policing Agreement (Attorney General, BC, 1993).

The RCMP has acted as the provincial police force since 1950. For the 92 years prior to this, BC had its own provincial force. While the RCMP's role extends to all communities of 5,000 or less, there is no formal local accountability. In addition there is no practical provincial accountability in matters of misconduct which are seen as an operational concern and the responsibility of the Commissioner (a point of contention with most of the contract provinces). The provincial police detachments are accountable to the provincial and federal government and their own internal hierarchy however, the local reporting arrangements are ill defined (Ministry of Solicitor General, Police Services, 1990).

Municipal Policing

There are 43 municipal RCMP forces contracted to serve populations of over 5,000 in BC. They provide a predetermined number of police under a local detachment commander, whose rank is dependent upon the size of the detachment and who operates in many respects as the local chief of police (Hann et al., 1985). Nineteen RCMP detachments serve a metropolitan town and are headed by an Officer in Charge (OIC) who is at the rank of inspector or superintendent. Of the 12 independent municipal forces, there are two serving populations under 15,000. The RCMP employs 25% of its operational force in British Columbia and polices 71% of the province in terms of population (Oppal, 1994).

Table 5.1 below details the size of the municipal police departments and detachments, all of which were included in the study.

TABLE 5.1

SIZE OF MUNICIPAL POLICE DEPARTMENTS AND DETACHMENTS IN BC

Number of Police Officers	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
under 40	4	33%	1	5%	5	29%
41 - 100	3	25%	9	47%	12	39%
101 - 200	4	33%	7	37%	11	35%
over 200	1	8%	2	11%	3	10%
TOTAL	12		19		31	

In 1974 a major review of policing procedures resulted in the current Police Act which was subsequently amended in 1988. The 1988 Police Act and Municipal Act state that when a municipality has a population of over 5,000 it must assume responsibility for its police services. In so doing it has to decide either to establish its own independent police department or contract with the RCMP to supply policing services. As stated above, there are 12 independent police departments in BC. The cost of policing these jurisdictions is borne almost exclusively by the municipality¹. The cost of policing the municipalities who choose to contract with the RCMP is shared between the municipality and the federal government under the terms of the Federal/Provincial Master

1. The Provincial Government has supplementary funds available to Independent Municipal forces, but these departments have to apply to access them.

Municipal Police Agreement. Two different cost sharing formulas are in place, one for municipalities over 15,000 and one for those under. The municipalities of over 15,000 pay a higher percentage than the smaller ones as the federal government pays 10% of policing costs to communities with more than 15,000 and 30% of costs for populations between 5-15,000 (Attorney General, 1993)².

Table 5.2 below illustrates the contribution to policing in BC by municipal, provincial and federal governments in the fiscal year 1992-93.

2. The RCMP may also receive supplementary funding from local municipal government, this is frequently in the form of infrastructure such as goods and services, buildings, computer equipment, secretarial support. The support received varies across the province.

TABLE 5.2

CONTRIBUTION TO POLICING IN BC BY MUNICIPAL, PROVINCIAL AND
FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1992-93

	Police Force		
	12 Independent	23 RCMP (over 15,000)	20 RCMP (5-15,000)
(Population	973,732	1,481,023	260,877)
Municipal Gov Costs	\$163,081,110	\$165,293,212	\$23,753,906
Provincial Gov Costs	\$5,753,772	-	\$768,800
Federal Gov Costs	-	\$14,339,686	\$7,927,108
TOTAL	\$168,834,882	\$179,632,898	\$32,449,814

(Source: Attorney General, 1993).

BC is unique in Canada as it has both RCMP and independent police agencies delivering services to large metropolitan towns and cities. Other provinces have either a mixture of provincial police departments, independent police departments and the RCMP (Ontario and Quebec) or a greater number of smaller RCMP contract municipal detachments (for example, Alberta, Saskatchewan). Sixty four percent of RCMP members in Canada who are on municipal contract are serving in British Columbia, many of these officers are in detachments of over 50 police officers. Only in BC does the

RCMP maintain forces of 50 or more officers (Talbot et al., 1986). The historical development of the RCMP was to provide police services in rural areas, the heavy commitment to municipal contract policing of large populations therefore makes the RCMP's role in BC different from its role in other provinces and is relatively unique for the force (Oppal, 1994).

To add to the complexity, in some locations provincial detachments responsible for services in rural areas are located in the same building as the municipal contracted RCMP and report to the same OIC's. The municipality then can easily be confused over the size of 'its' force.

Accountability and Governance

The recent Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia stated:

A liberal democracy such as Canada is founded on the rule of law and a system of responsible government. Two principles are fundamental to policing a democratic society. The first is that police who enforce our laws are ultimately responsible to civilian authorities. The second is that the police must be independent in all operational matters. They must, upon reasonable grounds, be free to investigate anyone without any political interference or any fear of political interference (Oppal, 1994:v).

Police organizations can be called to account and asked to justify their actions with regard to legal and fiscal

concerns in addition to policy goals and policing objectives. This accountability can be either to an element within their own organizational structure, to a government department or more broadly to the community they serve.

The jurisdiction and structure of policing in Canada between national, provincial and local administrations has been recognised as fragmented and diversified (Stenning, 1981) and as "far from clear" (Taylor, 1981, p.68). The Solicitor General in Ottawa is the minister responsible for Federal policing while the provincial Attorney General in BC is legally responsible for all provincial and municipal policing, including where this has been contracted to the RCMP. The Police Services Branch is the administrative arm of this ministry. Although some incorporated municipalities receive police services under contract to the RCMP, there is no formal local accountability of the detachment to the municipality. Instead they are legally accountable to the federal Solicitor General, the commanding officer of 'E' Division (headquarters for BC) and the Commissioner of the force (see Appendix I, II). The relationship they have with the Ministry of the Attorney General is primarily for administrative matters (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1990). The relationship to local municipal governments does not involve any legal accountability. The situation is therefore complex when policing is contracted to the RCMP, as the RCMP commander is responsible through the RCMP

organizational structure to the federal minister, despite the fact that the provincial minister has overall responsibility for policing.

The lines of demarcation, accountability and control are not always clear to the public, but within the RCMP it would seem they see themselves as primarily legally, fiscally and operationally accountable to the federal not provincial government. One can question whether it is appropriate to have a provincial and municipal police force who owes its primary allegiance not to the province but to its headquarters in Ottawa. This point has been made by Hann et al. (1985) who showed how detachment commanders see their accountability to be owed to superiors within the force rather than to local government municipalities and is reiterated by the RCMP themselves who confirm that in terms of the 'internal management' of the provincial and municipal police services, including administration and application of professional police procedures, control remains with the Government of Canada (RCMP, 1990). This form of accountability which recognises a commitment that is removed from the local jurisdiction is therefore at odds with many of the promises of community policing³. Recently it has been advocated in a Provincial Commission Report that:

3. Community policing advocates a social accountability where the police are directly accountable to the communities they serve, this is different from the legal accountability that police agencies have with government.

The RCMP must make fundamental changes and be more responsive to the needs of British Columbias communities. The force simply must become more accountable to local needs and allow more participation by local government (Oppal, 1994: xxxiii).

The situation is different for independent municipal departments. In the 1970's municipal councils controlled these departments but following the introduction in 1974 of the Municipal Police Act, all municipalities with their own police forces established a municipal police board with at least five members consisting of the mayor (chairperson), one person appointed by municipal council and three persons appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council after consultation with the municipal council (Stenning, 1981). Currently the 1988 BC Police Act outlines the remit for municipal policing in the province. In independent municipal police departments municipal police boards oversee personnel, police community relations, labour relations and budgets, while the BC Police Commission under the Act has provincial responsibility for crime prevention, complaints, standards and disciplinary appeals⁴.

4. While on paper the role of the police boards and Police Commission may be defined, operationally the Provincial Oppal Commission Report (1994) reports problems. This report recommended the removal of the BC Police Commission with its functions being absorbed by the Attorney General of the Province. The report went on to express concern with police boards, many of which it saw lacking purpose and direction with little ability to critically assess the performance of police departments.

The 1974 BC Police Act also provided for the creation of local police committees consisting of not less than three people appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council. Stenning (1981) argues that it was the intention that such committees should be adopted in areas policed by the RCMP on contract, but that only two such committees were ever appointed and were short lived. Unlike the independent police departments the contracted RCMP detachments presently are not required under the Federal/Provincial Agreement to have formal local accountability to the communities they serve. However, recently many RCMP detachments have introduced community consultative committees in an attempt to increase the dialogue with the local communities, a development which has been introduced under the community policing banner.

In September 1994 a Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia released its 700 page report. The Commission was headed by Mr Justice Wallace Oppal (Oppal, 1994). The Commission's terms of reference were expansive and comprised of virtually every aspect and issue related to policing. Full details of the report are presented in Chapter 7.

The Oppal Report (1994) questioned whether it is appropriate to have a provincial and municipal police force with headquarters in Ottawa, over which the province has limited

control. The report cites the 1950 RCMP Act which stated that the commanding officer of the RCMP shall: "...act under the direction of the attorney general without reference to the senior officers of the force at Ottawa", whereas today the Act states: "...the commanding officer shall act under the direction of the minister (Federal Solicitor General) in aiding the administration of justice in the province" thus illustrating the decline of provincial involvement. The Oppal Report concludes that in terms of governance the province has little influence on the RCMP.

This point is probably best illustrated by the fact that there is no provincial or municipal control of RCMP personnel. Decisions relating to RCMP personnel are made either in Ottawa or divisional headquarter in Vancouver. The OIC of a municipal detachment, unlike the chief constable of a municipal department, will have been chosen for the position in Ottawa and although the municipality may have been consulted in the process, the final decision rests with the RCMP hierarchy.

The issue of personnel also relates to another problem reported by the Oppal Commission: the RCMP transfer policy. The RCMP transfers staff after approximately 3-4 years and justifies this by arguing that transfers are needed for promotions and to bring new officers into the community. However transfers, according to Oppal, are detrimental to

the community policing process as officers fail to establish close ties and a commitment to the community.

Police Leadership in BC

As mentioned above, independent municipal police departments are headed by a chief constable who is appointed by the police board and is accountable to that board. In contrast OIC's, who can be at the rank of inspector or superintendent depending on the size of the detachment, are appointed from within the organization with little external influence. While most chief constables retain their position until retirement, OIC's, particularly the younger ones, will serve for a limited period of time (3-4 years) in one location before moving on.

The Police Act describes the functions of the chief constable and states:

The chief constable of a municipal police force has, under the direction of the board, general supervision and command over the municipal police force and shall perform the other functions and duties assigned to him under the regulations or under any Act (Police Act, 1988).

The Oppal Report (1994) stated that this description is striking for its lack of specific guidance, the results of which have seen the role and responsibilities of chief constables evolving in an ad hoc manner emphasising operational functions but not community concerns.

Chief constables are totally responsible for the operational administration of their departments and, in consultation with the police board, can develop policies and may initiate changes. In contrast, OIC's have a chain of command above them and are subject to the policies and procedures devised in Ottawa and Vancouver. While changes in an independent police department may be facilitated by the appointment of a new chief constable, within the RCMP the appointment of a new OIC will not theoretically produce the same effect since this individual will be constrained by the organizational structure in which he/she is working. In many respects OIC's are middle managers denied the same autonomy as chief constables but charged with the same policing mandate⁵.

Community Policing in BC

The recent Oppal Commission Report (1994) firmly endorsed the community policing philosophy but illustrated that although a number of police agencies in BC have implemented community policing programs, these programs did not reflect the holistic community policing approach and were generally unsupported by the necessary changes in management and decision making:

5. This hierarchical control and bureaucratic structure does hold certain advantages, for example in the training of RCMP officers in addition to the greater specialist expertise that exists within the organization and which is frequently drawn upon by the smaller independent police departments.

The Inquiry's review of the BC experience suggests that police agencies have chosen a conservative interpretation of community-based policing as a limited and specialized crime prevention program that has little impact on operations or agency organization. Under the interpretation there has been no significant organizational reform, nor any major changes in policies, community accountability or input (p.C19).

The Inquiry went on to state that neither independent police departments nor RCMP detachments have made significant changes in their operational and organizational structures or adopted other strategies to facilitate a closer link between the police and the community. The Oppal Report recognised that no police department or detachment in the province has to date successfully adopted the community policing philosophy, but did however cite Delta Police Department, New Westminister Police Department and Burnaby Detachment as making considerable strides in that direction. The Burnaby experience, while very much in its initial stages, is worthy of specific focus because in many respects it represents the 'test case' for RCMP police detachments in the rest of Canada and does provide examples at attempts of internal organizational change.

Burnaby RCMP Detachment †

In May 1993 the Director of the Community and Aboriginal Policing Branch of the RCMP in Ottawa met with the Assistant Commissioner of 'E' Division to discuss the feasibility of conducting "a community policing project" at the Burnaby

detachment. The main objective was to be the implementation of a new community policing model for the detachment which would then serve as a model for other RCMP detachments. Burnaby was selected as it was seen as having defined boundaries, established neighbourhoods, no great population growth, a cooperative senior management and a supportive municipal council.

Following initial discussions between the detachment and Ottawa orientation sessions were held for all RCMP officers, city employees, citizens, politicians and the media to acquaint them with the community policing philosophy and to discuss any resistance to change. These meetings were held in October 1993.

In November 1993 some members of the Burnaby detachment visited Edmonton, Reno and San Diego police Departments to learn of their experiences with community policing. Following a two month period of research, in January 1994, a five day retreat was undertaken where 28 peer selected members of the detachment 'brainstormed' over how to develop a service delivery model in which to implement community policing. At the end of these five days seven committees were formed to examine, research and make recommendations on: neighbourhood stations, calls for service management - differential response, crime analysis, the re-evaluation and redeployment of some positions to operational activities,

communication strategies, paperwork reduction and finally supervision. The majority of these committees dealt with issues that affect the police internally and which address organizational and structural changes. The committees worked on ready to implement recommendations which would help to address five policing objectives which the retreat identified as instrumental to the delivery of community policing. These five objectives were: better service to the community; more effective organization of service delivery; improved job satisfaction; improved internal and external communication; and more/better and ongoing training.

In retrospect Burnaby has recognised that it created too many committees which were cumbersome, difficult to arrange and which met with some problems of non-cooperation and resistance to change. Recommendations from these committees were eventually formulated and then went to an implementation committee consisting of five people who had been chosen from the 28 people attending the retreat to represent that group for endorsement. The implementation committee selected the recommendations it deemed appropriate. These were then conveyed to the OIC and two inspectors for final approval.

Many changes have subsequently been recommended. Burnaby is currently at the stage of implementing these. One of the most sweeping changes has been to remove some officers from

administrative positions, general investigation and traffic and return them to general duty functions. Burnaby has also divided its area into four regions and created the new post of Neighbourhood Liaison Officer for each of these four areas. Additional School Liaison positions have also been created. General duty officers will no longer work in the traditional watches and respond to calls over large areas, but will be assigned to smaller platoons working in specific areas or 'turfs' where it is hoped members of the community will be able to relate specifically to an officer. Beginning with a pilot project, it is also intended to establish neighbourhood policing stations, staffed with full time members and volunteers. In the long term it is hoped to decentralize the Burnaby detachment to four locations.

These changes were timetabled for January 15, 1995: they are seen to be evolutionary in many respects. Although monitoring and evaluation was one of the criteria recognised at the retreat to be vital in the change to community policing, no formal evaluation criteria has to date been introduced although internal evaluations will take place by the regular audits undertaken by Ottawa. A twenty minute video explaining the RCMP's commitment to community policing and the experiences of Burnaby through this developmental stage has been made for distribution as a training video to other detachments and police departments.

While Burnaby has managed to articulate a commitment to organizational structural change and has established the mechanisms for change it is too early to comment on the success or failure of the process. With proper ongoing evaluation the Burnaby experience may illustrate that organizational change is possible, or alternatively document the problems encountered during implementation. At the very least it represents an attempt at organizational change.

Summary

This brief chapter has provided a synopsis of policing in British Columbia and shown it to be characterised by both independent and RCMP police agencies. It illustrated that of the 43 RCMP municipal police detachments in the province 19 serve metropolitan towns/cities: these detachments are commanded by an Officer in Charge. Twelve additional metropolitan areas have their own police departments and are commanded by a chief constable. It is these 31 municipal jurisdictions that are the focus of this study.

CHAPTER 6

Researching Organizational Culture In British Columbian Municipal Police Agencies.

Introduction

This thesis attempts to explore the cultures of municipal police agencies in BC to ascertain the degree of change and potential for change following an introduction of the community policing philosophy. The research aims of the thesis, as outlined in chapter 1 are to make a contribution to the organizational change and development literature, provide an alternative analysis of police culture, detail the commitment police officers have for community policing, provide comparative analysis between police leaders and police officers, identify the opinions of police leaders and enhance the literature on Canadian policing.

This next chapter aims to explain how research on organizational change in municipal police agencies in BC was conducted. The first part extends some of the preliminary discussions detailed in chapter two to illustrate the methodological options available to the researcher interested in assessing organizational culture change and the advantages and limitations of the various approaches. This review is undertaken to explain the approach adopted in the study. The chapter then proceeds to illustrate how the research was undertaken, informed and analysed using the

theoretical framework identified within organizational culture and change literature.

This chapter revisits many of the issues that were introduced in chapter 2. To assess the degree of change policing was analysed by drawing upon the theories and constructs identified within the organizational culture literature. In reviewing the organizational culture and change literature key issues were recognised as influencing organizational culture change, specifically the role of leadership, reinforcing agents, incremental vs transformational change and the size, depth and pervasiveness of change. To assess the change at different levels of the police hierarchy and between different types of police agencies data were collected from police leaders, police officers and from governmental and police agency policy documents. This chapter illustrates how the four content themes of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture were developed as a framework in which to analyse the four elements of the role of leadership, reinforcing agents, transformational/incremental change, and the size, depth and pervasiveness of change, which were identified as being instrumental to the analysis and understanding of organizational culture change.

Researching Organizational Culture

As illustrated in chapter 2, there appears to be no consensus over what organizational culture is (Kilmann, 1990; Sackman, 1991; Thompson and Luthans, 1990), and little agreement over the methods by which to study it. This leads to a tautological situation, as how one decides to look at culture largely determines what culture actually is (Ott, 1989).

To reiterate, there has been considerable debate over the methodologies employed to study organizational culture. This discourse has questioned whether the 'traditional' research tools which are grounded in positivist methodologies are relevant for an analysis of organizational cultures. Indeed much of the research on organizational culture has represented a movement away from the dominant positivist views of organizational theory and research.

Schein (1991) has proposed three approaches to both the definition and study of organizational culture: the survey research approach; the analytic descriptive approach; and, the ethnographic approach. These approaches are similar to Ouchi and Wilkins (1985) tripartite classification of empirical studies of organizational culture which they term, quantitative, semiotic and holistic studies and provide a structure in which to ground a discussion on the methodology

appropriate to study organizational culture change in municipal police agencies.

Survey Approach

The survey approach "leads to de facto definition of culture as something that is measurable through individual questionnaires". This advocates the forcing of data "into dimensions derived *a priori* or by factor analysis (and) implies that culture is definable at the surface attitudinal level" (Schein, 1991, p.243). According to Schein this approach adds little to the cultural concept and tends to reveal data on organizational climate (as defined in chapter 2) not culture, a point that has been illustrated by others (Ouchi and Wilkins, 1985). Surveys do not allow for unclear or ambiguous responses and therefore the elusive nature of organizational culture does not 'fit' survey research. With the pre-defined categories characteristic of this type of quantitative data collection, the product is more that of the social scientist's than of participant.

Some have suggested that students of organizational culture have universally rejected the logical-positivist, quasi-experimental design approaches (Ott, 1989). Despite this allegation quantitative methods have been regarded as useful to the study of organizational culture. Examples of their use can be seen in the work of O'Reilley et al. (1991) who have developed what they term an 'Organizational Cultural

Profile' in order to investigate person-culture fit. This instrument contained "a set of value statements that can be used idiographically to assess both the extent to which certain values characterise a target organization and an individuals preference for that particular configuration of values" (p.496). By creating quantitative data from MBA and accounting students and from employees of accounting firms and government agencies they were able to demonstrate a relationship between organizational culture and individual personality characteristics.

Content analysis can adopt quantitative techniques that elicit data on culture, and quantitative approaches have also been used to supplement qualitative data (Hofstede et al., 1990; Yeung et al., 1991). While survey research may not capture the complexities of organizational culture it may offer benefits in the form of the generalizability and comparability of results (Yeung et al., 1991).

The limitations of survey research are with its inability to tease out subtle cultural characteristics and to treat culture as something easily identifiable and amenable to categorisations. These limitations are reduced when used in conjunction with other methodologies.

Analytic Descriptive Approach

The second approach outlined by Schein is the analytic descriptive approach that focuses upon elements of organizational culture that can be, to a greater or lesser degree, described and measured. While the concept of culture may remain ill-defined, the elements which are implicit to it such as rites, rituals, ceremonies or language are focused upon. These elements have also been termed artifacts (Dyer, 1990) and cultural forms (Martin, 1992; Trice and Beyer, 1991). Trice and Beyer have provided a list of 13 definitions that distinguish cultural forms most frequently cited in research of this nature (Trice and Beyer, 1984). Ott (1989) provides a more expanded list of the elements of organizational culture which manifest themselves as either artifacts, patterns of behaviour, beliefs and values or assumptions and that account for varying depths of culture. For example rituals (elements of organizational culture) for Ott provide information on patterns of behaviour (manifestations of organizational culture), art (element) can be regarded as an artifact (manifestation), while attitudes (element) are patterns of beliefs and values (manifestation). The decision over which element of organizational culture to focus upon will, according to Ott, award information on a certain level of culture (artifacts, behaviour, beliefs, or assumptions).

The adoption of the analytic descriptive approach has led to many varied and interesting studies that have used a variety of organizational elements to elicit evidence of culture. For example, Harris and Sutton (1986) chose to look at the ritual of parting ceremonies in eight organizations that were due to close or that had closed to gain data on culture, using rituals (element of culture) to illustrate beliefs (level of culture). Ornstein (1986) examined the way symbols such as certificates, photographs, plants and artwork are used in the creation and transmission of organizational culture and therefore used the element of symbols to illustrate culture through artifacts (Ornstein, 1986).

Bate (1984) undertook a qualitative study of three companies manufacturing footwear, chemical and dairy products in order to illustrate how organizational culture can act as an obstacle to change. His main source of data were the symbols of the organization which he defined broadly as the myths, legends and rituals that contain coded messages, in addition to language which he describes as the most symbolic offering of culture;

From repeated readings of the transcripts of these meetings it has been possible to construct a picture of how people define their work situation - how they symbolise and interpret issues, experiences, events and problems and how they act and react to this. Since culture, as I have defined it, comprises of shared meanings, the major search has been for the commonalities in

responses, not necessarily expressed in identical ways but still reflecting shared 'root' constructs (p.49).

Related to the study of symbols is the study of language which has been one way in which to interpret "the natives' perspective" (Ouchi and Wilkins, 1985, p.461), and is regarded as "most central to the organizational cultural perspective because of its power or influence over thought and perceptions of reality" (Ott, 1989, p.28). Trice and Beyer have taken a theoretical stance to interpreting the effects of leadership on the culture of the organization. By reviewing the literature that identifies two types of cultural leadership: cultural innovation and cultural maintenance they compare and contrast the two approaches (Trice and Beyer, 1984). Other studies have looked at myths and metaphors, heros, artifacts and beliefs and values. Research conducted under this approach tends to be qualitative in nature (Zammuto and Krakower, 1991).

Ethnographic Approach

Schein's third category is the ethnographic approach which has its roots in anthropology and sociology and assumes that culture can only be fully understood as it is enacted;

The implication is that culture does not exist conceptually except in observable behavioral manifestations enacted by members of that culture (Schein, 1991, p.245) ..

It is extremely difficult for organizational researchers to undertake ethnographic research. In order that it may be done well long periods of time in the organization under investigation are required. When the researcher is already a member of the organization this time period may be reduced, but for the outsider, ethnographic research should take at least one full year (Ott, 1989) or even longer, depending on the organization and the level of analysis. In some organizations ethnographic research may even be impossible.

Ethnographies are a form of qualitative research similar to participant observation studies. Participant observation can either be conducted where the identity of the researcher is concealed or revealed. An example of the former would be Simon Holdaway's doctoral research examining the subculture of the Metropolitan Police in London (Holiday, 1979), or Goffman's much quoted study 'Asylums' (Goffman, 1961). Participant observation can also be conducted where the researchers identity is made known to the organization. An example of this methodology can be seen in the work of Bartunek, who, while describing her research as a case study of change in a religious order, adopts a participant observer role by which to gain her data (Bartunek, 1984). This approach was also adopted by Van Maanen (1986) when examining the subculture of the Metropolitan Police in London.

Ouchi and Wilkins (1985) define studies of this nature as 'holistic studies'. They have shown how many such primarily qualitative studies have supplemented their data with quantitative techniques such as content analysis and surveys. As previously stated, the use of multiple methods by which to study organizational culture have been advocated by a number of individuals, (Jermier et al., 1991; Martin and Meyerson, 1988; Rousseau, 1990; Yeung et al., 1991, Zammuto and Krakoer, 1991). This movement towards 'triangulation' meaning to study the same phenomenon from different angles using several different research tools, can increase the validity and reliability of the findings and increase the depth and scope of qualitative organizational research (Ott, 1989).

Organizational Culture Research on BC Municipal Police Agencies

As illustrated by Schein (1991) there are three ways to conduct cultural research: surveys, descriptive and ethnographic approaches. The advantages of adopting the descriptive approach supplemented with the survey approach, for analysing cultural change in police agencies can be demonstrated through a discussion of the limitations of using the survey and ethnographic approaches.

The survey approach, while useful in certain instances, has been criticised for its quantitative bias and for its

inability to 'tease out' the subtleties of organizational culture, frequently developing a *priori* definitions which impose views of what is to be expected. For these methodological reasons it would appear to have limited value unless used in conjunction with other methodologies.

The ethnographic approach, on the other hand, takes considerable periods of time. Furthermore, full access to the organization must be gained by the researcher who wishes to adopt this methodology who, as an outsider, may never gain a comprehensive understanding of the organization. The objectives of this research was to assess organizational culture in both Independent and RCMP police jurisdictions. The issue of access into these organizations is problematic. Moreover in order that comparative worthwhile data be collected, long time periods would have been necessary at a number of different locations with no guarantee that the information obtained would have provided more fruitful than if an alternative approach was used. An ethnographic study would not have ensured a greater depth of analysis and would have proved very expensive, time consuming and not sensible.

Even if these obstacles were overcome ethnographies may not reveal the true nature of the organization, as illustrated by Punch (1979) when describing his own ethnographic research with the police. Successful participant observation with the police is partly dependent upon the willingness of

respondents to reveal all. A subculture which has been shown to be self contained may be the worst for any social scientist to obtain information. For these logistical reasons this approach was prohibitive.

The descriptive approach provides the most scope to assess organizational culture within the BC police, as it provides techniques which can be applied to a number of different police agencies in a cost efficient manner. By focussing on elements of culture that can be described and measured, the language and symbolism of the organization (Ouchi and Wilkins, 1985), the approach provides the vehicle by which to begin to understand and interpret the police culture in a number of different areas. The descriptive approach was however supplemented by use of a survey in the belief that the study would be strengthened by methodological triangulation.

In deciding that the descriptive approach was the most applicable for this study, the next issue that was addressed involved reviewing the elements of organizational culture. Trice and Beyer (1985) have defined frequently studied cultural forms, some of which can be learned from individuals within the organization (myths, stories, sagas, legends, language); others can be discovered by visiting the organization without engaging in any dialogue with organizational members (artifacts, physical settings,

symbols); while others may combine describing the actions of individuals with an analysis of the organization (rites, rituals, ceremonies). Rites and ceremonies usually involve an elaborate or planned set of activities carried on through social interaction usually for the benefit of an audience, with multiple social consequences. Rites and ceremonies within the police organization may take the form of disciplinary actions that seek to illustrate to members of the organization the actions and behavior expected by management. Alternatively, events such as promotional awards, awards for bravery and events organized to promote police programs such as 'Crime Prevention Week' or 'Crime Stoppers' are aimed at those outside the organization. As these rites and ceremonies occur in a somewhat *ad hoc* manner and vary between different police agencies, it would be more difficult to conduct comparative analytic research that examines these elements in person. This study therefore chose to focus upon the cultural forms that can be learned from individuals within the organization.

As stated in chapter two, the literature on organizational cultural change makes one of two assumptions: that it can be directed by top management behaviors or that it is a more general socialization process occurring across the entire organization (Sackman, 1991; Schein 1990; Trice and Beyer, 1990). Any understanding of whether the police in BC are changing their organization must focus on one or the other,

or both of these criteria. The decision to focus primarily on police leaders was taken in order to apply the theories and constructs advanced in the organizational culture literature which suggest that leadership may be an important catalyst to change to police organizations. This thesis therefore aims to address primarily the views of police leaders and to supplement this information with the opinions of police officers and a review of policy documents in the belief that the results will enable a stronger interpretation of organizational culture.

Organizational culture was assessed by listening to the views of police leaders in 31 municipal police departments and detachments to a number of issues which were introduced under the content theme headings of community policing, management and administration and the change process. During the course of this process views, opinions, stories, jargon and myths were revealed by respondents. Some believe that leadership creates the culture of an organization (Bennett, 1992) and have advocated that culture can not be dealt with independent of organizational leadership "...in other words if the culture is to be modified, leadership cannot be an interested observer, because it is both an artifact of and a prime shaper of culture" (Ott, 1989, p.195). Dyer (1990) argues that the most important decisions in cultural change concerns the selection of a new leader, as these create and transmit culture. An understanding of policing in BC should

therefore involve an understanding of the role of leadership.

Organizational culture change was also addressed by exploring the views of the police membership. Quantitative research techniques were employed on a sample of police personnel from RCMP and independent police agencies. This survey technique did not aim to reveal the subtle cultural changes that may be taking place, but rather provided details of the opinions the lower ranks in the organization presently have towards community policing and acted as a catalyst in the promotion of further research questions.

The findings from both the police leaders' interviews and the police officers' survey, were compared and contrasted with the recent federal and provincial policy documents on the future of policing and the policy documents of the police agencies themselves, where these were available.

Content Themes

As mentioned in chapter two, in conjunction with cultural forms and cultural practices, content themes have been identified by organization culture researchers as a mechanism by which to interpret culture. Cultural forms consist of rituals, stories, jargon and physical arrangements. Cultural practices comprise of formal practices such as rules and procedures, organizational

structures and job descriptions and informal practices which evolve and seldom written down, such as communication patterns and unwritten norms. Content themes are "common threads of concern that are seen as manifest in a subset of forms and practices" (Martin, 1992, p.37). They can be deliberately conveyed to external audiences or can be internal and emerge as tacit deeply held assumptions. Content themes are abstractions used by researchers and cultural members to interpret practices and artifacts (Martin and Meyerson, 1988) and as mentioned in chapter 2, acknowledge the role of the social scientist in interpreting organizational culture.

The use of content themes to interpret organization culture has been illustrated by Sackman (1991) who identified four major themes (goal and accomplishment, strategy, structure and orientation towards members) in her analysis of employees' opinions of one company. Martin (1992) recognised three content themes (egalitarian sharing, innovation and holistic concern for employee well being) in her analysis of one organization. These themes were evidenced in various stories, jargon and physical arrangements within the organization and were used to show the culture of the organization as either integrated, differentiated or fragmented.

By continuing to draw upon the theories and methodologies of the organizational culture researchers, by repeatedly reading the transcripts of the interviews, and by focusing upon the primary aims of the research, the content themes of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture¹ were identified.

Three of the four content themes were identified *a priori* based on the organizational culture change literature which illustrated that the key elements to be considered when assessing organizational change were (i) the role of leadership, (ii) reinforcing agents, (iii) incremental or transformational change and (iv) the size, depth and pervasiveness of change. Therefore, the content themes of management and administration addressed the first two elements (leadership and reinforcing agents). The content theme of the change process awarded information on the third and fourth (incremental vs transformational change and the size, depth and pervasiveness of change). The community policing theme provided information on all elements. The fourth content theme developed after the data had been collected and was identified through repeatedly reading and analysing the transcripts. This content theme provided information on the RCMP subculture.

1. The word 'subculture' as opposed to 'culture' is used as the RCMP exist as a subculture within the larger (parent) culture of Canadian policing.

In focusing upon the interview data, primarily the cultural forms and to a lesser extent practices espoused by police leaders, these themes were illustrated.

The Research Itself

Elements of the descriptive approach, supplemented by the survey approach were adopted for this dissertation. The descriptive approach was applied to explore the views and opinions of police leaders. The survey approach was utilised to examine the opinions of a sample of police officers.

By conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews with all 12 chief constables and 19 OIC's responsible for municipal policing in BC indications of the organizational culture such as myths, sagas, legends, stories and language were revealed through questions which sought their views and opinions to the identified content themes. Taped in-depth interviews of between one to two hours provided examples of organizational 'jargon' and revealed "the integral and complex element of organizational culture" (Ott, 1989, p.26). While it has been noted that the rhetoric displayed by organizational members is not necessarily an accurate indicator of operational reality, it frequently justifies and proceeds organizational change (Murphy, 1986).

Interviews were not fixed but were open and descriptive. Although members of an organization adjust their language

when talking to outsiders (Ott, 1989), it has also been illustrated that strong agreement among organizational members about a few central norms and values defines an organizational culture if one exists (O'Reilly et al., 1991). It was hoped that this methodology would expose elements of consistency and thus provide illustrations of organizational culture. In addition to this cultural data, previously unavailable biographical data on these individuals was collected by the survey (Appendix III). The results of these interviews were coded and analysed. A coding schedule was developed from the responses received (Appendix IV). It was anticipated that the real 'meat' to the thesis would be in the form of the analysis of the opinions received by the chief constables and OIC's recorded during the interviews. This analysis drew heavily on the organizational change and development literature which argues that an understanding of organizational culture can be derived by focusing on the language, metaphors, jargon, stories, beliefs and values that are espoused by members of that organization. While it is noted that an organization viewed from the top looks different than it does from the bottom, it is the same organization and no single position would provide a true picture of it (Czarnicwsk-Joerges, 1992).

Based on the findings derived from these interviews a self completion questionnaire was developed for police officers

(Appendix V). There are 1,932 Independent municipal police officers and 2,161 RCMP officers working on municipal contract in the province. Drawing from these 1993 figures a sample of 200 (5%) of officers were surveyed to elicit their opinions towards policing. The primary aim of this survey was to illustrate the views of police officers, compare them to the Chiefs/OIC's and highlight areas which require further study. The goal of the project was not to assess the direct impact of individual chiefs/OIC's upon the police officers in their department/detachment but rather to identify signs of change in the police agencies in British Columbia and areas for further research.

To obtain a cross section of police officers from a number of different departments/detachments the survey was given to Municipal police officers attending courses at the Justice Institute of BC and RCMP officers attending courses at the RCMP Fairmont Training Academy during the last three months of 1993 and first month of 1994. To achieve a sample of police officers from different ranks who had various experience and length of service, surveys were administered to officers attending a variety of courses such as the Labour Relations Course, Major Crime Course, Child Abuse Course, Effective Presentation Course in addition to officers who were undertaking recruit training courses. These courses were selected as they were the ones given during the data collection period and were thought by both

the liaison officers at the training academies to contain officers with a variety of policing experience. All administration for these surveys was undertaken by designated liaison officers at the Justice Institute and Fairmont Academy. Completion was voluntary. The information received was anonymous but did recognise the department/detachment.

The survey was developed *a priori* based on the findings of the interviews with the chiefs/OIC's and aimed to illustrate whether the views of the rank and file mirror or differed those of the senior police leaders and thus show whether there exists one or multiple levels of culture within and between the police agencies in BC. Once these results were forthcoming predictions and interpretations of the degree of commitment or noncommitment to the community policing philosophy could be made.

Police Leaders' Interviews

Access

There are two types of organizations: those that are interesting and those that permit access (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992, p.192).

In May 1992 The BC Association of Chiefs of Police were contacted by letter by the Senior Supervisor of the thesis, who was already working with them on a project concerning auto theft. This letter provided an introduction and gave

details of the research (Appendix VI). The following month, after the BC Association of Chiefs of Police met and discussed the request, a letter was received supporting the research but stipulating that the decision to participate was the responsibility of each individual Chief/O.I.C (Appendix VII).

In late June 1992 all Chiefs/O.I.Cs were contacted by letter thanking them for their support and informing them that they would be contacted by telephone in August so that interviews could be arranged.

Ethical approval for the research was applied for in August 1992 and was received the following month (Appendix VIII).

Chiefs/OIC's Interview Schedule

The draft interview schedule was developed during the summer of 1992. Some of the questions were taken directly from Robert Reiner's (1991) study of Chief Constables in England and Wales. Others were developed in order to answer the primary research aims. To reiterate, these six aims as detailed in chapter 1, broadly sought to explore whether the organizational cultures of both RCMP and independent police agencies could be identified and to investigate the degree of change that had occurred and potentially could occur following a changing mandate that requires the adoption of a community policing philosophy.

Questions requiring biographical information were formulated then by continuing to draw upon the theories and constructs of the organizational culture and change literature and the identified content themes, questions falling into the broad categories of community policing, management and administration and the change process were devised. As mentioned above, these themes were developed a priori based on the organizational culture change literature which illustrated that the key elements to be considered when assessing organizational change were (i) the role of leadership, (ii) reinforcing agents, (iii) incremental or transformational change and (iv) the size, depth and pervasiveness of change.

The questionnaire was discussed and received input from supervisors, the Director of the Justice Institute of BC, the Chairman of the BC Police Commission, three Doctoral candidates in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University (all of whom were or had been serving police officers), graduate students and one faculty member in the department of Sociology at Simon Fraser University.

Piloting

The interview was piloted on one former OIC and one former RCMP detachment commander in September 1992, these interviews lasted 1 hour 10 minutes and 2 hours. The biggest

problem revealed by the pilot concerned the amount of information needed to be written down. Upon asking both pilots whether the interviews should be taped, the sergeant said that taping should not be used, while the former Superintendent made a strong case for taping the interviews, stressing that police officers are now accustomed to being taped and that justifiable arguments for not wanting to misrepresent them could be made. Subsequently it was decided to tape the interviews. In both pilot interviews the respondents tended to go 'off topic' and sometimes did not answer the question. While this awarded some interesting additional data it was not directly relevant to my own aims. This consequence was to be repeated many times throughout the sample. In retrospect this experience was beneficial as the additional information I received during the course of the interviews contributed to my overall understanding of policing in BC.

Fieldwork

Telephone calls to all Chiefs/O.I.Cs to make appointments were made during the first week of September 1992. I was acutely aware that this initial contact was critical and was extremely apprehensive about asking to see these men (there were no women in the sample). This apprehension proved to be totally unfounded without exception: all were accommodating to my own time scale and demands. Twenty-two interviews were arranged from the initial telephone contact with the

chief/OIC The following nine were secured within the next two weeks (some Chiefs/O.I.Cs were on holiday or could not immediately be contacted). No chief/OIC refused to take part. All participants were contacted by letter approximately two weeks before the agreed interview. These letters confirmed the appointment and provided a summary of the research (Appendix IX). As access had been secured through the BC Association of Chiefs of Police this body was also contacted in order that my appreciation be conveyed at this organization's meeting (Appendix X).

The interviews took place over a two month period from mid-September to mid-November 1992. Between three and five interviews per week were conducted, only on two occasions were two interviews completed in one day. The process of arranging and coordinating interviews in the most cost and time efficient way was a major administrative task. Two interviews had to be rescheduled: the first as the Chief had been delayed at another appointment; the second where there had been a serious incident two hours before the interview was scheduled to begin so that when I arrived at the police station there were a number of journalists. While the OIC in this instance was willing to be interviewed, I felt that there was a greater chance of being disturbed and that he would be preoccupied with the events of the day. We agreed to reschedule the interview to the following week.

Interviews lasted from between one hour to two and a quarter hours. Twenty-four (77%) lasted over ninety minutes and four of these were over two hours. On five occasions I was given tours of the police station and was also given gifts (eg pins, diary, baseball cap, video) from some of the officers I interviewed. All these experiences added to my understanding of the cultural context of the various police agencies.

All the Chief Constables and OIC's appeared to be willing to discuss their views and opinions (one even commented at the end of the interview how much he had enjoyed it). Some were more willing to talk than others but most seemed to relax into the process, a point that is illustrated by the growth in the length of the answers received as the interviews progressed. Like Reiner (1991) I found that "...I was aided by the social researcher's strongest weapon, the delight people take in talking about themselves to an unfailingly rapt audience" (p.52). In contrast to Koenig (1994) who, while trying to gain information about chief constables in BC, found them reluctant to provide personal information, my experience was that they eloquently and enthusiastically answered my questions. No one objected to the use of the tape recorder, although on one occasion I was asked to switch it off.

During one interview the tape recorder jammed on the second side of tape which meant that twenty-five minutes of the interview was lost, on two other occasions the tape ran out five minutes before the end of the interview. As I always ensured that copious notes by hand were made a back up was secured. Personal 'Thank You' cards were sent to each officer following the interview.

Many respondents initially answered the question but then proceeded to discuss a variety of other topics that had not been directly addressed. For example the issue regionalization arose on a number of occasions, ~~as did BCs~~ impaired driving legislation. This occurrence is not atypical when open ended questions are asked and although may prolong the interview process does enhance the understanding the researcher has of the respondent's views, therefore supplementing the information directly sought through the formal questions. As noted by other researchers, (Reiner, 1978) I found it an advantage to be an ^{an}outsider, and an overseas student as respondents provided additional information, views on policing and numerous other topics which they deemed of interest to me and the study.

There was obvious interest in the research and in the information I had received during the course of the interviews. On numerous occasions I was asked whether I had spoken yet to one of the officers' colleagues and when I was

travelling between neighbouring detachments/departments in the province passed on greetings between Chiefs/OIC's.

The experience one gets as the research continues helped in reassuring the respondents. On one occasion an RCMP officer was describing the problem he had with members who were not performing their job well. While wanting to give a true account he was obviously a little concerned that this was only a problem unique to him so asked; "By the way did anyone else say that". I replied; "Yes, a number of people have said exactly the same thing, the RCMP have told me but have said in time they know the individual will be moved, but the Municipals don't have that option". He subsequently went on; "You see in the Mounted Police if you get a poor performer to get him moved you have to say he's a good performer and that's not right." By drawing on the information I had already obtained I was thus able to gain the confidence of the officer being interviewed.

This instance illustrates a bias in the interviewing process. The experience one gains as the fieldwork progresses undoubtedly affects the nature of the interviews. While subsequent analysis showed there to be no discernible differences between the answers received at the beginning of the study and those at the end, my ability and experience obviously developed over the course of the two months leading me to understand the organizations from the

insider's perspective in a better way. This bias is acknowledged and although may have been more fully addressed by conducting a greater number of pilot interviews, (although irrespective of the number of pilots that had been conducted I would still have been seen as an outsider to the organization), does not appear to have influenced the results and is of course experienced by all social scientists conducting this type of study.

Once all the interviews had been completed I again contacted The BC Association of Chiefs of Police to formally thank them for their cooperation. I had informed all participants that some initial summary of the replies to my questions would be given to the BC Association in the Spring of 1993. This was subsequently provided.

As the field research involved a total of fourteen nights away from home, the interviews were often transcribed in motel rooms. All interviews were transcribed by hand, initially it was intended to do the transcribing directly on to the computer but as access to this facility was not always available pages of hand written notes were produced. All the hand transcribing was completed by myself by the middle of December 1992. Subsequently all the qualitative information relating to the questions asked on community policing, management and administration and the change

process and the RCMP subculture were typed into the computer.

Analysis

Analysis of the transcripts was qualitative in nature and may be regarded as a form of content analysis.

Early definitions of content analysis saw it as a quantitative research technique applied for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Bereleson, 1952), but more recently it has been defined as "any technique for making inferences about objectivity and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Carney, 1972, p.25) and as "...a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (Krippendorff in Robson, 1993: 272). While content analysis in the social sciences can take many forms, Frey et al., (1991) draw on the work of Krippendorff to identify five units that researchers study: (i) physical units, for example the texts used in a study such as books, newspapers, policy documents; (ii) syntactical units - the individual words used; (iii) referential units, which link symbols to particular references, for example the number of times positive words are used in an editorial; (iv) propositional units detailing explicit proposals; and (v) thematic units which are topics contained within messages.

Substance and form are basically the two types of categories used to classify the units of content analysis. Substance refers to the content of the message; form refers to the way it is said. This research undertakes conversational analysis that has been defined as a way to uncover the systematic and orderly properties that are meaningful to conversants and researchers (Frey et al., 1991) and in so doing seeks to identify and enhance thematic units. The theme has been described as the most useful unit of content analysis because it takes the form in which attitudes and issues are openly discussed (Berelson, 1971). However, it is also open to criticism because of its qualitative nature.

*As previously stated four content themes were developed: community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture. These were developed to address the research aims. In choosing these content themes an effort was made to identify elements of organizational culture and change within municipal police agencies. Other content themes could have been included (for example, relationships with other criminal justice agencies, laws and legislation) but if attention had been given to these topics the thesis would have been considerably longer and would not have focused on the primary research aims. Any qualitative study needs to define criteria for deciding which data will be quoted and discussed and which will be

ignored (Martin, 1992). The four content themes chosen here reflect a concern to address the primary research aims, were informed by the theoretical review of organizational culture change literature and were introduced on numerous occasions by the respondents in replying to the survey questions. In addition, these themes were recognised by repeatedly reading the transcripts of the interviews (this was specifically the case for the theme of the characteristics of the RCMP). The four identified content themes provide a framework to analyse and discuss data.

The development of content themes enabled the positioning of the interview data under thematic headings. During the process of reading and rereading, the transcripts' passages were identified that either directly addressed one of the content themes or involved a subject that had been introduced by other respondents. In addition to the broader content themes smaller subject theme headings were introduced. At the preliminary stage of the analysis subject headings were developed which at the end of the process were found to be of limited applicability. As this was an evolutionary process some categories worked out from the initial stage of development. Others, which initially seemed promising early on in the process died out, while some categories which seemed separate and distinct in the beginning folded into each other. This factor has been identified by others (Seidman, 1991). The process of sorting

and culling data is an intuitive process, but by becoming totally immersed in the data and by letting categories develop from the data risk of forcing the data into categories was reduced.

Quantitative analysis was undertaken by SPSSx. Issues and topics which were mentioned by three or more respondents were recorded under headings which were formulated by repeatedly reading the transcripts (for example, comments made by respondents on the Oppal Commission were recorded under this topic heading). Jargon, stories and elements of organizational culture were also recorded at this time (for example, early marriage rules within the RCMP, jargon used by police leaders to describe police officers and offenders, recollections of early days as a police officer). The texts relating to these issues and topics were subsequently extended on the computer under broader subject headings (eg jargon, RCMP stories, management problems, community policing) and then used to illustrate the content themes that had been identified.

Once the transcribing was completed the interviews were coded to obtain some quantified information. To assure reliability and consistency in analysis three doctoral candidates at Simon Fraser University School of Criminology were asked to code the information from four of the survey questions. Random number tables were used to select these

questions and the coders were given verbal and written instructions about classifying the data. An 88.9% reliability rate was found. A coefficient of .80 or above usually is considered reliable (Frey et al., 1991).

Police Officers' Survey

Access

The second stage of the research involved a survey of police officers. Unlike the police leaders interviews which looked at the total population of municipal police leaders, the police officer survey focused on a 5% convenience sample (Palys, 1992) of operational police officers. It utilised a self completion questionnaire, not an in depth interview.

In June 1993 the Director of the Justice Institute - Police Academy, who is an associate member of the BC Association of Chiefs of Police was approached and asked whether he would allow a survey of municipal police officers attending courses at the Justice Institute. (The Justice Institute provides all the training, including recruit training, for independent police departments. The RCMP Fairmont Academy delivers ongoing training for RCMP officers²). The Director of the Justice Institute agreed to this and also said he would raise the issue with the RCMP and seek their

2. There exists a cross over between the two training institutions. Members of the RCMP do attend courses at the Justice Institute, likewise police officers from independent departments may attend courses at Fairmont Academy.

cooperation. In July 1993 the research received the full support of municipal police representatives and the RCMP Fairmont Academy staff (Appendix XI).

Police Officers' Interview Schedule

The survey comprised of questions from the general interview questions for chiefs/OIC's in addition to a couple of questions from the Operational Policing Review (1990), a major study of policing in England and Wales (Appendix V). Individuals in the School of Criminology provided input as did the Justice Institute. The questionnaire was piloted on ten police officers attending a child abuse course at the Justice Institute in September 1993. In mid September 100 questionnaires were delivered to the Justice Institute where the officer responsible for advanced programs agreed to administer them to individuals attending the labour relations course, major crime course, effective presentation course in addition to classes of recruits at various stages of training.

Staff transfers at the RCMP Fairmont Training Academy provided some initial difficulties in the administration of the questionnaire. However, in October 1993, 100 questionnaires were delivered. They were completed by RCMP officers attending courses offered at the Academy during November and December 1993. No details were provided by the

RCMP officer responsible for liaison on the specific courses in which the survey was administered. Eighty two surveys were completed and returned in January 1994 by the RCMP. Sixty-two were returned by the Justice Institute. A total of 144 were returned representing a response rate of 72%

Analysis

Analysis was undertaken by use of basic cross-tabulation analysis. In addition qualitative responses that had been received to the open ended questions were recorded under the content headings of: (i) community policing; (ii) police officer input in decision making; (iii) comments on management and administration; (iv) comments on resistance to change; and (v) 'other comments'. These categories were then explored under the content themes of community policing (i), management and administration (ii, iii) and the change process (iv).

Policy Documents

Green et al. (1994) argue that policy documents are important in the analysis of organizational change for three reasons. Firstly they make it clear to those within and outside the organization what the organization values. Secondly, they act as a yardstick by which to assess the organization by creating expectations about what the organization will or will not do. Thirdly they provide the formal criteria for changing the informal culture of the

organization through training and socialization. In this respect they provide physical units of text that are cultural artifacts and which illustrate the desired direction of an organization or government.

The results of the police officers' survey and the leaders' interviews were compared and contrasted with the policy papers on community policing issued by the Federal government in 1990, The Vision of the Future, (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990), The Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia - the Oppal Report (1994) and the strategic planning documents of the RCMP and of six independent police departments. These documents represented a sample of the most recent commentary on policing by both the federal and provincial government and by municipal police agencies. In April 1994 independent police departments were asked whether they had corporate planning documents and whether copies of these documents could be obtained. Six departments sent plans, three replied that they did not have plans and three did not respond.

As mentioned above, content analysis involves coding messages that are evident in a sample of text (or conversation). These policy documents represented physical units of text and are examples of formal practices, mandates and recommendations of action that can be used to illustrate content themes (Martin, 1992). The four thematic units

developed from the police leaders interviews (community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture) were used in the analysis of the policy documents.

Analysis of policy documents revealed the externally espoused content themes of the federal and provincial government, the RCMP and independent police agencies. Content themes identified in such documents are relatively superficial cultural manifestations and may not reveal the true culture of the organization (Schein, 1984), nonetheless they do exist as concrete examples and articulate the formally stated desired direction of police organizations. They represent the 'ideal' which can be compared and contrasted with the views of police leaders and police officers. The interpretation of such documents needs to be undertaken with an understanding of the context in which it they have been written.

Summary

This chapter has provided details on how research on cultural change in municipal police agencies in BC was conducted. By drawing upon the organization culture and change literature, the research methodology and analysis was developed. The four content themes of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the characteristics of the RCMP were developed as a framework

for the analysis of four elements: the role of leadership,
reinforcing agents, transformational/incremental change, and
the size, depth and pervasiveness of change. As detailed
before these were identified as being instrumental to the
analysis and understanding of organizational culture change.

CHAPTER 7

Policy Documents

Introduction

This next chapter is the first of three chapters to document the findings of the research. The following two chapters illustrate the opinions of police leaders and police officers to the four identified content themes. This chapter gives an analysis of various policy documents and provides details of the externally espoused content themes of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture as articulated in the policy documents of the Federal and Provincial government, independent municipal police agencies and the RCMP¹.

Although content themes espoused in policy documents have been regarded as superficial manifestations of organizational culture (Schien, 1984) they do represent physical units of text which document the direction of police organizations. In this respect they confirm an 'ideal' and can be used to supplement the information gained from the interviews of police leaders and surveys of police officers in developing an understanding of organizational change. Policy documents represent artifacts which

1. This chapter proceeds those containing the data from police leaders and police officers in order to provide details of the written, formal policies relating to community policing.

illustrate an organizational culture at the most superficial level, but which provide a grounding in which to position other elements of organizational culture.

The following pages describe the policy documents of government agencies and police organizations. The aim of this chapter is to detail the contents of these documents not to assess or comment upon the implementation potential.

The policy documents reviewed in this section were not written for the same purpose. Some were authored by academics, others by privately commissioned management consultants, others by internal police departments. Their audiences varied from small local municipal councils to the general population. Likewise, their aims were varied and frequently unspecified. As such their content and purpose is wide in scope and there are methodological problems in treating them as a uniform group, especially as the sample is small. Nonetheless they do provide a clear statement to those within and outside the organization of what the organization values are (Green et al., 1994). Moreover they give a barometer by which to assess the organization by detailing what a department hopes to achieve. The community policing rhetoric evidenced in such documents has been seen as beneficial in establishing a police department's external terms of accountability and stimulating community expectations that can help police leaders undertake reforms

(Moore, 1994). In many respects therefore policy documents represent the first steps to organizational change.

Federal Policy Document - The Vision of the Future.

In 1990 the Solicitor General issued a policy paper on policing in Canada entitled A Vision of the Future of Policing in Canada: Police Challenge 2000. Andre Normandeau, from the University of Montreal and Barry Leighton, from the Ministry of the Solicitor General were commissioned to write the report. The background research for this document involved reviewing the policing literature, talking to academics and police practitioners, interviews with 50 key individuals involved with policing, group discussions with approximately 500 interested individuals and a seminar on the future of policing in Canada.

After providing data and statistics on policing in Canada the report discusses the environmental factors which will influence policing in the next decade, these include demographics, technology, crime patterns and economic, cultural, political and social trends. The report then proceeds to discuss community policing, contrasting it with bureaucratic traditional policing and endorsing it as the way policing should develop. In predicting how policing will alter during the 1990's the report states:

...police departments will be dynamic organizations at the forefront of change, rather

than managers of the status quo. A fundamental shift will take place from the professional elitist style of policing to community policing. Problem solving, the human element and accountability to the public will supplant the reactive, militaristic and aloof organizations of the past (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990, p.xiii).

In arguing for change the authors suggest that police agencies need to look to the private sector, adopt approaches that have been successful there and apply them to their own organizations. Peters and Waterman's book In Search of Excellence is quoted as an example of how private sector principles and philosophies may be used for public sector agencies (p.58). Throughout the sections which advocate change the authors cite processes that have occurred in the private sector as mechanisms for changing police agencies. Therefore the importance of developing mission statements, adopting strategic planning and developing leadership skills are all endorsed with the view that: "...police organizations in the future will pursue excellence much like private organizations" (p.138). In such agencies the public are seen as consumers of police services and consequently police departments are accountable to the community they serve as opposed to being "mere bureaucratic concerns" (p.137).

The content themes presented in this federal policy document are community policing, management and administration and change. As noted by Melchers (1993) The Vision of the Future was not written to be a scholarly text but rather for

government officials and police practitioners. While advocating the importance of developing a vision and stressing leadership as the catalyst to change, there is little in the way of pragmatic implementation suggestions². Therefore although including a broad discussion of the management and administration of police agencies, the document prefers to address leadership and strategic planning issues and as such provides a rhetorical discussion with little practical applicability. In many respects it should be read as a mission statement illustrating the direction of change, not a programmatic one showing how change can be achieved.

In summary The Vision of the Future endorses community policing, argues for fundamental transformational change and recommends that police agencies look to the private sector as a way to guide and facilitate this process.

Provincial Policy Documents - The Oppal Report.

In June 1992 Colin Gabelman, the Attorney General for BC appointed Justice Wallace Oppal to conduct an inquiry into policing in BC. In September 1994 a Commission of Inquiry

2. It should be noted that this publication has been followed by the Canadian Community Policing Series (1994) produced by the Ministry of the Solicitor General. This series contains a number of pragmatic policy documents detailing how community policing initiatives such as consultative committees, community profiles and problem oriented policing can be implemented by police departments.

into Policing in British Columbia released its 700 page report, which contained over 300 recommendations, entitled Closing the Gap: Policing and the Community (Oppal, 1994). The Commission's terms of reference were expansive and comprised of virtually every aspect and issue related to policing.

The inquiry commissioned over 50 separate research projects³, consulted key stakeholders (police chiefs, police unions, advocacy groups, women's groups), held 57 days of public hearings and received over 1,100 written submissions in order to inform its work. It divided the final report into nine sections on: the governance of the police, community based policing, regionalization of policing services, human resource management, use of non-police personnel, aboriginal policing, high risk policing, complaints and discipline and the role of the RCMP.

From these headings it can be seen that all the content themes identified in this thesis were addressed by the Inquiry. Just as The Vision of the Future firmly endorsed organizational change and community policing so too the Oppal report echoes this stance. But unlike the federal

3. The Inquiry does not cite the specific research projects from which it bases its numerous recommendations and there are no details of the methodologies employed in undertaking the studies in the actual report.

policy document which was more of a mission statement, the Oppal report draws upon its own research findings to illustrate that neither the municipal police agencies nor the RCMP has managed to communicate the philosophy of community policing to its members, made changes in organizational structure and functions and successfully fostered closer links to the community it serves. The Inquiry recommended that: "the Province amend the Police Act to recognise community based policing as an appropriate model for providing accountable, efficient and effective police services to the citizens of BC" (Oppal, 1994: p.C23).

Both the management and administration content theme and the change process content theme are evidenced throughout the report. Over 81 recommendations were made relating to human resource management, the first of which combines both these themes by stressing that: "Municipal police agencies adopt strategies for organizational change that meaningfully involve all members" (Oppal, 1994: p.E5). Although leadership, strategic planning and private sector management principles were mentioned they were not cited to the same degree as in The Vision of the Future. However in discussing leadership the report recommends that the available literature from the private sector be adopted to meet policing needs.

One of the nine sections of the report is devoted to the RCMP. The report states that the province has limited control over the RCMP and therefore in discussing the future needs of the province questions as to whether the RCMP are the most appropriate law enforcement body need to be asked. In his letter of transmittal Oppal states:

The RCMP must make fundamental changes and be more responsive to the needs of British Columbia's communities. The force simply must become more accountable to local needs and allow more participation by local government. British Columbians are entitled to an open and uniform system of policing. The RCMP is undergoing much change. I am confident that the force is capable of meeting the needs of the province. However, in the event that the RCMP is not prepared to undergo the necessary change that is suggested in this report, it will be imperative for the province to consider establishing its own provincial police force (Oppal, 1994: p.xxxiii).

The Oppal report addresses the four identified content themes, firmly endorses organizational change and the adoption of community policing but is cognisant of the limitations and problems which may be encountered.

Police Agencies

Small Police Departments

Policy documents were requested (see Appendix IIX) and received from six of the 12 independent police departments. Of the five smaller police agencies of under 40 members, two supplied policy papers, one wrote that no such document had been produced and two failed to respond to the request (one

could conjecture that this may have been because they did not have these papers). Both papers that were supplied were quite brief, six and 12 pages respectively and would seem to have been written for the Police Board.

The six page paper called itself a Planning Document and consisted of the objectives of the organization together with a statement of the department's philosophy and goals. It had been written in 1989 but in a covering letter the chief constable confirmed that "basically things remain very similar to this at the present". Although the sections on goals and objectives and departmental philosophy both mentioned the need to be sensitive to the special needs of the community, the document did not mention community policing or change. Therefore only the management and administration content theme was identified.

The 12 page paper was entitled: "Discussion Paper: 5 Year Plan and On" and was primarily concerned with management and operational issues. Much of the contents of this paper centered around the need for more police personnel and involved arguments justifying this need. Although community policing programs were included, the broader community policing philosophy or organizational change was not.

Neither the Planning Document nor Discussion Paper mentioned the changing philosophy of policing and unlike the reports

produced by larger departments did not have mission statements or argue for broad organizational change. This could have been predicted, as to a certain extent small police departments do not have the staff or the resources to write elaborate policy statements.

Large Police Departments

Policy documents were obtained from four of the seven remaining independent police departments. Those departments which did not submit plans included one department which replied that the local municipality was in the process of completing a strategic plan which would include the police department and another stated that they were in the initial stages of developing a strategic plan that is not available as yet (reflecting The Vision of the Future's desire for strategic planning). One department failed to respond to the request.

There was considerable variation among the four policy documents received from larger police departments. The first was a strategic plan which consisted of 12 pages. It outlined six 'goals' and expanded on the short term and long term nature of these goals and the strategies to reach the objectives of each goal. Goals included management and administration initiatives such as 'progressive employment practice and a supportive work environment', 'effective use of technology' and the attainment of 'equitable and fair

funding'. This report did not mention community policing nor change within the department, there was no mission statement nor were any of the goals consistent with the community policing philosophy. In this regard the document was very much an operational policy one.

The second police department submitted a 30 page document entitled '1994 Planning'. This paper contained a mission statement and went on to articulate its purpose as being to give the department a sense of direction. It stated:

It is a list of priorities in approximate order of importance. It should provide personnel and Police Board with information on where we are going and how we are going to get there. It is clearly linked to the mission statement: the vision and direction of the Police Board and the Chief Constable: the goals of the Solicitor General and those of the Corporation of _____ and in particular the Municipal Council.

This paper stated 12 priorities for 1994, many which incorporated the community policing philosophy (for example, establish a four member bike/youth detail with emphasis on problem solving and youth problems), but the thrust of the document was geared to smaller objectives and how these may be achieved rather than large scale fundamental change. It was a planning not a budgetary document. Twenty pages of the paper consisted of a table describing which task will be undertaken by whom and when these tasks were to be reviewed,

therefore providing pragmatic direction on management and administration issues.

The third large police department to submit a plan sent their 'Corporate Strategy Review: Documentation of Decisions'. This paper had been prepared by management consultants external to the organization and on the first page detailed the process used ("Trendsitions") to manage strategic change. Throughout the document definitions to words and phrases such as 'strategy,' 'managing strategic change,' 'objectives' and 'mission statement,' were given. These definitions were then applied to the police agency. For example, a mission statement is defined as: "a statement which defines the essential purpose of the organization and which answers the question 'which business are we in' ". The mission statement of the department is then articulated as:

The mission statement of the _____ Police Department is to build bridges and partnerships with each community, that together we improve the quality of life and sense of safety for us all, ensuring peace and security through a sensitive, caring and creative police service.

The document outlined objectives, goals and strategies and the personnel needed to fulfill these goals. The underlying theme is community policing as defined by the mission statement. The strategic planning document outlined how change within the department will occur and assigns responsibility to individual managers within the organization. The content themes of community policing,

management and administration and change were clearly identified in this document.

The final policy paper submitted by a police department was called a Police Service Action Plan. This document contained a mission statement endorsing the community policing philosophy: "police and community working together to establish a safer environment by reducing crimes, violence and fear," in addition to a vision statement which stated that the municipality would have "...the safest streets in the Lower Mainland before the year 2000". This plan included recommendations to adopt guiding principles to enhance leadership style and relationships with citizens. The guiding principles were grouped under the headings of leadership, human relations and community.

Like the previously quoted document, this paper had been prepared by external consultants and utilised private sector management terms such as Total Quality Management and Continuous Quality Management, stressed leadership and argued for large scale change. One of the strategies for change was articulated as the need to ensure leadership: "...stimulate strategic management and change management thinking in all planning processes by focusing attention on the needs of the community and then adopting the police service to best meet these needs". One page of the report was dedicated to detailing seven points which comprise the

"Leadership Philosophy" of the police department. While this paper gave lots of rhetorical statements, in contrast to the others it provided little specific direction on whom within the organization should be performing what functions when and how. Consequently although it addressed the management and administration content theme it did so in an imprecise generic way. No information was given on whom this document was written for, although it could be conjectured that it would be distributed to police, civilian personnel and the Police Board in order to illustrate the desired direction that police services should take as seen by the chief constable.

RCMP

As early as 1981 the RCMP started to discuss the possibility of community policing (Oppal, 1994), however it has been over the last five years that the RCMP has developed an increasing number of different policy documents which include reference to community policing. In the 1989 Directional Statement, the Commissioner committed the RCMP to adopting the community policing concept. This statement directed all detachments of over 12 to establish advisory committees and while not grounded in a rational plan for community policing still had an impact (Leighton, 1994). In 1990 the RCMP developed a Strategic Action Plan for the implementation of community policing. It defined community policing as "an interactive process between the police and

the community to mutually identify and resolve community problems" and went on to characterise community policing in 14 points. The Plan stated that the "Senior Executive Committee of the RCMP has decided that this community policing approach will be adopted to the delivery of police services". One of the recommendations of this plan was to rename the contract policing function community policing:

Adopting 'community' as a general term for the services provided to provinces and municipalities would put the emphasis in the appropriate place and give a powerful message to both clients and members alike on the nature of RCMP services.

The 22 page document proceeded to define the strategic objective which was to implement community policing throughout the RCMP by 1993. Twelve objectives are then detailed and awarded a time frame in which they are to be undertaken. Costings are also discussed as are staffing requirements, however the ranks detailed to implement policies are imprecise and consequently the actual role of each rank in the change process is not specifically detailed.

Analysis

Ott (1989) has argued that researchers need to be cautious about official publications such as brochures, annual reports and press releases as these types of documents typically reflect only what a small group of executives want

to convey publicly. Publications of this nature do not tend to show problems and hide any internal fragmentation that exists. They may even reveal more about the culture of the organization by what is omitted than by what is stated. While the organizational culture literature recognises that texts are not ideal artifacts by which to interpret culture, they do have merit in demonstrating the ambitions of the organization and can be compared and contrasted with other elements of organizational culture to give a greater understanding of culture.

As illustrated above, the policy documents reviewed in this section were not written for the same purpose, were not authored by people with similar backgrounds and were aimed at different audiences. As such their content and purpose is wide in scope and there are methodological problems in treating them as a uniform group, especially as the sample is small. Nonetheless, with these limitations in mind the sample does illustrate that it is the federal and provincial governments and larger police departments who are currently endorsing the philosophy of community policing in mission statements, strategic plans and operational objectives and goals. The review of police departments demonstrates considerable variation amongst them.

If the seven policy documents received from independent police departments and the RCMP are reviewed in light of the

content themes of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture clear differences are recognisable between the larger police departments and the smaller ones. Table 7.1 illustrates these variations and shows that it was the larger departments (and government agencies) who stressed organizational change and community policing while the two smaller ones in the study did not articulate these themes, but rather focused on pragmatic management and administrative issues pertinent to their own organizational needs.

TABLE 7.1

EVIDENCE OF CONTENT THEMES WITHIN POLICY DOCUMENTS

	Community Policing	Management/ Admin.	The Change Process	RCMP
Federal Gov	+	+/-	+	-
Provincial Gov	+	+	+	+
Small Department				
1	-	+	-	-
2	-	+	-	-
Large Department				
1	-	+	-	-
2	+	+	-	-
3	+	+	+	-
4	+	+/-	+	-
RCMP	+	+	+	+

It could be hypothesised that change may be easier for smaller police agencies who therefore do not see the need to discuss it in depth. Alternatively smaller police agencies may regard community policing and change as irrelevant to them, believing, as some chief constables stated, that they are already performing community policing and have always been doing so. In their interim submission to the Oppal Inquiry the BC Municipal Police Chiefs stated:

We believe it is important to recognise that many smaller and medium sized municipal police departments have been practicing community policing for years, although they have not labelled it as such. One of the major benefits of small and medium sized municipal police departments is that many of the elements of community based policing inherently exist in such departments.

As noted by Murphy (1994) statements like this infer that no structural change in small police departments is required. In reviewing the successful movement towards community policing in other jurisdictions, the size of the municipal police agency has not been seen as influencing that organization's commitment and ability to change (Oppal, 1994).

As illustrated in the organizational change and development literature, in discussing organizational change it is necessary to be aware of the size of the organization under analysis. In this case it was the larger departments and government agencies who identified a need for change. All departments discussed management and administration processes with the smaller departments treating them as issues to be addressed within the traditional model of policing, rather than linking them back to a broader community policing philosophy and structural organizational change⁴. These findings reflect those of a report (Shetzer,

4. This distinction between the policy documents received from large and small departments could, however, be the product of different documents produced for different

1994) submitted to the Oppal Inquiry which stated that small police departments have a different view of community policing and see it as an issue for larger city departments that have lost touch with the community, rather than for themselves.

Two of the four larger departments employed management consultants to help develop strategic plans and as a consequence the two plans that had been subject to external influence stressed organizational goals, mission statements and leadership functions to a greater extent. These departments, as well as the RCMP, identified organizational change whereas this content theme was not evident in the larger police departments which had developed internal policy papers without external consultants. The RCMP document did not include private sector management terms, perhaps as this review had been conducted in-house.

The content of the strategic plans from the larger police departments reflects the opinions of two chief constables in the study who, during the course of the interviews, mentioned their interest in private sector and business management principles. One chief had attended the Disney

audiences and for different reasons being analysed. While all chief constables received the same request for information (see Appendix IIX) the documents received varied, so interpretations must be made with caution.

Executive course in Orlando on Quality Service and Service Excellence. He stated:

I try to get well read on business management and I have a strong interest in reading the most current books on business management. I'm a Tom Peters fan for example and I guess I'm very much involved in the city dealing with issues of Total Quality Management, quality issues, service excellence and customer service skills (05)⁵.

Another chief constable articulated similar views:

I always ensure that I go on one or two seminars a year for leadership training and executive training. I'm a fan of Tom Peters and the philosophy he describes for excellence (12).

The opinions of the chief constables coupled with the evidence of The Vision of the Future and three of the policy documents from larger police departments, illustrates the way that private sector management principles are being attempted by police agencies.

Conclusions

This chapter provided a review of the two policy papers from federal and provincial government departments and seven from police organizations. As mentioned above, there are methodological problems in comparing these documents as they were undoubtedly not written for the same purpose nor did they each receive the same financial and human resource

5. The number in brackets positioned after a quote denotes respondent number.

commitment to facilitate their completion. Despite these limitations they do provide units of text which document the desired direction of police organizations and create a background in which to position the data from police leaders and police officers.

A summary of the findings from the policy documents can be presented under the identified content themes:

Community Policing

The community policing content theme is discernible in the policy papers of the federal and provincial government and larger police agencies. It was not identified in the two policy papers received from smaller independent departments.

Management and Administration

While all policy papers included a discussion of management and administration issues the smaller police departments related these issues to local pragmatic concerns whereas the larger ones adopted implementation procedures and methods from the private sector. A number of these mentioned leadership and strategic planning.

The Change Process

The importance of organizational change was identified in the governmental policy papers, the RCMP and two of the larger police departments who had employed external consultants. Transformational as opposed to incremental change was endorsed. In all but the Oppal report, little attention was awarded to the impediments to change.

The RCMP Subculture

The Oppal report recognised the unique nature of the RCMP and drew a distinction between this force and the other independent ones.

CHAPTER 8

The Findings of the Police Leaders' Survey: Biographical Data, Community Policing, Management and Administration, the Change Process and the RCMP Subculture.

Introduction

The following chapter documents the findings of the interviews with the 31 chief constables/OIC's. After detailing the biographical data the chapter is divided into four sections and presents the findings under the content theme headings of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture.

The information presented in this chapter refers to one unique group of police officers and provides data on the thoughts and opinions of those at the top of the organization. The interviews documented the responses of the total population of municipal police leaders in BC and are analysed by continuing to draw upon the theories and constructs identified from the organizational culture and change literature¹.

As the population of respondents was small (12 chief constables, 19 OIC's) quantitative analysis was not the aim of the research, rather the primary concern was to obtain

1. As this group represents the total population and as the N is small, statistical significance testing was not conducted.

information on the way police leaders see their world. Attention is therefore focused on how police leaders articulated and expanded upon their thoughts on policing, while quantitative analysis is utilised to indicate the prevalence of viewpoints. Comparative analysis between the OIC's and chief constables is conducted, but because of the small numbers further distinctions between, for example, OIC's of small and large detachments is not undertaken.

As detailed in chapter six, the four identified content themes reflect a concern to address the primary research aims of the thesis, were informed by the theoretical review of organizational culture and change literature and were introduced on numerous occasions by the respondents in replying to survey questions. These themes were also recognised by repeatedly reading the transcripts of the interviews (this was specifically the case for the theme of the RCMP subculture). The four content themes provide a preliminary framework of this chapter in which to describe the findings of the research, while the four elements identified as being instrumental to the analysis and understanding of organizational culture change: the size, depth and pervasiveness of change, the role of leadership, reinforcing agents, and transformational vs incremental change, can be preliminarily applied to analyse and interpret these results. It should be stressed that the aim of this chapter is to document the findings of the research

and to provide some initial analysis. A comprehensive, in depth analysis and interpretation of the results is undertaken in the final chapter.

Biographical Data

Eighty percent of the chiefs/OIC's were born between 1936 and 1945, making them between the ages of 47 and 56 at the time of interview. The two who were born before were both chief constables and three of the four that were born after 1945 were OIC's of smaller detachments.

Eighty-four percent of RCMP officers joined the force before the age of 21 compared to 42% of chiefs (Table 8.1). Only one chief constable started his career in the department in which he was currently chief. Five of the chief constables had joined other independent municipal police departments and subsequently moved to another department, while six chief constables had originally joined the RCMP and moved. Therefore of the sample of 31, 25 (81%) had experience of the RCMP. Of the six chief constables who had previous experience of the RCMP, four had served over 20 years in the organization and left to become chief constables of independent municipal departments².

2. Therefore of the total group of police leaders 19 (61%) only had RCMP experience, 4 (13%) had long RCMP careers and subsequently moved to independent departments and 8 (26%) had either totally or primarily worked in independent

TABLE 8.1
AGE JOINED THE POLICE

Age Joined	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
18 or under	2	16%	1	5%	3	10%
19	1	8%	7	37%	8	26%
20	2	16%	8	42%	10	32%
21	5	42%	1	5%	6	19%
22	1	8%	2	11%	3	10%
23	1	8%	0	0%	1	3%
TOTAL	12	100%	19	100%	31	100%
Mean =	20.3		19.7		19.9	
S.D.	1.63		1.33		1.47	

Three chief constables were appointed prior to 1985. Four of the chief constable positions had been internal appointments the other eight had been nationally advertised. Table 8.2 shows the age at which they were appointed. OIC's of municipal police detachments can be at the rank of Superintendent or Inspector, six of the eight Superintendents in the study had been appointed after the age of 48.

departments. Because of the small numbers no attempt was made to analyse these three groups separately.

TABLE 8.2

AGE APPOINTED AS CHIEF CONSTABLE OR OFFICER IN CHARGE

Age Appointed	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
40 - 44	3	25%	5	26%	8	26%
45 - 49	7	58%	9	47%	16	52%
51 - 54	2	17%	5	26%	7	23%
TOTAL	12	100%	19	100%	31	100%
Mean =	46		48		47	
S.D.	4.09		3.67		3.96	

All chiefs/OIC's were white males, four were not married.
Only one OIC spoke fluent french.

Education and Training

Sixty-five percent of respondents had been employed outside the police but most stated that this had been for a limited period of time, often while waiting to reach the required age to join or while their application was being processed. The work tended to be unskilled or semi-skilled although a couple had embarked on other careers, for example as a draughtsman and in a bank.

Although none of the respondents had joined the police with a university degree, 22 (71%) had taken college or

university courses during their careers, usually in management studies, law or one of the social sciences. These courses were often undertaken in addition to their normal duties. Seven OIC's had acquired a university degree by the time they were appointed to their current position but only one chief constable obtained this qualification. This officer had previously been in the RCMP where the qualification was sponsored by the force. Five of the seven OIC's with a degree had obtained it through the RCMP sponsoring system which allows for police officers to study full time for their degree during the course of their careers. Interestingly, when asked later in the interview process what advice they would give to a young police officer who has ambitions of becoming an chief/OIC 23, (74%) mentioned obtaining a university degree to be a vital step.

Only one chief constable had not taken the Canadian Police College Executive Development Course (E.D.C.) compared to 10 OIC's. These OIC's tended to be responsible for the smaller detachments and were at the rank of Inspector, most expected to take the course as they moved up in the organization. All but two of the RCMP officers had taken the Senior Police Administrative Course (S.P.A.C.) and all OIC's had taken the Inspectors' Orientation and Development Course (I.O.D.C.). Only one chief constable had taken the I.O.D.C, seven had taken S.P.A.C.

The heavier commitment to university degrees and the formal process of training was therefore more prevalent amongst the OIC's. This can be explained by the larger organizational structure of this bureaucracy which provides its' own in house training and has the resources to encourage university education.

Reasons for Joining the Police

When asked why they decided to join the police over half of the OIC's stated that being a police officer had always been a lifelong ambition, compared to a third of the chief constables. Many of the OIC's, (and chief constables who had formally been RCMP members), responses specified an attraction not to the police service but to the RCMP itself:

I guess when you're real small you see the red coats and you think gee I'd like to be one of them and as I got a little older, you know, if you got stopped by city police, and they had kind of a poor reputation, the city police in those days and I got stopped a couple of times as a young guy by the RCMP for nothing really serious, other than a road check and I was always treated like a human being and I thought that's pretty nice stuff, I'd like to do that (21).

It was a life long ambition. The town I came from was on the Prairies and they had their own local police but there was a detachment of RCMP just kitty-cornered to the house and probably just as an infant I saw that (14).

I was born and raised in Ontario, I'd never seen an RCMP member yet from the time I was able to complete a questionnaire at elementary school as to what you wanted to do with your life my first choice was to join the RCMP (09).

I was raised in_____which was one of the cradles of the RCMP, one of the first forts put up, the individuals I ran into there in the police were - well, I looked up to them (06).

Others articulated a general desire to obtain a career in policing:

It had been a life long ambition. I had no other profession in mind...the decision was made probably before I even knew what a policeman looked like (02).

At the time I was a young idealist I suppose, I wanted to serve my country. I thought police work would be an interesting field to get into (08).

These views and intrinsic idealistic ambitions contrast to those that were more instrumental and that were expressed by 25% (3) of chiefs and 16% (3) of OIC's:

To be honest it was a job, I'd never really thought about the police, I was relatively young at the time and there was a cadet program in Manitoba at the time (03).

Why? A steady job. Yeah, that's one reason, security, primarily security (16).

These findings illustrate that for the most part police leaders in BC had intrinsic reasons for wanting to join the police. Many expressed an almost romantic attraction to the RCMP and the police service, a commitment which although may be evident in other public sector organizations, (for example teaching) is not a characteristic found in many private sector organizations. This long term allegiance and romantic view towards an idealistic form of policing may

have implications when efforts are made to change the core characteristics of the policing structure.

Satisfaction with Career

Only two OIC's admitted that they had ambitions of becoming an OIC when they first joined the police, however all chiefs/OIC's expressed satisfaction with their careers in the police service:

Extremely satisfied, amazed that I got as high as I did and I think I was quite successful and I'm just amazed. If I had to do it all over again I would. Forget about the fighter pilot and do it again. It was a nice way to end up as Chief in a folksy community, very very nice (07).

Basically I think I told you I still enjoy coming to work, I believe in what we do, I still get a kick out of catching a crook, I don't get the opportunity much (09).

Am I satisfied? Totally. I haven't had an unhappy day in my career. My wife wouldn't say that all the time, she'd say that the reason I've been happy is that I've put my job ahead of my family and I accept that criticism because it's absolutely true (17).

Oh yes, more so since I came into municipal policing, this has been a gas. I've never had so much fun in my life. It's too bad I'm retiring because I'm having a lot of fun (02).

Only a couple expressed any reservations:

I wouldn't want my kids to be police officers though. (J.S. Why not?) Too stressful and it's not a good family life. It's not so critical in a small town, in a big city you're away from home too much, but it's still a stressful job. If you ever looked at the divorce rate in policing it's terrible, the hours are so invariable, you never know when you're going home. Even here, my fellows

are on 12 hour shifts and they're often here at noon when they started at 7:00pm the night before, you know family plans are shot to hell (10).

I often think that if I had it to do all over again I'd go into medicine (03).

Again this data illustrates that for the most part police leaders in BC are very content and have no regrets with their career choices. Information was also collected on the experiences the respondent attributed to career success and are illustrated in Table 8.3 below.

TABLE 8.3
REASONS ATTRIBUTED TO ACHIEVING CHIEF/OIC POSITION

Reason	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Quick Promotions	3	25%	1	5%	4	13%
Reaching Inspector Rank	1	8%	0	0%	1	3%
Reaching Sergeant Rank	1	8%	0	0%	1	3%
Individuals' Encouragement	1	8%	5	26%	6	19%
Period in Ottawa	0	0%	4	21%	4	13%
Degree	0	0%	1	5%	1	3%
Competitive nature	1	8%	2	11%	3	10%
Other	0	0%	4	21%	4	13%
No Reason	3	25%	2	11%	5	16%
No response	2	17%	0	0%	2	6%
TOTAL	12	100%	19	100%	31	100%

While these responses are broad the clear difference between the chiefs and OIC's can be illustrated by the way that 26% of OIC's cited a certain individual's encouragement as a key breakthrough in gaining promotion with a similar percentage of chief constables identifying quick promotions. In addition four OIC's stated a period in Ottawa to be beneficial (an option which doesn't exist for chief constables): 12 of the 19 OIC's in the sample had experience working in Ottawa.

Summary of Biographical Data

Comparative analysis of the findings of this study with that of Reiner's (1991) study of chief constables in Britain are difficult to make, as the social and demographic composition of England and Wales, where the smallest police force has almost as many police officers as the largest in this sample, make contrasts tenuous. Nonetheless, similar data was found in that all the chief constables in Reiner's sample were white men. All joined the police without a college or university equivalent degree although 25% had one by the time they were appointed chief, thus reflecting the results of this study. Reiner also demonstrated that police officers chose their careers for essentially intrinsic reasons (it was the type of work that appealed) as opposed to instrumental reasons (the extrinsic material aspects of

the job such as pay and security), and were satisfied with their decisions, again mirroring the data presented here.

The results of the study illustrate that chiefs/OIC's share many of the same characteristics. While RCMP officers tended to join the police at a slightly younger age, the age that they were appointed to lead a police detachment was not dissimilar from their counterparts in independent departments. All but one of the chief constables had changed police forces at some point in their career and thus had experience of more than one policing organization, on a number of occasions this experience had been with the RCMP.

Both chiefs and OIC's had shown an early commitment to policing as a career and to the RCMP in particular. These initial ideals of policing seem to be born out as all respondents expressed satisfaction with their careers.

The study showed that the RCMP officers experienced a more formal training process by taking the S.P.A.C. course, then the I.O.D.C. course and finally E.D.C. All but one of the chief constables had completed the E.D.C. course. Academic university degrees were clearly the prerogative of the RCMP, most of the OIC's with degrees attained them under sponsorship by the RCMP. The benefits of the degree in terms of gaining promotion were recognised, however, neither RCMP officers or chief constables thought that a degree had been

an important factor in their own career success. OIC's cited a period in Ottawa and the encouragement of a certain individual to be a catalyst in contrast to the views of chief constables (who would not have the option of working in Ottawa) who instead identified quick promotions.

When Robert Peel established the first police force in England in 1829 he argued that it should be representative of the population it was to police. While the police agencies across Canada are making efforts to achieve this, by encouraging applications from women and ethnic minorities, evidence from this research illustrates that in BC all police leaders are white men between the ages of 42 and 61. This finding reiterates that of other studies of police leadership in the United States and England and Wales (Hunt and Magenau, 1993; Reiner, 1991).

This section provided biographical data on those individuals who occupy the positions of independent municipal chief constables and RCMP officers in charge who are responsible for policing in the province. The results show a high level of consistency between the two groups and mirror the data of comparable studies undertaken in other countries. As mentioned in the previous chapters, one of the catalysts to developing organizational culture and facilitating organizational change is leadership. This section has provided the necessary biographical information to be able

to understand the characteristics of municipal police leaders in BC.

Content Theme: Community Policing

As illustrated in chapter 4, community policing has been seen to be the new management buzz word in police agencies across Canada. The essence of this philosophy advances that crime control is not solely the responsibility of police organizations but depends on the cooperation and involvement of the public. Although the survey only asked three specific questions relating to community policing, during the course of the interviews this content theme was brought up in relation to the other content themes identified (management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture).

The main body of the following discussion illustrates the views of chief constables and OIC's towards community policing. Responses received to the three specific community policing questions are reviewed and then the general opinions and comments that were raised throughout the interview process concerning community policing and issues of management and administration, community policing and change and community policing and the RCMP will be relayed. Much of the discussion will be grounded in the theoretical framework developed from the organizational culture literature which identified four elements that were

pertinent to a discussion of organizational culture: size, depth and pervasiveness of change, the role of leadership, reinforcing agents and transformational vs incremental change.

Initially attention needs to be awarded to the question that sought police leaders' views on how they would like to see policing develop in the 1990s.

Table 8.4 illustrates the answers received to the question: How would you like to see policing develop in the 1990's?

TABLE 8.4.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICING IN THE 1990'S

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Community policing	5	42%	11	58%	16	52%
Community policing and regionalization ³	3	25%	1	5%	4	13%
More technology	1	8%	1	5%	2	6%
Wider role	1	8%	1	5%	2	6%
More police	1	8%	1	5%	2	6%
Increased funding	0	0%	1	5%	1	3%
Ties with council	0	0%	1	5%	1	3%
Improved CJS	0	0%	2	11%	2	6%
Regionalization	1	8%	0	0%	1	3%
TOTAL	12	100%	19	100%	31	100%

The most frequent response articulated the need to move in the direction of community policing. Sixteen chiefs/OIC's (52%) thought community policing was the way policing should develop in the 1990's (respondents were not asked to justify what they meant by the term 'community') and gave justification for their views:

3. Over the course of the last twenty years the issue of regionalization has been discussed in BC. It is therefore not a new issue.

Well, I'd like to see the police get closer to the community, but there has to be a major change in the image of policing. We still call ourselves police force although some around here are changing their titles to Police Service. I'm not too hung up on the title, but it certainly indicates the direction we have to go, we have to be more of a service as opposed to a force. We have to change from our so called crime fighting independent role to in some way have more of an impact on the social problems and that's a major problem...I think we will carry on with our traditionally defined goals until somebody changes us (01).

Well, I guess I'm looking for utopia, but I would like to see policing develop whereby we can do all the right things, that's community policing, get the community involved so that we are like a family and we can eradicate as much as possible any anti-social behavior or reduce it or limit it as much as possible (08).

The way we're developing in that we're taking it back to the community, we're allowing for community consultation, we're working shoulder to shoulder with the community and information should be exchanged, commonality of wanting to have safer streets. That drive to make our community the best community in the lower mainland should really be the mandate of all police services wherever they work (12).

Just as we spoke of. Community based policing. Community based policing is the way to go...I've talked with people and I've seen things on T.V from the States particularly and you can just tell that the thing is looming large, that this is the way that we must do it and that it has to be the way to go and it will be the way to go. I don't think the thing is going to stop (16).

In many respects these views mirrored those of the larger policy documents cited in the previous chapter and illustrate that police leaders are well acquainted with the community policing model.

Two chief constables stressed the importance of having a vision and leadership in introducing the new philosophy and believed that change had to be initiated from the top down, thus reflecting the views in the management literature which stresses that one way in which to initiate change is for leadership to initiate and promote it:

I think police managers have to develop a vision for their particular area...We've got to take some time to stop and talk and visit with people on the street corner or have a coffee with them, but mostly I think police leadership has to demonstrate a vision of where we're going (12).

I've got a vision that's totally community based policing. It's got to go full board into crime prevention, we've got to be directed by the needs and the desires of the community, not by what we perceive the needs and desires to be. We've got to get our police officers back into the community and not isolate them in a police car. We've got to develop community based police stations in ^{busy} ~~areas~~ ^{neighbour} so police officers are seen as part of the area and not just an unidentified model. The quicker we go that route the better it'll be (13).

Respondents justified their replies by stating that community policing was beneficial for practical economic reasons and were cognizant of the financial constraints which restrict policing. This issue was ^{clear} ~~highlighted~~ during ^{any} ~~the~~ literature review in ~~chapter 4~~ when it was illustrated that the movement towards community policing had in part been influenced by financial concerns:

I sure think we've got to make a concerted and decided effort to move towards community policing. I can see a number of benefits to it if we ever turn that tide...financially city councils,

politicians are not just forking out the money for more police, they're becoming more inquisitive on how you're utilizing these resources, they're asking questions about effectiveness and efficiency and employment of the resources and they're tuned into community based policing (22).

I guess I'd go back (to previous conversation) to community based policing. I would like to see more of a shared partnership with policing and the communities because we are at a point now of saturation for tax dollars for police services. We've seen very little increase in provincial resources and municipal resources and it's time that other areas have to be looked at in order to provide a service to the public and the one change that I think we must have is a better understanding to where we're out selling our product with an understanding from the people (14).

More community orientation really, because of our resources being stretched to the limit we need more community involvement, you know that's why we set up neighborhood watch programs and those sorts of things, because we certainly can't do it all by ourselves and our policing effectiveness is only as good as the community we serve (08).

In addition to the 16 chiefs/OIC's who just mentioned community policing as a way policing should develop in the 1990's, a further four (three chief constables and one OIC) mentioned it along with regionalization:

It should be regionalized...I think we should create a different structure and community policing should be part of that structure, we have to ensure that the neighborhood are properly policed (03).

*The other responses to the question included the need for more technology, training and equipment, attitudinal changes in government, whereby more support is given to the police was cited by one respondent as was a change in the entire

criminal justice system. In addition two respondents stressed the need for more police officers.

The information and opinions collected clearly illustrate that the majority of police leaders in ^{BC} are supportive of the community policing philosophy. A total of 20 (65%) wanted policing to ^{fully} develop along community policing lines in the 1990's. If the organizational change literature is correct and this support by police ~~leaders~~ can trickle down the organization and successfully conveyed to the rank and file, the community policing philosophy may well be ^{developed} ~~adopted~~ in Canada. However, on a note of caution, many respondents recognized the gulf which exists between the 'ideal' or 'utopia' and what can practically be achieved, while 35% of the chiefs/OIC's did not mention community policing in replying to the question.

The community policing ideology sits well with programmatic policies: as concern is expressed over the efficiency and effectiveness of policing, community policing by involving the community, is seen to be beneficial in both fiscal and political terms. The chiefs and ^{members} OICs in this study were acutely aware of the financial constraints that exist on policing today and as such were looking at various ways in which to deliver police services. This search for alternatives has led to the endorsement of the community

policing philosophy and to a more limited extent for some, regionalization.

Defining Community Policing

As detailed in chapter 4, there are different meanings to the term community policing. In conducting a review of the community policing literature five definitions were identified: 1. A meaningless rhetorical term including every and any initiative; 2. A philosophy focusing on the police and community working together to influence the management and delivery of police services; 3. A particular crime prevention program; 4. A form of increased social control; 5. An imprecise notion, impossible to define. Table 4.1 presented a summary of this analysis and provides the theoretical framework to analyse the responses given by police leaders when they were asked to define community policing.

To understand how police leaders interpreted community policing respondents were asked to define the term. All ~~31~~ responses involved linking the police and the community together to address issues of crime and therefore fall into the philosophy category as identified above: ^(Intro section)

Ideally, and I'm not suggesting we've reached that yet, but ideally it's having the community tell us what kinds of police services they want and having them work with us to, I guess, achieve a community standard that's acceptable in relation to law enforcement and social good and all that stuff (13).

The term community policing encompasses all those things we've done traditionally; ~~been coaches for junior hockey, or baseball or boy scouts or whatever else,~~ but I think that over and above that it means encouraging the community to become part of policing and accept responsibilities for policing instead of saying that's a job for the police. I think it encompasses getting in put from the community by way of establishing goals and objectives for policing and identifying problems (10).

I think in a broad statement it means sharing our activities with the public and involving them in some part of our decision making. That might not be clear to you other than to say that from coming up to where I am now we used to be a very closed shop, we did all sorts of things really without caring about discussing it outside our police organization and that has changed (24).

A number of responses stressed the word partnership⁴ as a way to interpret community policing. The mission statement of the RCMP defines community policing as "a partnership between the police and the community, sharing in the delivery of police services", and therefore the emphasis on the word partnership in these definitions can be attributed to this mission statement:

As you know there are a ton of definitions and I guess my own definition would be forming a partnership between the police and the community to find solutions, legal solutions to problems, criminal or social problems and take a leadership role there to enhance the quality of life in our community (31).

Generally community policing is a partnership, a partnership between the police and the community

4. 'Partnership' is a word like 'community' in that it is imprecise and can have different meanings for different people.

to try to address the problems that occur and that exist particularly where those problems center around criminal activity. The willingness for them to be part of the solution and go back to the Peel days and all that other baloney (23).

X Community based policing means that you involve the community in problem solving and you bond or form a partnership with the community and the community can be the community at large, or a segment of the community or an area of the community and you bond there a partnership, make a partnership and get them to assist you in the detection of or enforcement of unruly behavior (18).

One chief constable definitely saw it as not a partnership:

To me it's where the police and the community sit down and discuss the issues and work in concert to solve those issues, those criminal issues. I shouldn't even say criminal as it certainly goes beyond criminal. It is not a full partnership and I don't think it can be and anyone who says that doesn't know what they're talking about. That means that no one can make a decision (08).

The replies showed a high level of consistency. Although some respondents gave quite brief definitions ⁽²⁾ ~~if~~ ~~(2358)~~ built on their replies by defining community policing as a philosophy and then proceeded to draw upon examples of the programs their department/detachment had introduced to illustrate the way that community policing was being introduced (eg bike patrols, blockwatch and consultative groups).

The philosophical definition of community policing developed in chapter 4 had two components: increased community

involvement; and organizational change in the structure of policing. While all the ^{participants} ~~police leaders~~ in this study stressed increased community involvement, none mentioned changing the structure of their organizations (however, a number did discuss structural organizational changes subsequently in the ^{2nd} interview process). Therefore while their definitions fall into the 'philosophy' category they failed to mention, when asked for a definition, that community policing involves organizational change and thus stressed only one component of the philosophy definition. Respondents were cognisant of the need to change the delivery of service that community policing advocates, but unaware of the organizational changes which the 'ideal' philosophy definition of community policing implies: while their definitions of community policing can be placed in the philosophy category the 'fit' is far from perfect. This finding reconfirms one detailed in the recent Commission of Inquiry on Policing in BC (Oppal, 1994) which found chief constables generally equate community policing with crime prevention and community relations initiatives but do not cite organizational change.

Traditional vs Community Policing

The second specific question on community policing sought to elicit views on the differences between traditional and community policing: "Do you think there may be a conflict of interests between the crime control role of the police and

the current emphasis on community policing?" The use of the word 'interests' aimed to elicit data from police leaders on whose interests were in conflict and what these interests were. Seven ⁽⁵⁾ (23%) of respondents believed there was a conflict of interest, 16 ⁽²⁾ (52%) did not see there to be a conflict and 8 ⁽¹⁾ (26%) saw that there was some degree of conflict. Table 8.5 provides a summary of this information:

TABLE 8.5.

PERCEPTIONS ON A CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN THE CRIME CONTROL AND COMMUNITY POLICING ROLE OF THE POLICE

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	1	8%	6	31%	7	23%
No	7	58%	9	47%	16	52%
To some degree	4	33%	4	21%	8	26%
TOTAL	12	100%	19	100%	31	100%

Those that saw there was some conflict discussed the dichotomy between what they termed the traditional, reactive, professional model which was enforcement-oriented and the community policing model:

No doubt, the old style of doing police work has been reactive, we're changing but it really has been reactive and we place a whole lot of emphasis and I have done this in the past and I'm going to have to make some drastic changes myself here, that is we put a lot of emphasis on law enforcement initiatives (30).

Oh well definitely, if you're talking about the so called professional model of policing and the response to call and now the community based policing oh sure...a lot of our people see themselves as hard nosed crime fighters, see us moving back to the community as being a little wimpish and that we're going to turn into a bunch of social workers and that's not what they joined the police force to be, so yeah there's conflict (05).

Very much, yes, very much. There is a tremendous conflict even in the thinking of police officers. We have trained and directed our police officers to be extremely enforcement oriented at all times, it's still on-going but we're trying to break it down and it's very difficult to have them change their attitude and ideas into a community based theory and philosophy where, ultimate charging and enforcing is not going to reach the goals. See policemen generally feel that their successes were gained by enforcing the law and being sent to jail and that's where they got their good feelings, now we're asking them to look at a different view, look at a view that it might be better off not to lay charges but to deal with a community problem not an individual problem (17).

These quotes illustrate the dichotomy identified in the policing literature between the old 'traditional' model of policing and the new 'community' policing model and show how police leaders are aware of these two distinct operational cultures. Those ~~police leaders~~^{participants} that recognised a slight conflict of interest were similar to respondents who saw there to be a definite conflict and who frequently cited the tension between the dual role of law enforcement and service delivery, a factor which has characterised academic discussion and debate over the role of the police for the last thirty years.

Respondents were also aware of the resistance from police officers to the community policing philosophy and when discussing this resistance articulated the problems they faced as leaders in the organization in trying to persuade their subordinates to change roles:

There's a subtle conflict, I'm not sure I'd use conflict of interest, there's certainly some subtle, I don't know how to describe that, interesting question. We're going to have to face some, I guess struggles convincing certain officers and we're faced with that now on the generalist versus traditionalist approach, which is really what community policing is trying to look at, a generalist approach (22).

It may be perceptual on the part of the policeman and you've probably heard this before but some of them say crime prevention is a crock of shit you've got to get out and catch the bad guys (09).

I tell you the hardest people to sell this community policing whatever the heck it is and move that way and I think it's inevitable, is the policeman on the street. The community can be sold on it, the chiefs and the deputy chiefs and the community relations officers that work in the schools and in the community for years, they can easily be sold on it and supportive...but the men on the street...(24).

No. There's a conflict with policemen (JS: Why is there a conflict with policemen?) Well, policemen perceived generally, and that's one of the biggest challenges for an OIC is to get the policeman's perceptions of what is important more in line with what the community sees as more important and I see that as one of the biggest police priorities (28).

These beliefs reiterate many of the findings from the police subculture literature which detail the pervasiveness of police resistance to change. While the existing policing literature draws on the views of lower ranking police

officers, few studies have illustrated that police leaders are cognisant of this resistance within their organizations and thus aware of the barriers that exist to change. Throughout the course of the interview process staff resistance to change was frequently mentioned by the leaders.

Those stating that there was no conflict tended to argue that policing had always been community policing and that the recent stress on a community policing philosophy merely reiterated what was already in existence:

Really all that you're doing is recognizing what always took place to a certain extent. I think what the new initiative has done is made us work a little harder at it, but it's not doing those things all that differently (01).

No. There's a direct correlation and if you're doing your proactive policing properly, like getting out and meeting people, you're going to solve crimes a lot quicker and you're going to prevent crimes (02).

X No, I don't see a conflict, as a matter of fact I guess what I see is a fusion of objectives between the police department and the community (30).

The interview data shows that it was the ^{Staff (community)} ~~officers~~, not the ~~officers~~ constables, who were more likely to see community policing as a philosophy which conflicts with the more traditional policing philosophy. However, the population was split with ~~officers~~ ⁽²⁾ believing there to be no conflict and ~~officers~~ ⁽²⁾ (48%) seeing there to be a total or degree of conflict.]

Police Officers' Role

✓ The ~~third~~ question specifically referring to the content theme of community policing asked whether the ~~chief~~^{St. Comm.} OIC thought his operational police officers were primarily community police officers. ~~Four~~^{Staff Comm-1} chief constables stated their police officers were community police officers while a further ~~four~~² stated that they were, but were reluctant to acknowledge themselves as such or were 'moving in that way'. In contrast, none of the ~~OICs~~^{S.C.} stated their police officers were community police officers although three commented that they were ~~moving~~^{still} in that direction.

TABLE 8.6.

PERCEPTIONS OF LINE LEVEL POLICE OFFICERS AS COMMUNITY POLICE OFFICERS

Response	Independent		RCMP		ALL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	4	33%	0	0%	4	13%
No	3	25%	14	74%	17	55%
Not as much as I would like	1	8%	1	5%	2	6%
Are but don't admit it	1	8%	1	5%	2	6%
Have a mixture/ moving that way	3	25%	2	11%	5	16%
They're both	0	0%	1	5%	1	3%
TOTAL	12	100%	19	100%	31	100%

It is noteworthy that the four chief constables who stated their police officers were primarily community police officers were all responsible for smaller communities and had departments of under 40 members. The organizational culture and change literature draws attention to the need to be aware of the size of the organization and its effect on change. Data from this study would suggest that it is the smaller police departments who, because of their size, can more effectively introduce community policing.

Alternatively, as the following quotes show, in the past these smaller departments did not move towards the traditional bureaucratic model of policing to the same extent as some of the larger forces and so are more comfortable with community policing which they see as similar to their existing practices:

Well I think that we always have been and most police officers will tell you this. We've been doing community policing ever since I've been a police officer we just didn't call it community policing it wasn't formalized. But I think there's changing attitudes in our department now and I think that most officers are understanding the various philosophies of community policing (06).

They are, even though some of them say 'oh crime prevention': they're doing it by getting out and talking to people on a daily basis (02).

I think they are but I think they are without even knowing it without having even thought through the concept (01).

An interesting division existed between the chiefs'/OIC's definition of their officers, while three out of 12 (25%) of

chief constables believed their police officers not to be primarily community police officers, 14 out of 19 (74%) of OIC's had the same belief. In responding to the question the chiefs/OIC's articulated reasons why their officers were not community police officers. A number recognised that they were moving in the direction of community policing but that this movement would take time and in the framework of organization cultural change literature would be incremental as opposed to transformational:

No, it would probably not be fair to say that, I'd say that it's the intent, the direction and the goal of the department that they be working at a community based system but we're probably only about 60% (04).

No, what we have now is a mixture, they're good law enforcement officers and there are some that are very good at crime prevention in the community and what we're trying to do is get them out of the speciality role (24).

I'd like to think that they are, but there are still some that are more reactive oriented. It's a matter of re-educating a lot of them, you know they always look as if they want to be involved in the major crimes and don't worry about anything else, but if you're not out on the street you don't know about these crimes. (J.S: How do you get over that problem?) Well we usually have our regular meetings to try to force it, to make it obligatory that they will do their foot patrols and there's a check sheet on that and once they get out and get to meet people they realize it's not so bad (28).

The chief constables clearly believed their police officers to be more community oriented than their counterparts in the RCMP did. This finding is compatible with the results of the

previous question which illustrated that chief constables were less likely than OIC's to see a conflict of interest between traditional policing philosophies and community policing.

In discussing and expanding upon their responses to specific questions through out the interview process, additional information on the content theme of community policing was collected. This information can be analysed using the other content themes identified in the thesis under the headings of community policing and management and administration; community policing and the change process and community policing and the RCMP subculture.

Content Themes: Community Policing and Management and Administration

As detailed in chapter two, one of the elements identified in organizational culture change is the change process and whether this process involves transformational or incremental change. Respondents recognized that their departments/detachments were in a transition stage and that community policing, if it was to be successful, needed to be introduced in a slow, incremental way. Police leaders therefore identified the need for incremental change:

I guess you'd call it the new philosophy of policing which really is the direction that's coming from my commissioner, which after you get into it you start to agree with although you may have initially not. I didn't agree but I don't

have a problem with it now as long as everyone realizes that it's going to take time (16).

There's no quick fix to this, it takes a fair amount of time particularly when historically we've been travelling in a different direction on a different path. To make this change and transition it has to be done in a series of small steps (20).

We are going to get into community policing in a big way, we've been working on it now for a year and a half, our total plan on community involvement comes out in December this year, but I've been working for the last year and a half to change the internal organization because I have this saying: "You can't plant a seed in a parking lot' first you've got to till the soil" so we've got to make sure that our organization is ready for the challenge of community based policing, I don't know of any other department who is going through this process. We've jumped on the band wagon of community based policing without understanding that it's a process where you allow officers to make most of the decisions and you give them a lot of autonomy and create some fine tuning in the organization. You change the structure from putting the chief and courts at the top of the pyramid to putting the citizen there and customer service (12).

The chiefs/OIC's were aware that rapid change within the organization was impossible and that if community policing was to be successful, it must be 'sold' to the police officers. Organizational culture research has drawn attention to the importance of language used by members of an organization. During the course of the interviews frequent references were made to the importance of the rank and file 'buying into' the concept. One respondent drew a comparison between team policing and community policing to illustrate the importance of this point:

I'm having a tough time here because the fellow that was here before me tried to implement team policing. Now I'm an advocate of community policing but in a very incremental way, in that just because someone else is trying something we just don't jump in...Now the fellow that came before me tried team policing, you won't hear anything good around here about team policing, he might have been ahead of his time but he forced it on them rather than having them buy in and that's why I've got a strategy plan so they buy into it (05).

With the knowledge that past initiatives for change have failed respondents, while endorsing the philosophy were aware that the change should be gradual. Many felt themselves to be at the initial stages of the change process and that this development would take a considerable period of time.

In discussing community policing in relation to management and administration, respondents also mentioned the problem of introducing community policing when the volume of existing work is high, reiterating the previously identified dichotomy of the law enforcement/service role of the police. This, coupled with the lack of additional resources was frequently mentioned by the chiefs/OIC's who saw their police officers not as community police officers:

No, I don't think the street policeman has changed, or will change in spite of the buzz word, if you can call it that. I think that just by virtue of how busy they are during the day they can't do anything else other than street policing. I think where we will make some gains as far as community policing is concerned is through the specialists and through management of the police department being more open and accessible to the

community than they may have been in the past (23).

Are mine, no. Not in the sense that I think of them as community police officers. When I think of a community police officer I think of someone who has the time to move around a given area or neighborhood or community, likely on foot, who has time to stand and talk as long as it takes to stand and talk to Mrs Jones about someone stealing her washing or whatever the problem is, or to walk into the local coffee shop and sit and talk to the patrons there and to become a fixture in that community. My people don't have that time, they don't have those opinions and when they get done attending one complaint when they get back in their vehicle they now have three complaints stacked up waiting for them (21).

We never had a problem selling it to the public, they bought it hook, line and sinker, they would never let us eliminate that program (mini-station) now, it's really gone over well. We have a real problem internally because of the extremely high case load and our police officers are running around putting out fires, so to speak and in the heat of the battle they're wondering why we're devoting resources to community policing (03).

The management literature stresses the importance of reinforcing agents to justify organizational change. One OIC felt that the rhetoric endorsing community policing was not matched by resources to implement new policies and therefore little positive reinforcement of policy change:

All of a sudden they're saying O.K. we've got to go in this new direction of community policing and I fully support it, the trouble is there's still all this police work that we've done in the past, do you forget it? No. If there's a new program that they really want then there should be special funds for it, resources. (JS: Where is the emphasis on community policing coming from?) From Ottawa, oh yes it comes from our headquarters in Ottawa and you know the old saying to do more with less, we've got to economise, we've got to become more efficient and we've done all those things and we've worked at it for the last 15 years and if we

truly want to impact on community policing we have to have the resources dedicated to community policing (22).

Therefore although community policing was supported by police leaders there were doubts over whether it could successfully be introduced under the current resource limitations when the existing workload was high. As well some chiefs/OIC's commented that the public still looks to a police officer to police their community and demands that level of service:

If we think the citizens of _____ are interested in community based policing and not about catching crooks then we're wrong. They want their neighborhoods to be safe: they want them to be safe now (02).

One thing no one's addressed, well they've addressed it but it's an assumption that people want community based policing and I really think that's the academics and the politicians. The politicians are reaching from an economic base, the academics from an academic base, for some project they can work on, I don't know whether people are really into community based policing...I say I don't know whether the people want community based policing. You know the people say the police are being paid big bucks to police, let them police (19).

One respondent even commented that a two tier system was required:

Maybe it's time for a two tier system where we have community policing officers who do all the social things that are called for but at the same time we still have a need for traditional crime fighters to keep the bad guys away (27).

These responses illustrate that while police leaders are supportive of the community policing movement they recognise

that change will be slow and incremental in nature. They also have concerns over whether it will be possible to implement community policing with current resource limitations. As managers and leaders of the change process they endorsed slow, gradual change within their organizations. The organizational change and development literature stresses the importance of leadership in affecting change. Municipal police leaders in BC articulated the need for slow incremental change and therefore were to some extent at odds with the recommendations of the federal and provincial policy documents.

Content Themes: Community Policing and Change

While the chiefs/OIC's acknowledged the importance of slowly adapting to community policing, many were conscious of the barriers to change that existed within the police organization itself and argued that resistance was evident from a number of police officers within their organizations. These individuals had been brought up with the traditional crime control model of policing and were reluctant to endorse the new approach:

We still have some officers that would rather be out chasing bad guys than out talking to groups to prevent crime and don't really see any worth in the community (JS: So what do you do about it?) Tell them that's what they're going to do and to recognize the value in it. They're all not in that boat but a good number of them are. And by their very nature you know a police person I think a lot of police people would rather get their hands into a good investigation rather than prepare a

presentation to a school group or service club (15).

They're primarily law enforcement but I do have people dedicated to community policing. My community policing unit has 12 people plus volunteers - enormous volunteers in the community policing unit...but if I have a vacancy in my detective squad I have all sorts of volunteers for that, O.K. but in my crime prevention I don't get the same number, so guys and girls still want to be policemen and they want to be detectives and they want to solve crime and those kind of things O.K. and that's good, but conversely we need the same kind of enthusiasm with our people in community policing (19).

There's still a strong feeling amongst I don't know what percentage any more of patrol men and detectives that this business of having school liaison officers is just a waste of time, they're policemen, they should be out there catching crooks and that's the people you have to convince that that's what we're trying to do and this is how we feel we have to do it and if any police department moves too quickly in that especially a large one, in that direction without taking whatever time is necessary to talk and discuss and work with the people on the street, the constables and sergeants on the street, they're going to have difficulty with it (09).

These quotes illustrate that the reinforcing agents within police organizations have not as yet been altered to support the movement towards community policing. Criminal investigations and detective work receives a higher status internally by the rank and file police subculture and reconfirms the traditional policing approach.

Certain individuals within the organization were acknowledged to be more resistant to the community policing philosophy than others. When drawing on examples it was the older police officers who had been in the organization

longer, as one OIC referred to them, the 'old blue knights' who were seen to be particularly resistant to change:

I'd say that if I had right now 25% that are community police officers that may be close, it might be a little bit generous. I would say that those police officers that joined up prior to 1985 the majority would not be community or crime prevention thinkers, after 1985, because they do get a certain amount that's pushed at them in training division, after that I'd say about 80% are extremely good community based police officers. If we did not give them the opportunity to work with some of these older people - I call it the 'old blue knight theory' - the old type policeman they used to call the blue knight, so the old blue knight theory is the policeman walks down the street and sees little Johnny doing something wrong and he takes them in the alley way and gives him a cuff and says Johnny stop. That's the old blue knight theory and I'd say that the majority of police officers prior to 1985 have that (24).

Some of the more senior ones may have difficulty buying into this because they've been raised through the school that I just told you about, they're isolationists. The younger people that are coming on board appear to have a greater sense of community and community involvement (19).

I have three retirees coming up in the next 3 years, these are people who have been in the service longer than I have and certainly resist any changes - policing in the same style as they did twenty years ago. They have a set style of policing before I ever came here and they're not going to change it, and they'll go out of the door with that attitude and I'll tell them face to face that they're dinosaurs (11).

While older officers were regarded as being most resistant to change, a couple of respondents did state that it was the senior police officers who were drawn to working within the community policing philosophy and gave the following justifications for it:

It's interesting you know that when we put out an application for a community police station program a lot of the senior members are applying and I think it's the autonomy, you know maybe they didn't advance through the ranks and didn't get to staff sergeant but now there's an opportunity for them to really prove to management that they can run a small operation and make a real impact on the community (03).

Community based policing takes the more senior members and there are some junior ones that can do it, but I think that's their personality, they're born with it, some people just have it, they love to talk with people and they don't feel intimidated when they're on the street in uniform and they don't have anything to do other than talk to people. Some people react well to that. No I don't have a solid community based policing unit here yet (18).

There was no consensus over whether younger police officers were resisting the move to community policing in the same way as some of the older police officers were acknowledged to be doing. As illustrated above, some saw that the younger police officers would be more open to the philosophy while others did not hold this view:

There's some long hard nosed harnessed bulls you'll never change but these young guys coming in now they're starting to be fed that stuff right in training so they're tuned into community policing and those concepts and they'll be a lot more easier to harness and get going down that road (23).

I have a very young detachment as unfortunately a number in British Columbia are right now and younger people don't realize the benefits of community based policing because they're not entrenched as a community member yet. Often they're on their first posting and don't realize the importance of community involvement particularly from a police officers' perspective. And so they are more a response to call, they work

best when they're told what to do by the response to call method and they can come in and methodically go about their work (19).

In discussing community policing and change respondents recognised resistance from police officers, particularly those that had been within the organization a long period of time. This finding reiterates the results of other studies of the police organization as cited in chapter three and illustrates the strength of the police subculture as a reinforcing agent acting against change. It has been illustrated previously that police officers receive a greater degree of indoctrination into the police subculture through working with more experienced officers than they do at the training academy (Fielding, 1988a; Holdaway, 1979). Although community policing may be taught and accepted at the training institutes, once a recruit starts to work alongside an experienced police officer who is skeptical about the approach, then this skepticism may be articulated and accepted. Skepticism over new initiatives has been a well recognised trait in the police subculture literature and is a barrier to organizational change.

The impetus for community policing in many police departments has been from the top down. If this decision has been taken without input of those lower down the organization there may be resistance to it (Murphy, 1994).

Content Themes: Community Policing and the RCMP Subculture

The unique organizational subculture of the RCMP was mentioned by a number of OIC's to demonstrate the way the organization both facilitates and prohibits implementation of community policing. Drawing on the theoretical framework developed in the organizational culture literature these officers identified elements and reinforcing agents of the RCMP subculture which both inhibit and promote community policing.

One such reinforcing agent were transfers which ensure members only spend a limited time in one location. Two OIC's thought the limited duration postings in small communities helped officers develop community policing philosophies:

I'd probably be prejudiced in saying it but I'd say that the guys who have been up north or in isolated communities have always been into it (21).

In the small detachments where there's only two or three people just to survive in those detachments you have to be community based, you know everyone in town (27).

However, most of the OIC's who commented on the issue saw the policy of transfers to be ill matched to community policing, a finding which reconfirmed that of another recent study (Oppal, 1994) which illustrated that changing the transfer policy would better support community policing. As articulated by one respondent in this study:

We're here for a few years in our posting so we don't get time to realize the benefits, and it's totally different with our transfers in the

Mounted Police to the municipal police forces in the province. I think if these people came here knowing that this was going to be their home they would have a different perspective, they would want to see the community: they look at it say they can work 12 hour shifts for four years here and I'm gone and they don't develop until they have a family and realize the need for community structure (30).

The transfer policy is unique to the RCMP. While the internal RCMP policy documents endorsing community policing do not recognise it as a barrier to organizational change it was identified by a number of OIC's. In addition, the organizational structure of the RCMP and its established practices were cited as reinforcing agents of the traditional model of policing difficult to change:

I would say we're moving towards community based policing but we've got a long way to go. And I don't know that I as an officer in the RCMP and the way we're structured and with the authority I have here can move this detachment totally to a community based policing model under our present rank structure and organizational charts, the way we're set up...The change has to come from the top and not only in the sense of words but in the sense of action and deeds and I haven't seen anything (22).

The RCMP has had a history of totally controlling the police services for the community, that means that they did what they thought was right they rammed programs down the throat of the community which never worked but continued with these programs and never allowed the community to participate in policing philosophies for their own community. And over a period of years, and I've been policing this province since 1962, they've got a tremendous lack of concern about the community as far as the residents are concerned and a very high tolerance of crime, that means they didn't give a damn what took place in the community. The community accepted the high level of crime and accepted what we were doing but it was never working, and it wasn't working because they never had anything to do with the programs

and second of all because we didn't involve them in the crime they didn't give a damn what was going on...I guess we've been held in such high esteem that I guess they feel that were doing the right things all the time, they never criticize (25).

The opinions advanced by the RCMP officers towards the barriers that exist within their own organization (reinforcing agents) towards community policing, support their earlier reservations to the questions asking whether their police officers were community police officers and provide additional justification for these views. In addition the size of the RCMP organization and its structure were seen as forces mitigating against the movement towards community policing. These findings illustrate that in organizational structure terms there are two types of municipal police agencies in BC: independent and RCMP and that these agencies will encounter different problems in introducing community policing.

Summary of Community Policing Content Theme Data

Analysis of the comments relating to community policing were reviewed using the content themes of management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture and can be grounded in the theoretical parameters developed in chapter two which recognised the importance of size, depth and pervasiveness of change, leadership, reinforcing agents and transformational vs incremental change. While it would appear the police leaders in BC are acquainted with

and supportive of the community policing philosophy, by focusing on increased links with the community and not organizational change, they were apt to provide a narrower definition than that advanced in the academic literature. Although the concept of leadership and its effect on change was cited, police leaders were more aware of the limitations and of the impediments to organizational change than in their ability to affect and influence organizational change. These impediments were cited as resistance to change from the police officers themselves, the police subculture (particularly the older police officers), the volume of existing work and for the OIC's, the organizational structure and size of the RCMP which provides a restrictive environment and prohibits the development of community contacts. Therefore there existed reinforcing agents both internal and external to the organization which prohibited change. In recognizing these limitations a cautious incremental introduction of the community policing philosophy was recommended. The findings would suggest that while municipal police agencies are moving towards community policing this movement is gradual, the depth and pervasiveness of this change is slight.

Comparative analysis illustrates that both the OIC's and the chief constables demonstrated a similar commitment to the community policing philosophy arguing that it was the way that policing should develop in the 1990s. However

differences between these two groups was evident. When asked to describe their police officers OIC's were more likely to see their subordinates as traditional response to call officers, not community police officers. In addition, these OIC's also acknowledged a greater conflict between the existing traditional police practices and new community policing philosophies. The OIC's in the study readily stated that the police officers in their detachments are not community police officers, that the organizational structure of the RCMP restricts change and that there currently exists a conflict of interest between the two models of policing. The size of the RCMP organizational structure limits the degree of change. These findings would suggest that of the two groups, the OIC's in the RCMP are encountering and anticipating more problems with the introduction of community policing.

Problems of management and administration can be conjectured with the chiefs and OIC's supporting the community policing philosophy and yet recognising the internal organizational barriers to its introduction. These managerial and administrative issues were the next content themes explored in the thesis.

on me because you got people who are friends of that individual and they're saying I'm the jerk and he's the good guy and it creates a problem within the office. We have people who have gone to court, been found guilty and they're still working as a policeman or woman and that's not right...You see in the Mounted Police if you get a poor performer to get him moved you have to say he's a good performer and that's not right (21).

People problems. If we just deal with police work they'd be no problems but it's people problems within and without. (J.S. What people problems?). Well people problems would be you would have non-performers, in other words they're not doing their job to the best of their ability (27).

These personnel problems are not issues unique to police agencies, but rather are found in many large organizations which have large bureaucratic structures. As illustrated by Morgan (1986) organizations that are characterised as bureaucratic draw upon many of the tenets of Classical organizational theory and give little attention to the human aspects of the agency. The OIC's expressed more concern than the chief constables with personnel issues. This may reflect the organizational structures in which they are working and may be attributable to the size of their organization.

The role of the manager has been shown to be characterised by two components: the first is concerned with rational, science based activities, the second involves a less rational intuitive approach, especially in dealing with people (Burnes, 1992). Most large bureaucracies which still retain ties with Classical organizational theory stress the first component at the expense of the second. As police

agencies try to move away from their traditional structures it is not surprising that they are becoming increasingly involved with people issues within their organization and experiencing problems.

In discussing the problems of managing personnel the motivation and support of the middle management levels was specifically identified by the chiefs/OIC's:

Motivation of the midline management, those trusty sergeants who have for one reason or another have been stalled at that rank, whether it's by choice or not, who have some in-grained attitudes about how things should be, are damned hard to change, will drop responsibility whenever they get the opportunity, or slide out from underneath it and don't always set a good example to those below. Now that's the biggest challenge I've got is to bring most people through that screen and say, step over here and take a look back and tell me what you see, and they don't want to, they're quite comfortable in that role...I think my biggest challenge at the moment is trying to bring those people around to accepting community based policing (13).

Recently we had two promotions to Inspector level those promotions were such that they skirted some of the senior middle management level and they weren't successful and that creates, - it's an age old problem in policing, you try to bring forward some young people with possibly better ideas and better qualifications and that leaves some people who are disgruntled and you try your best to make them feel at home and comfortable and encourage their participation but in some cases there's really nothing you can do and that causes a bit of a problem, it's not huge but it's there (09).

Because we're in transition to community policing and because that is a philosophy which is being driven by myself not all senior management have completely bought into community policing or the challenges of community policing, and I say that

in respect of our whole lives have been dedicated to modelling behavior that we've experienced within police work that contradicts the direction that we're going in now. So if I have a challenge within the senior administrative end it's to try and create that common approach to community policing, to be the chief salesman, to have everybody buy in, because if senior staff, through action and deed, through written correspondence or oral exchanges of information are still following the traditional approach to policing then these are barriers towards our progress (12).

In citing the problems of middle management, respondents built upon the information quoted under the community policing content theme which showed that older police officers were the strata of the organization most resistant to community policing policies. Organizational theorists have also illustrated the way supervisors and middle managers can be threatened by new forms of work design and are frequently the focal point of dissatisfaction within an organization (Deal and Kennedy, 1982), producing what have been described as 'counter cultures' (Martin, 1992). Respondents in this study identified middle management as a counter culture within their organizations.

The second issue of managerial and administrative concern identified by respondents were fiscal constraints and lack of resources: an issue seen as the main problem for one-third of the chief constables compared to 11% of the OIC's, again illustrating the difference in organizational structures and the administration of funding:

It's acquiring the funding to accomplish your goals, not so much the police board, I have a very supportive police board, it's getting the funding from council in. And I certainly understand their dilemma, they're getting pulled in all directions from various departments, but I think quite frankly the department has been given second rate treatment (03).

Administratively I think it's probably the fight for dollars to be able to do the job. There appears to be a movement towards more central control of the police by municipal managers and politicians. I think what is happening, and this is a personal thought, is that they see the cost of policing increasing and they feel that they have to control it to be responsible and they don't do the amount of reasoning, or it's political as opposed to reasoned judgment. Not that I want a blank cheque but I certainly feel that when we can display in a reasoned manner the need for additional equipment, manpower or whatever that we shouldn't be told well you're already the highest cost to the municipality (06).

Budgets probably. You know budgets are being cut, we're being asked like many other public service sectors to do more and more with no increase and in many cases a reduction in budgets. We're not necessarily short on people resources, I think we have enough people resources to be able to do what we need to do, but sometimes we're hampered by a shortage of material resources or just being careful (20).

77% of the sample therefore cited either personnel issues or budgetary matters to be their main management or administrative problem. The OIC's expressed greater concern over personnel issues while the chief constables more frequently recognised financial problems. The OIC's have little in put into the staffing of their detachments as this administrative task is undertaken at headquarters in Ottawa. Chief constables however recruit their own staff and therefore the difference in responses can be explained by

the structural differences between departments and detachments.

The responses received in some respects mirrored those received to an earlier question posed during the course of the interview which sought details on the biggest challenge respondents faced in undertaking their duties. Six (50%) chief constables and five (26%) of the OIC's mentioned motivation and morale as their biggest challenge while a further two (11%) OIC's cited motivation in conjunction with the RCMP organizational structure as challenges. In discussing motivation the frustration many police leaders felt with the criminal justice system was given as the reason why morale needed to be reviewed:

One of them of course is to manage and to motivate the people involved with the frustrations (of the criminal justice system) we've just discussed. I find the police officers today are really dedicated people, they certainly want to do their job, it doesn't take long before the frustration sets in. Perceived inefficiencies and there's nothing they can lash out at so we hear it internally (20).

At my level I have to keep finding ways of finding positive motivation to these people to say we've done our job, we are tasked with picking them up, gathering them in, taking what evidence is available and handing it to the judicial body and you can't be mad about their decision because they've now taken that responsibility, we did our part...That's one of them and that's constant, that's every day of the week, it's not just that we hit one of these every once in a while it's every day we're running into more and more. But the discouragement is a very big factor around with the members, I don't want to get them to the point when they say it isn't worth following

through, that's what I'm basically tasked with (04).

Maximizing the motivation of young policemen to do their jobs and to see themselves as a partner in the justice system and to be sensitive to the difficulty that our other partners in the justice system have in always fulfilling the mandate we think should be fulfilled...I do have to keep my people motivated and not permit them to get so frustrated with the process that they become cynical (21).

These views illustrate the leadership role OIC's and chief constables take in motivating and encouraging staff, a role which was also discernible when they cited the general issue of motivation and morale as their biggest challenge:

It's a balancing act of keeping the community and my people working together as opposed to working against each other. I mean we get lots of accolades for our work, but we get lots of knocks as well and it's frustrating keeping the guys motivated to do a top quality job isn't always easy (03).

The biggest challenge I face, there are a number, but maintaining the morale of the men is my biggest challenge. I've got good police officers they do a good job, they're capable of doing any investigation I give them, but the biggest job is keeping morale and just, just so they know for the next 15 years they're not going to be doing the same job (10).

Other challenges identified included making internal change (one chief, two OIC's), managing resources (four OIC's), the introduction of community policing (two OIC's) and the creation of a leadership style (one chief, three OIC's).

The replies to these two questions illustrate that the C.E.O. of a municipal police agency clearly see themselves as managers and leaders of public sector organizations, not police officers. This opinion was given further justification when the chiefs and OIC's were asked to provide a brief definition of the role of a chief constable/OIC Twenty respondents (65%) of the sample did not mention the word police and two that did mention police only did when stating that their role had little to do with policing. Ten respondents included the word manager/management in their definition while seven mentioned leadership. The following quote is characteristic of the responses received:

You know we don't do police work, we have to talk it a lot, but you know, even if it comes to researching for a new by-law and that I don't do it and if anyone thinks I do they're crazy. I don't have the time to do that, I have people here who are paid for that you know and I may be signing the memo and it looks as if I do it, but I don't fool anyone. The actual police work, most of the time, it's dealing with influential people who think they have to talk to the boss, that's the time of day when I do talk police work with those people, but usually I let them get their frustrations out then I slowly put them off to my investigator and the police work is done. We don't do police work at this level, we're managers of police departments totally and those people out there are doing all the police work and God bless them for it, you know. Our role is to ensure they have all the tools and are in a good frame of mind to do the work for the public and support them from the roles that we can, they can't deal with Municipal government, they can't deal with BCACP that's my role, to support them, to totally support them (09).

Over the recent past programs such as Total Quality Management and Strategic Planning which developed in the private sector have been applied to public sector organizations including the police. To elicit data on how the respondents viewed their position and role compared to C.E.O.s of other organizations, they were asked to outline in what ways the management of a police agency was unique and in what ways was it similar to managing any other bureaucracy.

Respondents found their work to be comparable with C.E.O.s of other organizations with regard to their management and leadership roles. In clarifying this point they stated that managing a police organization was not that different to managing any other bureaucracy:

I'm not sure that it is very unique. When I talk to people who are managers, leaders and C.E.O.s of other organizations most of the things we do are about the same...I don't think we're that unique or different. Where you've got a number of people, you've got a budget, you have equipment, you have a service mandate in the form of legislation and a job to do, if you know what that job is and you think you know how to do it, then you lead it and you manage and I think that's really what other people do, it's similar (12).

In police work historically we have tried to create that mystique about running a police service: it is unique and separate and distinct from business, I don't buy into that. I believe that this is no different from a business. I have a ten million dollar budget, the majority of the money is tied up in human resources and the small amount of money that is left is inconsequential really. It's not complicated (20).

More and more I see it as just another corporate business with you as the president of that corporation...There's lot of similarities, you have to manage, you're still accountable, I like to look on the people that we deal with as our customers (13).

In recognising similarities with other corporations, police leaders illustrated that the management and leadership of police agencies is not unique. Consequently it can be reasoned that initiatives such as strategic planning and total quality management which developed in the private sector may successfully be applied to the police. Likewise theories of organizational culture and change which also developed in the private sector may be just as applicable.

Although respondents recognised similarities between their own department or detachment and other bureaucracies they were also well aware of the differences. The most frequently cited difference in managing a police organization was the accountability aspect which was mentioned by four (33%) of chief constables and seven (37%) of the OIC's:

I think this is one of the toughest businesses that there is to lead in terms of managing for a number of reasons, primarily I suppose you're - everything you do is open, you're accountable to the public and really only to the public through your police board. In law you're the one that's accountable and you have many many areas where your mistakes or any of the mistakes you make can be open to severe scrutiny and criticism and often is (19).

Well you couldn't possibly compare it to any other bureaucracy in terms of the pressures that are coming because you are constantly under the public eye. If you had a bureaucracy in private industry

you know the shareholders may be looking at you in terms of the bottom line but here you have to have productivity and measurement criteria and all of that but you never make a dollar. You spend money and at the same time provide evidence to the people that supply the money that you are productive, that you're worth while and all the rest of it so it's quite different in terms of private industry which is motivated by economics. Bureaucracies of public service are similar, but again they don't arrest people and put them in gaols and they don't have the courts and have to be under scrutiny on everything that they do is up to public view, virtually every action that you do (23).

The personnel and employees have to maintain a higher standard than would necessarily exist in other businesses - a higher standard in the way that they conduct themselves. I guess if we look at it for example with Safeway, our people both on and off the job, it is critical and essential that their conduct and the way they conduct themselves is beyond reproach. Because we represent the authority in the community and people look up to us to set an example (17).

Related to the uniqueness of the accountability factor was the way that the media's interest in policing creates a unique management problem:

I talked before about the high media profile that policemen are under right now, I think that's very unique. I don't know of any other, other than politicians that face that constant negative attention of the mass media particularly since television came into being and the video camera is in the hands of almost every body, it's very unique and it's very stressful for the street policeman in particular (15).

We're easy targets with the media and the officers must be defended, not all the time but when they deserve it the Chief needs to stand up and defend his members. This is really different here, you're just open to attack in everything you do, it's not like the fire department where you're loved and cuddled by the community, we're in a very adversarial profession (09).

It is interesting that no distinction existed between the two groups of police leaders in discussing accountability and the media, illustrating the concern that perhaps is evident amongst all police officers that theirs is a profession that is constantly under public scrutiny. This issue has been identified by other (Shetzer, 1994) who showed that it was police officers from every rank who feel they are under tremendous pressure from the media.

Respondents also gave examples of the diverse multifaceted nature of policing as a way to illustrate its distinctiveness from other bureaucracies:

So much of what we do is beyond our control and you know our training needs I think are more sophisticated than most public sector agencies because the laws changing constantly and it seems we're constantly responding to changes in the law, whether it's statute law or case law to the various social pressures. You know so much of what we do is thrust upon us from outside the organization. I think that's what's really unique (24).

Probably unique because your dealing with a commodity that's constantly changing. The law changes almost daily it's not like acquiring knowledge of a job and doing it a number of times and it becoming almost second nature for you to do it. The number of changes that take place in any given year are so diverse that it is absolutely essential that you keep abreast of them (27).

We're multifaceted and a lot of the private industry is single focused so I can tell you that on a daily basis I may go through 25 different types of problems here that deal with everything from drug trafficking down to sexual assaults down to little lost ladies, you won't find that in the post office (03).

It is not only changes in legislation that affect policing but the wide scope and extent of their remit which makes them a unique bureaucracy. A further difference given by the five (42%) of the chiefs and three (16%) of the OIC's was the difficulty in evaluating police performance. While the term evaluation can have various interpretations to different individuals, it's need has been stressed in the community policing literature (Clairmont, 1991; Leighton, 1991; Murphy, 1988). In comparison to the private sector which is profit driven many police leaders found it difficult to determine what constitutes success in the policing field:

This happens to be a different enterprise. When you take the profit margin out of one thing then you have a different measuring system and one of the problems we've always had in policing is determining the legitimate measuring systems to measure performance (28).

Well, one of the unique features of a police organization is the difficulty of performance measurement and what constitutes satisfactory performance and I'm not talking about performance of an individual...I'm looking more at the contribution that a police department collectively makes to a community. How do we know, for example, if a police department is doing a good job when we look at our statistics we're not profit oriented, there is no bottom line when you say at the end of the year we've been a success because we've turned a profit. In the police community I don't know what constitutes a success, I don't know that anyone does (13).

I think policing is different than a business. BC Tel. is a commercial business and if they don't make a profit they'll be shut down whereas ourselves, our measures in the quality of service and if we're not providing a reasonable level of service someone is going to have my job and I

think we have to be able to explain to council and whoever our clients are that we're providing the best possible service we can with the resources they give us. So I can see that we're unique in the sense that there isn't a bottom line in terms of profit (14).

One final difference which was cited by five (26%) of the OIC's in the study was the unique para-military structure of the RCMP which made it distinct from other bureaucracies:

In the Mounted Police we're still very directive oriented and people respond to directives, we're para-military and if I go out into the front office and see one of my staff with hair too long I would tell him go get a hair cut, I could tell him, I could ask him whatever my style is, the bottom line is he'd get a hair cut pretty quick, so we're really directive and membership are responsive to direction (22).

Well it's unique because we still are basically a para-military organization, we work under the premise of the discipline code, we probably have more sanctions that we can utilize that are against members than you would in private industry (15).

Oh it's unique because any police department is a para-military organization and they have a very strict discipline procedure and that means that you can order people under pain of discipline to do things, which is not the same in any other corporation or bureaucracy (31).

The paramilitary structure of policing was recognised by the OIC's but not the chief constables as a unique feature of their organizations. This distinction could suggest that independent police departments are now moving away from the paramilitary structure, as advocated by proponents of community policing and therefore chief constables no longer identify their departments as having these characteristics.

In contrast OIC's, who belong to a much larger hierarchical organization, readily acknowledged that the paramilitary structure of the RCMP makes their organization distinct from other bureaucracies.

While the police leaders in British Columbia could identify similarities to other private and public sector bureaucracies in the management and leadership of their own departments and detachments, they were also able to demonstrate a number of distinct differences. These chief constables and OIC's were responsible for police organizations of varying sizes with chief constables being solely accountable to the local municipality whilst RCMP OIC's report back to their subdivision, E Division and eventually headquarters in Ottawa. However, they were consistent in identifying three criteria which distinguished policing from other public and private sector bureaucracies, namely accountability, diversity in work load and performance/productivity measurement. OIC's also cited the para-military structure of the police organizations as a unique factor. These elements represent cultural characteristics and reinforcing agents that distance police management and leadership functions from the tasks performed by other C.E.O.s. These differences are important to acknowledge and address when considering the introduction of new management philosophies taken from the private sector and perhaps illustrate the need to tailor and adopt such

initiatives to account for the unique nature of policing. As acknowledged by on chief constable:

We in this police service are no different to anybody else inasmuch as police are para-military, then the structure of the organization is based on historical paramilitary factors. When you try to balance business concepts with military or para-military concepts they're often in conflict. So it's a matter of examining everything we do in the police service, seeing whether why we're doing what we're doing, whether it's cost effective and whether or not it requires change and the reality is that almost everything we do requires change (17).

Summary of Management and Administration Content Theme

The introduction of community policing implies a new style of policing: proactive as opposed to reactive, community as opposed to bureaucratic policing. Many principles and practices such as strategic planning have been taken from the private sector and applied to police organizations in North America and Europe, often in an effort to facilitate the introduction of community policing. The results of this research show that while police leaders in one Canadian province are able to identify similarities between their actual management and leadership role to that of other C.E.O.s the distinctive nature and function of police organizations makes them managers of unique bureaucracies. They may have more in common with C.E.O.s of other organizations than with the police officers they manage, but they neither perform police officer functions nor conventional management tasks. Although originally trained

as operational police officers they have through time moved away from the day to day aspects of policing to take on more managerial responsibility, but in doing so are tasked with managing an organization which is dissimilar to most others in both the private and public sector. The organizations they are asked to administer have a unique organizational culture. As this is the case, private sector management philosophies and practices need to be introduced with caution and adapted and tailored to fit police organizations. Failure to recognise the unique elements of policing when developing a strategic plan may well attribute to its limited success or failure later on.

Although police leaders cited the unique nature of their organizations, when asked to detail their biggest management or administrative problem they identified personnel, specifically the problem of 'non-performers' and of maintaining morale and motivation within their organizations. The problem of non-performers was more prevalent in the RCMP where compared to the chief constable, the OIC has more limited control over the staff who are assigned to his detachment. In addition, as was noted by more than one OIC for an unproductive member to be transferred a good appraisal is required, thus transferring the 'problem child' as one OIC referred to them, around. Despite the fact that the OIC's identified only two or three members in their detachments as non-performers or 'who

should be doing something else' the issue was raised by almost a fifth of the entire sample.

These personnel issues may not be that dissimilar to those experienced by CEO's in other organizations. The difference exists in the amount of preparation and training police leaders compared to other managers receive to enable them to cope with these personnel problems. Cooperating and communicating with the individuals within an organization is vital, it is particularly vital if you aim to change the nature of that organization.

Reiner's (1991) study of chief constables also asked respondents to identify their main management problem. Financial issues were cited as the main concern: 60% of respondents mentioned it. Respondents in Reiner's sample did not articulate problems of personnel management and control but rather recognised the limitations and problems of managing large bureaucracies. The issue of personnel management, which was mentioned by over 50% of respondents in this study as their main management and administrative problem, would therefore appear to be a concern of Canadian police leaders who, in contrast to the officers in Reiner's study, are responsible for managing smaller organizations. However it was the OIC's who identified the issue more frequently.

This point illustrates the necessity in understanding the size of the organization and its structure, as both these factors clearly have an affect on management and administration. The structure of the RCMP and the regular movement of staff, including the OIC contrasts to the independent police departments who in human resource terms have a more stable workforce. Theories of management and administration and of organizational culture and change need to be grounded in an analysis of the size and structure of the police agency under consideration.

Content Theme: The Change Process

The third content theme examined was the change process. As noted in Chapter 2, assessing the extent of organizational change is a difficult and complex process. To gain insight of the change that has characterised police organizations respondents were initially asked: The style of management in police organizations has said to have relaxed in recent years, do you agree? All 31 police leaders agreed with the statement. Although not asked as a specific question, many went on to provide information about when the change occurred. Eleven OIC's (no chief constables) thought it had started in the 1970s while four OIC's and four chiefs cited the 1980s.

In suggesting ways in which the police organization had changed a number of topics which, when placed within an organizational culture framework, could be grouped under the heading of reinforcing agents were mentioned. For example the movement away from the authoritarian and paramilitary structure of policing was cited. OIC's and the chief constables who had previously been members of the RCMP also mentioned the movement away from the 'old boy network', while the increased use of participatory management techniques which allowed police officers to have a greater input into the policies of the organization were also given as an illustration of the changing nature of the organization:

Very tough question. Said to have relaxed...I don't think that's recent years I think that's an evolution over time of better educated chiefs, if you like, different ways of achieving results, further removed from the para-military. i.e. after the war if you like there are a large number of returned men in the police organizations. Today you don't see the ribbons like you used to, there's odd one but generally you don't see it like you did in the early 50s when a lot of people were veterans. They brought with them a type of management if you like (02).

I think from a military style to a more -yes, yes it has...The strict authoritarian style has gone, and had to, the people we are recruiting now are no longer able to be motivated in that fashion, they're brighter than the people we had 20-25 years ago...I think it's been more of a gradual change over a period of years. The last real authoritarian types probably left the service, you know, five to ten years ago. Now that doesn't mean to say that there's not one or two around but by and large the system has changed (04).

It's still continuing to happen, I don't think it's universally happened, we still have some

police managers who are probably very autocratic and who are perhaps following the old school of 'my way or the high way' type of thing and not allowing for much input. But on the other hand I think you have a growing population of police managers who are much more democratic and receptive and using the team approach and instead of just saying do this and don't ask questions it becomes more a question of this is what we need you to do and here are the reasons why and it's more, much more the reasons why which I think is very important for the people who work with you to fully understand what you're doing and where you're proposing to go, it's recognition of their own skills and intellect that you don't just treat them like children, you treat them as participants and it's a participatory exercise and you can do it without still losing your command and control (20).

Probably started in the 1980s I would think where it became more participative rather than directed. I'm wondering, I never thought about that but some time when you didn't have to be appointed, in the RCMP anyway, when you didn't have appointed officers and you had a competition to get to the senior ranks that's just a thought, but that's about the time (J.S. When did that happen?) In the early eighties, it was an old boy network before, they used to say you were knighted, one day you were a sergeant or a staff sergeant, the next day you couldn't play cards with anybody anymore because you were commissioned (25).

Ironically the elements which these police leaders felt had changed over the recent past, specifically the paramilitary structure and the old boy network, were exactly the elements cited by the Commission of Inquiry on Policing in BC (Oppal, 1994) as dominating the organizational structure of policing in BC. This irony illustrates that while those internal to the organization believe it has changed, those external to it do not.

The reduction in saluting was seen by respondents as a barometer of how the organization had changed and in organizational culture terms may be regarded as an organizational symbol the demise of which illustrates organizational change. The decline of the salute was told as an organizational story. Organizational stories communicate meanings metaphorically (Ott, 1989). The salute stories illustrated below are examples of how police leaders have recognised organizational change:

You bet, I agree, I agree it certainly has, saluting and all the other things have relaxed...I really think it started in the Eighties almost, but it could have started in the Seventies. I'm thinking of _____ of course as that's where I was, God that was a pompous place when I joined there, salute this salute that, don't move until you're told to move, tremendous change now and I think it was the early eighties, maybe it was the seventies (07).

I think the para-military aspect has gone out of it, if that's what some of them are referring to. For example when I started in _____ you daren't walk by an officer, that's anyone in a white shirt, without saluting, you just didn't. Now nobody does (10).

I think 5 years ago if you were brought in this door you would not be brought in by my secretary, you'd have been brought in by an RCMP member and he would have stood to attention and saluted me and introduced you to me and he'd have called you maam and me sir, so it has relaxed (25).

At one point when you saw a commissioned officer the first thing you did was salute, well rarely now do I get a salute, and quite frankly I don't know what to do I go oh, well, ok, but I don't really look for it, I don't really need it and I don't really want it. What I want is respect...I think the thing that I would value most would be the professional respect of both my peers and my subordinates, not a forced respect of yes sir, no

sir and saluting and standing to attention, this kind of stuff (22).

In addition to the salute, the introduction of better qualified recruits who were willing to question policies and have an input in the decision making process of the organization was attributed to the changing nature of police organizations and again is a reinforcing agent illustrating organizational change:

I think it's becoming more relaxed now because over the last 10 or 15 years the people that we're hiring are much more qualified, maybe not as policemen, I won't argue that but just as people, better educated, better life experience and will turn around once in a while and ask you why you are doing it that way, which is really good because a lot of questions need to be asked because we are a traditional, conservative organization to try to change and crack (15).

What I'm saying is that I see the need for assertive management in a police organization, not to the degree that it was years ago, and I think it's participatory management as well, you get in put from subordinates, you listen to subordinates and you receive their in put, not the dictatorship that it was years ago. When I joined for example nobody would ever ask for your opinion, or cared for your opinion, you were better off keeping your opinion to yourself. Nowadays that's not the case, by the same token there's still a need for assertive management style...we probably do a much better job because we don't hesitate to ask the grass roots employee how it is from their perspective, and we didn't have the benefit of that advice and that experience years ago because we would never have asked them, we just took it, they were more or less told to do it this way whether they liked it or not and nowadays we go to them and seek their input and suggestions (28).

We're getting a much more highly educated member now...and with their credentials I think they've bought about a changing style and I think a rather happy marriage of the old and the new. They've taken the best of both worlds. There are still

exceptions out there, there are still some who are leaders of the old school, but they'll be phased out (20).

As well as the decline in the paramilitary structure, demise of the salute, the increased educational standards of police officers and the participatory management style referred to by chiefs and OIC's as indicators of change, RCMP members also highlighted other examples of change unique to the RCMP. In organizational culture terms these examples illustrate stories and legends exceptional to members of that organization. For example, three OIC's cited the way that police officers could not be married until they had been in the organization five years as a policy of the old school, two mentioned having to wear the serge to attend court, while a further three provided stories of the long hours they worked without compensation when they first joined the force. OIC's also recalled how they never questioned rules or policies, nor were asked for their opinion and lived in fear of commanding officers:

Management was management by fear I suppose and we weren't like the other people today. We didn't have a mind of our own. We obeyed and we did the job, like we used to work 15-16 hours a day for the first few years I was in the force...and we weren't paid overtime for that or given time off (26).

You didn't know anything about the organization and one of the weaknesses of the Mounted Police was people never told you about it either, so you didn't really know how much potential you had and you didn't know much about those other jobs and those people who came out in uniforms you didn't see them very often and when you did you sort of held them in awe and you wondered about it (22).

When I joined the force we only spoke to an officer when we stood to attention and we seldom, we never spoke to an officer unless spoken to and only over a matter that he wanted to speak to us with (25).

These examples demonstrate the changing culture of the police organization and provide illustrations of how certain reinforcing agents are seen by organizational members as manifestations of this change. While commentators external to the organization may regard some of these examples as small components of change, for organizational members who have been brought up in the environment where saluting, for example, was the norm, this development does signify change. No organization is static: change is inevitable over time, the question to be asked is whether developments cited by respondents represent incremental or transformational change and whether they do represent a change in the culture of the organization.

After gaining the above information respondents were then asked whether they thought that management within the police service should become more relaxed. Table 8.8 summarises the responses:

TABLE 8.8

PERCEPTIONS ON WHETHER THE MANAGEMENT OF POLICE ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE MORE RELAXED

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	8	66%	5	26%	13	42%
No	2	17%	9	47%	11	35%
Depends	2	17%	3	16%	5	16%
Don't know	0	0%	2	11%	2	6%
TOTAL	12	100%	19	100%	31	100%

These findings clearly illustrate that it was the chief constables, not the OIC's who supported an opening up of their organizations, however in supporting change there was still the acknowledgment of the risks involved:

Yes. I think we're paying our police officers good money and if we've done our homework right we've selected bright articulate people, we've entrusted them with the things we've been entrusted with then we better start taking chances with them. And that means the ultimate in discretion and decisions. At the same time there's a risk there and we can't criticise and I know that's tough to do in a police department but I'd like to see more of it personally and most police chiefs I would think, like hands on and control and that's consistent as that's what they grew up under, but again we have to back off, including myself (05).

I think we should keep walking down the road that we are. Whether relaxed is the right term. When you talk about relaxed I think what does it mean and we are paying today's constables - men and women \$50,000 a year to police people. We should

be using the skills they picked up in life before they came into the police service and the training and the experiences we have given them, we should be using that to our advantage and not inhibiting it. I think police services have tended to inhibit the creativity, ingenuity and ideas of the lower ranks (11).

While some respondents supported the more relaxed style they were also aware of the need for leadership and authority especially in operational situations and therefore were cautious in advocating change:

I think it's a real motivator when you pass on that decision making to lower ranks. However, having said that in policing I think we have to be para-military in structure because the fact is there are times when someone just has to call the shots. And in the heat of the battle, so to speak, we can't have an officer questioning commands they simply have to act, and you've been in the police field so you know what I'm talking about, I'm referring to operational situations, but that doesn't mean that that style of management has to permeate the organization or to exist in planning, I think that's just in, for instance, emergency response teams, operations, these guys know, I mean, they simply have to follow. And that's why I think you have to maintain a para-military type rank structure. I mean I'm not opposed to flattening the structure and reducing some senior ranks provided that we still have the ability to take charge given those certain circumstances (03).

I've mentioned the word para-military and I suppose we're less para military today than we were 20 years ago - we are, but you know even in private industry you're the boss, you're Mr Smith, I happen to be Superintendent _____ because I'm in the RCMP, so I think you can relax only up to a certain point and you still have to have your authority figures in an organization and you still have to have your decision makers and people who carry that authority. If we get too wishy washy on this and pretty soon - whose got a hand on the tiller, you know and someone's always got to have a hand on a tiller if things are to go straight,

and maybe that's good, maybe the boat shouldn't always go straight, I don't know...(19)

Nine OIC's compared to two chief constables argued that police organizations should not adopt a more relaxed management style. As illustrated by Burnes (1992) most managers have been trained to work in organizations whose structures and cultures still owe a debt to the work of Taylor and Classical theorists. This is evident within the RCMP. As a result OIC's, while recognising the need for change are reluctant to provide their staff with the additional flexibility and autonomy. In justifying the need for authority the inability to make decisions coupled with the control of staff were cited most often as reasons why a more open style would be detrimental:

You are hired into a very unique occupation and there are expectations on both sides, mine and the general public that you're going to hold the line and the moral fibre of society and every time you don't you let the side down. And if upper management doesn't recognise that and slam a few people I don't want to be here in 5 year's time (13).

No, I think that the lines of communication can be open but I think if they relax too much, I'm not sure that too many people wouldn't take advantage of some of the rules and regulations with a result that it wouldn't be acceptable to the public, as they expect us to set a high standard in my view (23).

I would like to think that it has already turned around and that we're starting to tighten up, but the discipline was certainly much stronger 15 to 20 years ago than it is now and it's certainly tighter than let's say late 70's and early 80's (J.S. Why has the pendulum swung back?) I don't think that anything stays static for very long but addressing that specifically I think we had to

become a little tighter simply because it wasn't acceptable the way it was when we became our most liberal (J.S. It wasn't acceptable to whom?). Well, I don't think the members were comfortable with it, certainly management, I think a certain level of discipline is necessary or else the job isn't going to get done as well as it should be. When certain standards are expected people have a habit of living up to those standards and when there are no standards I think there are some people that can really relax as to the standards or the job that they're doing (26).

First of all you have to have a leadership, because you have, what's the buzz word, no rudder on your ship, or whatever you want to use. If you don't have leadership it just doesn't work for with diversity of opinions. Like my people, if I throw my organization a task, I will have such a diversity of opinions that I may not get a decision (02).

These responses illustrate a cultural change dilemma. Both the chiefs and OIC's in this study were ones who had been fully indoctrinated with the traditional police culture which has (and does) govern their ways of thinking. Change in the form of community policing requires them to adopt a whole new philosophy and while they may be aware of the benefits, the shift to the new style which is alien to what they have traditionally done, is painful. Those who are in the best position to change culture are also ones who are most likely to be inculcated with old ways and attitudes (Burnes, 1992) and therefore not totally supportive of it.

Respondents cited the decline of autocratic, paramilitary model of policing, the demise of the salute and the recruitment of a more educated police officer who is

encouraged to take part in the participatory management process as reinforcing agents that illustrate the change process within police organization. Forty-seven percent (nine) of OIC's compared to 17% (two) of chief constables were reluctant to continue this process stressing the need for discipline and control, while 66% (eight) of chief constables compared to 26% (five) of OIC's believed management should become more relaxed.

The OIC's, although leaders of their detachments, still have a considerable weight of RCMP hierarchy above them. Their concern over the relaxation of discipline and control could be explained by their fear that if a subordinate acted out of line they would not only have to reprimand that individual but may be reprimanded themselves by their commanding officers. This concern does not exist to the same extent for chief constables.

Content Themes: The Change Process and Management and Administration.

To gain examples of the change process information on the policies and practices introduced by police leaders were sought. Table 8.9 provides a breakdown of the responses and illustrates that there was no distinctive movement towards the implementation of either community policing initiatives (e.g., consultative committees, mini stations, bike cops, participatory management) or organizational/administrative

ones (e.g., streamlining paperwork policies and procedures, office reorganization, computerization)⁵:

TABLE 8.9

CHANGES AND INITIATIVES INTRODUCED WHEN APPOINTED TO CHIEF/OIC

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Organizational/ Administrative	1	8%	4	21%	5	16%
Community Policing initiatives	2	17%	4	21%	6	19%
Mixture of CP and organizational	4	33%	6	32%	10	32%
Few CP, mainly organizational	4	33%	2	11%	6	19%
Few organizational, mainly CP	1	8%	3	16%	4	13%
TOTAL	12	100	19	100%	31	100%

When asked what plans the chiefs/OIC's had for future initiatives six (19%) stressed organizational and administrative change while 13 (42%) stated community policing initiatives, indicating a movement towards the community policing philosophy. However, these initiatives

5. Although the OIC is not able to introduce change in policies and procedures that affect his relationship with the subdivision, he is able to undertake administrative changes which affect the administration of the detachment. If such changes are deemed to be detrimental to the RCMP then these are identified when audits are conducted.

tended to be programs and initiatives added on to the existing organizational structure, and did not include fundamental change. Sixty-one percent of respondents claimed that their existing initiatives had been successful while 23% stated that the success had not been to the desired extent or that some schemes had been more successful than others (16% of respondents did not respond having not had time to evaluate their initiatives). The sample was asked to provide details of the limitations they found in initiating change, Table 8.10 provides a breakdown of the responses:

TABLE 8.10.
THE LIMITATIONS OF CHANGE

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Resources	4	33%	3	16%	7	23%
Middle management/ watch commanders	1	8%	5	26%	6	19%
Staff resistance	2	17%	5	26%	7	23%
None	2	17%	1	5%	3	10%
Other	1	8%	2	11%	3	10%
No response	2	17%	3	16%	5	16%
TOTAL	12	100%	19	100%	31	100%

The data presented in Table 8.10 illustrates that while the chief constables felt their biggest barrier to change was

resources, (particularly financial resources) for the OIC's it was personnel. Five OIC's remarked on staff resistance generally while a further five cited middle managers and watch commanders as the limitation to effective policy and program introduction, therefore 53% of the O.I.C's compared to 25% of the chief constables cited overall staff resistance to be a limitation to effective change.

The problem of encouraging middle management to accept organizational change is an issue that has been identified in the organizational culture and change literature and is not unique to police agencies. However, the distinct nature of policing and its recognised unique rank and file subculture add further complications to the organizational change equation.

The quantitative data illustrates it is the OIC's who are more likely to face personnel problems which act as a mechanism that prevents change. These barriers are not coming from above them in the organizational hierarchy but from those beneath them:

When I first got here I had four watch commanders sit down and tell me that this was like a nice subdivision and I was the OC and each one of them was a mini detachment commander and what went with that is that I couldn't really do anything with their watch, unless they agreed with it. I changed that and everyone began to realise that there was only one detachment commander and changes would be made based on their input, but it would be my decision not theirs (22).

There is resistance and you know I go back to watch commanders, if you don't have their support you're sunk in these detachments that have watch commander systems. If they're not on your side then you're in trouble. (J.S. And were they on your side?) Not always no, but one or two staff we've had moved, transferred, they'd been here a long time and they were just really in a rut and they can influence a number of other people and the way that they think things should be done - it's been like this for ten years who the hell does he think he is, why's he changing it (16).

Like I think bicycles are a good idea, I couldn't get my gang to buy into it at all, they saw that if you're going to get four officers on bikes it would take away from their watch systems, they lose a man and they don't gain anything. So we snuk two in and put them in _____ and _____, now there's guys lined up at the front desk and at my door trying to get on the bike program (15).

These findings reflect those presented above, when the content themes of community policing and resistance to change were discussed and when police leaders were asked to articulate their main management/administrative problems. Within those sections respondents stated their biggest problems in undertaking their duties is personnel, frequently citing mid-level management as a barrier to effective change. It would appear that municipal police leaders regard the issue as human resource management the most difficult of their tasks and a significant problem for the introduction of change. The responses received to a number of questions in addition to the views expressed throughout the interview process, illustrate that police leaders needed guidance and training in the management of personnel. Two respondents articulated the need for

management and administrative skills training during the course of the interviews by stressing the failings of current police training practices:

The Canadian Police College have got to think about the guy when he finishes recruit training, what leadership qualities has he got and how they should start to develop them, so should the organization. They don't you know it's all operational stuff then when you jump into a management job you've got to be a manager overnight (24).

You can't take someone whose been working as a policeman for 10 or 15 or 20 years and put him in charge of a ten million dollar budget without any training...We have to look at this as a company with 50 employees a 5 million dollar budget, responsible to share holders. Traditional police training doesn't gear people up to that.. There's a big transition from operational police work to administration (19).

Summary of the Change Process Content Theme.

In answering questions on management, administration and change the police leaders were unanimous in agreeing that over the last twenty years the management of police organizations has relaxed, however, the OIC's were more reluctant to endorse a continuation of this trend than their counterparts in municipal police departments were believing that standards would fall, advantages would be taken and that leadership was vital for the smooth administration of policing. In discussing the barriers to change the OIC's recognised problems of resistance by police officers within their own organization to a greater extent than did the

chief constables, who were more likely to cite resource limitations.

Content Theme: The RCMP Subculture

The data presented so far has shown certain divisions between the sample of chief constables and OIC's. Although the content theme of the RCMP subculture was not developed *a priori* (unlike the other three content themes) through out the ongoing analysis of data it evolved.

The presentation of findings illustrated a number of differences between chief constables and OIC's. These can be listed as:

Biographical Data

1. OIC's showed an earlier commitment to policing and specifically the RCMP as a career.
2. OIC's identified a mentor within the organization who was influential in their career development.

Community Policing Content Theme

3. OIC's were more likely to recognise a conflict of interest between community and traditional policing.
4. OIC's were more likely to recognise their police officers as traditional response to call officers than community police officers.

Management and Administration Content Theme

5. OIC's cited personnel problems and specifically the problems of middle management when discussing their primary

concerns, issues which were also introduced when discussing organizational change.

6. In discussing similarities and differences with private sector agencies, OIC's were more prone to recognise the para-military structure of their organization than were their counterparts in independent police departments.

The Change Process Content Theme

7. OIC's were less willing to endorse an opening up of their agency.

These examples are all tangible, quantifiable differences between two types of police agencies and illustrate two distinct subcultures within the overall police leadership culture. Additional data were collected throughout the fieldwork period which provided examples of the RCMP subculture and illustrates how it is distinctive from independent police departments in BC. As mentioned above, 74% of the sample were either RCMP officers or had over 20 years' experience with the RCMP.

As detailed in chapter five, the hierarchical structure of the RCMP and the fact that it is a federal force implies that it has distinctive characteristics which define its organizational culture. The point of this next section is to describe some of these characteristics as derived from the interviews with the OIC's, and provide further evidence of the subculture of this organization. This information helps

to interpret some of the differences received to the other content themes. The distinguishing characteristics can be grouped under the headings of Pride for the RCMP, Bureaucracy and Transfers.

Pride for the RCMP

During the course of the interviews many OIC's expressed an immense pride for the RCMP, indicating a strong value culture within the organization. A comparable pride was not discernible in the information received from chief constables, who while obviously committed to the police service, did not exhibit the same sentiments. The following quotes illustrate this point:

You'll find it throughout the RCMP the strength and dedication which these guys have and the loyalty that they have. This is not just a job, it's still a family, a way of life (25).

I think there is still that 'esprit de corp' in the force which does tend to make members want to do better than say someone in private industry, just because you are representing an organization that you're terribly proud of (J.S. Do you think that still exists?) Yes I do, I do (26).

We run a tremendous organization, it's always been a tremendous organization (27).

Commitment to the organization therefore appeared stronger from RCMP members, and there was the impression that they saw themselves as the superior police agency in areas of recruitment, training and service delivery. This pride has been interpreted by others as a strong allegiance to the

organization (Oppal, 1994). The fact that one OIC referred to the force as a 'family' fits well with some of the OIC's identification of a mentor within the organization who was instrumental to their career development. This allegiance and pride towards the organization was not evident amongst chief constables. However, while this pride was demonstrated through the course of the interview RCMP members were also willing to be critical of the organization they felt strong allegiance to.

Bureaucracy

The problems of size and the bureaucratic structure of the organization was mentioned by OIC's on numerous occasions. The fact that they were the commanding officers of a detachment but frequently had to report and receive information from three administrative levels, (subdivision, E Division and Headquarters in Ottawa), a process which required a great deal of paperwork, was frequently mentioned by respondents.

The organizational culture literature draws attention to organizational symbols which are tangible forms of organizational culture. All interviews were conducted in the OIC's office. In this office two organizational symbols were consistently evident making it distinctive from the office of a chief constable: a picture of the Queen and blue RCMP Policy manuals. The reception areas of the detachment were

also characterised by two symbols, again a picture of the Queen (and in certain detachments as many as five pictures of Her Majesty at various stages of her life could be seen from the front office) and the bilingual community policing mission statement of the force. These symbols have been termed "authority symbols" and suggest meanings of legitimacy, authority and control and contrast with "service symbols" such as magazines, plants and artwork which convey meanings of warmth (Goodsell, 1977). The message conveyed in RCMP officers is one of authority.

As mentioned, written documentation was a particular headache to the OIC's. Policy and procedure documents are sent to all detachments in the form of unit supplements which are then filed in the blue manuals, copies of which are kept in the OIC's office. As one OIC explained it:

Unit supplements is what we call them. Pink sheets. Each different level has a different colour, HQ is white, E Division HQ is green and subdivision are yellow and ours is pink - bureaucratic bullshit (24).

Repeated concern was expressed over the bureaucratic nature of the force and the extent of paperwork, a concern that was not mirrored by the chief constables:

I sometimes wonder why there are any trees left in Canada because it seems to be all made into paper for the RCMP, because we do have a preponderance of paper and everything does have to be documented. Virtually everything we do in this

organization is regulated by policy both operationally and administratively (18).

There is no way in the world that I can or the guys out there can keep up with this and they keep amending and amending and you can't keep up with the amendments. Then of course I go and make pink ones of the green ones to tell them what happens locally and I've just got to the point that I tell our people policework is common sense...nobody, nobody can make a decision off of these things because there are so many of them (21).

I know there has to be paper but, when I was younger the rule book was this big, now it's five times that size full of procedures you can't do this or that then you have to do this and that. Paper work comes from E division, the courts, internally. It's a bureaucratic nightmare and we're worse than most government agencies (25).

These blue policy and procedure manuals and the white, pink, green and yellow papers that they contain are artifacts which illustrate the culture of the RCMP as highly regimented, controlled and bureaucratic. This culture has been established over a long period of time, has become entrenched and established, is pervasive and as such difficult to influence or change.

OIC's articulated that they found a number of policies ill-informed and the procedure of distributing directives very costly:

You know we got people who send out the green sheets, you've probably heard about the green sheets, you got green sheets out on aboriginal policing and you have to wonder whether the guy who wrote it had ever seen an Indian you know, we have a lot of dribble that comes out of there. And you figure how much it costs for posting and for posting the envelopes and they go to every detachment and subdivision and division in Canada and I say gee I'd really like gas for my car (21).

Some of the antagonism was directed at the subdivision or divisional level but most was voiced at headquarters in Ottawa who they regarded as detached from operational policing and unfamiliar with the policing priorities of BC:

You probably will see very few people who have done Lower Mainland work at the top of the organization, it's not there, I don't see it happening, well _____ who was our commissioner before had worked at _____ for a year - this is dog work out here, they don't want to bother with this kind of stuff or it gets in your face and interrupts your career and it gets you in shit too (15).

I mean we have to go all the way to Ottawa to get approval on certain things. Well why the hell are they paying me over \$70,000 a year to sit here. Train me how to do it and go tell me to go out and do it, if I don't do it right then hold me accountable. There should be more delegation of these things down and I don't see the bureaucratic structure aligns itself well to addressing the needs of policing (22).

I think the RCMP is the worst of any police department you'll find for that the worst for trying to control power and authority at a more higher level...Another thing that they control is our major programs, they control the final say in what program we will finally implement to fight crime in this community. We have certain mandated programs that they are saying we must have which is sometimes totally ineffectual in this community, but because Ottawa says they're going to fund these we're expected to take up on those programs (14).

This last quote illustrates the lack of autonomy that OIC's have. Their ability to influence organizational change is limited by the hierarchical structure of the RCMP organization and the desire to control from the top. During the course of the interview resentment towards headquarters

in Ottawa was articulated. Specific antagonism was expressed at policies and procedures developed in Ottawa without any input from the detachment level or operational police officer level:

And then they start promoting these people who have only worked at Federal level and C division to senior ranks and then they start to tell me how I should conduct my operations here in _____, never having been having faced with having to do the job in the first place. How can anyone sit there and pontificate to me about how I should be doing my policing when they've never had hands on experience is beyond me, it's like telling someone that as long as they've read the book they can instruct the doctor how to do brain surgery (22).

We still have a very strong hierarchy in Ottawa. For instance the officer in charge of the detachment is appointed there by the Commissioner in Ottawa. The city of _____ that pays 8.5 million dollars for policing has absolutely no say whatsoever in that appointment, so that hierarchy is a very strong hierarchy and they have to decentralize. They have to give some of the powers that they're holding on at least out to the provincial level, the training, the planning, the decision making, these type of things so they've got to decentralize that (21).

That's exactly what I'm saying about the directives that come out of Ottawa, it's not just coming from people of French extraction but people who come down there and have never done a day's bloody policing in their life and yet here they are writing this great mountain of bloody policy which has nothing to do with the reality of how policing gets done (25).

In describing the RCMP bureaucratic structure one OIC saw it as a pyramid upside down:

What the mounted police is is you've got a pyramid upside down, the little pointy part that's the guy who does the work and all the rest of the pyramid are the people that support him. You've got an

awful lot of people sitting within Ottawa and BC to administer this little office here (13).

The characteristic interpretation of how the OIC's in the study viewed the headquarters in Ottawa however was probably best articulated by an OIC in one of the final interviews:

And the sad thing is there's a number of people you're working with who have been there most of their careers and they really don't have a concept of what policing is all about. Pardon me while I look in my filing cabinet.. (goes to garbage bin)...it was one of those little things I have on my calendar, my son gave it to me and I sort of laughed at it but I brought it to my office last Christmas and how pertinent it was and of course you can never find it, here it is, when we talk of Ottawa this is what it says, by Atilla and Atilla must have been a constable of the Mounted Police because it says: "It is unfortunate when the final decisions are made when Chiefs are headquartered miles away from the front where they can only guess at conditions and potentialities known only to the captain on the battle field" and I thought hey, that's exactly it (30).

These views illustrate the desire felt by the OIC's to have more autonomy and control of their own detachments. As previously shown the size of the organization influences its ability to change. The headquarters of the RCMP are over 3,000 miles away from most of the BC detachments. Many of the directives which are sent from Ottawa relate to provincial policing and may not be directly relevant to the municipal OIC. Similarly policies advocating organizational change which have been developed away from the detachment level by those who are divorced from operational police

matters may be greeted with skepticism and doubt by those working on the ground.

While there were complaints voiced against the bureaucracy examples were also given of the ways the OIC had managed to work around the hierarchy, illustrating that despite the organizational limitations it was possible to have some autonomy. However this autonomy was more a form of bending rules than a contravention of force policy:

There are a lot of things here operate independently and we don't tell them about and it's not purposeful or anything like that it's just easier. I don't know anything that's running totally absolutely contrary to the principles of policing, there may be some that are contrary to some obscure policy some place and I take the heat for that at audit time (15).

I don't know whether you know the commissioner has a program here where we're supposed to have these community consultative groups, I think it's a waste of time and I've never set one up here but I have to follow the commissioner's policy so I changed it a bit (19).

This admission represents an inherent contradiction which was found amongst many of the OIC's: a contradiction between their extreme pride and love of the RCMP countered against their criticisms and concerns over administration practices which dictate hierarchical control and award little autonomy to the local commanding officer. These contradictions may have always been present within the organization, but are being increasingly recognised now as the organization tries to implement community policing. The OIC's displayed both

considerable allegiance and devotion to the organization while at the same time recognising its limitations.

Transfers.

The policy of transfers, whereby members are moved after a period of approximately three years in one location, is something unique to the RCMP and as illustrated above is regarded as detrimental to community policing. During the course of the interviews it soon became apparent that certain locations (Prince Rupert being the one most frequently cited⁶) were undesirable. In organizational culture terms organizational jargon concentrates meaning into a few words that do not mean the same thing in the language of the organization as they do in every day English (Ott, 1989). Prince Rupert was the organizational jargon used to illustrate an undesirable location:

I have never had anyone write to me a letter saying I want to leave, now if this was Prince Rupert (13).

Some of them are rather suspicious, they figure this is their pre-transfer news - You're going to love it in Prince Rupert (14).

Now this will get me in Tuktoyaktuk for sure. (J.S. This will get you what?) Get me sent north (29).

Why would anyone want to go from Kelowna to Prince Rupert up north (24).

6. As Prince Rupert was mentioned so frequently during the course of the interviews and has also been referenced in the same way during other discussions with police officers it was not felt necessary to provide a pseudonym.

The transfer policy was therefore seen as a disciplinary measure:

This organization has a wonderful tool in the way as a transfer and when you're in a nice location and if you're not pulling your load they either deal with it in one of two ways, either through performance discipline or transfer (17).

This use of a good appraisal for the removal of an unproductive worker is not unique to the RCMP and has been identified in other organizations (Longenecker et al., 1987). As illustrated previously the transfer policy was regarded as a disunity to the RCMP and as counterproductive to the community policing philosophy:

The Mounted Police approach has been to keep people moving and so that they don't know their place and so that they can stay apart from the people and therefore not be influenced by friendships. It's been a plan for a hundred years, I think at one time it might have worked but I don't think it does now. You can't have it both ways, you can't keep people moving and hope that they'll be part of the community policing process (15).

I think the biggest disunity in our organization is the fact that we do transfer, I think it's healthy in terms of organizational needs but I don't think it's very healthy in terms of the personal needs (18).

We have to be much more open with the public to where the public are open to talk with my members and don't hesitate to drop into our office so that they have a good feeling of law enforcement, that it is their police force and that's difficult always to get when you're in a Mounted Police contract because of our transfers. People don't tend to warm up to them very much and they talk to me about it and say well, I just get to know them

and they're gone. And yet I also don't advocate that we extend our posting here any longer (30).

With increasing financial cutbacks the transfer of staff is not occurring as frequently as it did in the past, nonetheless it is still a fundamental characteristic of the RCMP. If the RCMP is serious about implementing community policing it needs to pay specific attention to the transfer policy and explore how this does and will affect the introduction of community policing.

Summary of the RCMP Subculture Content Theme

In summary the main distinguishing characteristics of the RCMP were found in the comments by the OIC's which stressed a pride for the organization, the bureaucratic nature of the force, (illustrated by the amount of paperwork and the hierarchy with headquarters over 3,000 miles away in Ottawa) and the policy of transfers, which while providing a distinguishing characteristic acts as an element of disunity. The bureaucracy evidenced by the paperwork and policy manuals and the transfer procedures act as reinforcing agents to the RCMP subculture and make it distinguishable from other independent police departments. These distinguishing characteristics coupled with others that were introduced when the other content themes were explored illustrate the subculture of the RCMP. It is impossible to argue however that this subculture is indicative of all RCMP detachments across Canada, but rather

is one that has been identified from interviews of the OIC's in municipal police detachments in BC. The data does illustrate that there are differences between the subcultures of independent chief constables and municipal OIC's, illustrating that municipal police leadership in BC cannot be treated as a homogeneous entity. It is not only the organizational structures which make them different, but the artifacts within them and the beliefs and attitudes of the individuals who are responsible for them.

The RCMP exists as a huge bureaucracy and so suffers from many of the limitations recognised as affecting similar bureaucracies. Morgan (1986) lists these limitations as being: a resistance to change; a mindless unquestioning bureaucratic structure; a tendency for the interests of those working in the organization to take precedence over the goals of the organization and; a dehumanizing effect on employees. These limitations have been identified to a greater or lesser extent in this study and by others:

Adoption of a new model of policing poses problems for the RCMP, because it would require a shift from central to local alliances, from hierarchical control to member autonomy, from adherence to organizational objectives to a commitment to local interests. The RCMP is attempting to make this transition but is hindered by its own history, rhetoric and practices (Oppal, 1994).

Conclusions

This chapter has provided biographical data on the chief constables and OIC's of municipal police departments and detachments in British Columbia and illustrated that there is a high level of consistency within this group. It went on to discuss the content theme of community policing and showed that while there was overall support for the community policing philosophy, respondents were quick to acknowledge the problems of introducing community policing policies and practices within their own organizations, citing specifically resources, resistance to change from police officers and for the OIC's the organizational structure of the RCMP.

The second content theme examined was the management and administration problems faced by the respondents. It was found that police leaders saw themselves as managers of police organizations not police officers and that personnel issues were the overriding management concern. The third content theme of the change process again cited personnel issues as a barrier to change. The fourth content theme of the RCMP subculture showed it to be characterised as bureaucratic, hierarchical with a unique transfer policy and a distinctive subculture.

The key findings of this research can be summarised under the identified content themes headings:

Content Theme: Community Policing

1. Police leaders are supportive of the community policing philosophy and believe it is the way police agencies should develop in the 1990's.
2. They defined community policing as a philosophy but provided a narrower definition than that advanced in the academic literature.
3. They recognised a conflict between tradition and community policing practices.
4. They identified resistance from the police subculture to community policing.
5. Overall they did not see their police officers as community police officers.

Content Themes: Community Policing and Management and Administration

6. Police leaders supported incremental as opposed to transformational change.
7. The existing heavy work load coupled with the contradiction in the role of law enforcement/service delivery were identified as problematic to the introduction of community policing.

Content Themes: Community Policing and Change

8. Resistance to community policing by older police officers was identified.

Content Theme: Community Policing and the RCMP

9. The transfer policy inhibits the development of community policing.

10. The size of the organizational together with reinforcing agents within the RCMP mitigate against the introduction of community policing.

Content Theme: Management and Administration

11. Personnel issues were the main management problem.

12. Poor performers within the organization were cited specifically.

13. Motivation of mid line managers was mentioned as a specific problem.

14. Respondents saw themselves as managers and leaders not police officers.

15. Accountability, diversity of workload and problems of performance evaluation were cited as the characteristics which distinguish policing from other bureaucracies.

Content Theme: The Change Process

16. The movement away from the paramilitary authoritarian structure, demise of the salute and increased educational qualifications of members were cited as reinforcing agents of organizational change.

17. Chief constables thought that the management of police organizations should be more relaxed, OIC's did not hold this view.

Content Themes: Change and Management and

Administration

18. Police leaders had introduced a mixture of community policing and management and administrative changes in the past but indicated that future plans were for community policing initiatives.

19. The biggest barriers to change for the OIC were personnel, (particularly mid-line managers) and resources for the chief constables.

Content Theme: The RCMP Subculture

20. In addition to attitudinal differences identified during the course of the research, three other characteristics were shown as unique to the OIC's in the study: pride for the RCMP, the transfer policy and the bureaucratic nature of the organization. This finding, coupled with the other differences cited above between the two groups of police leaders illustrate two police leader subcultures exist in BC.

The information presented in this chapter refers to one unique group of police officers and provides data on the thoughts and opinions of those at the top. The next chapter will seek to provide comparable information on those at the other end of the hierarchy.

CHAPTER 9

Police Officers Survey

Introduction

To gain comparative information about the introduction of community policing initiatives in municipal police agencies, police officers attending courses at the Justice Institute of British Columbia and the RCMP Fairmont Training academy were asked to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix IX).

As previously discussed, survey research is regarded as an inadequate tool to assess organizational culture but can aid in the understanding of organizational culture if used in conjunction with other methodologies. The aim of the police officer survey was not to provide definitive answers on the identified content themes, nor highly substantiated statements on organizational culture, but rather to be an exploratory study to indicate areas that required further analysis.

One hundred questionnaires were administered at each site, 88 were returned from the RCMP, 56 from the Justice Institute, illustrating a 72% response rate. Table 9.1 below shows the responses received from the various departments and detachments.

Thirty nine percent of the sample consisted of independent municipal police officers, 61% RCMP officers. This breakdown is similar to that of police leaders where chief constables made up 39% of the entire sample. No attempt was made to stratify the sample to reflect the number of police officers who work in each of the various police agencies in the province. However 59% of the independent police officers in the sample were from Vancouver, mirroring the 58% proportion who make up independent police officers in BC (Attorney General, 1993). Forty eight percent of police officers in BC are independent police officers (Attorney General, 1993), as mentioned 39% of the sample were. It is important to also note that some RCMP officers were employed at rural detachments or at E Division Headquarters in Vancouver and therefore not currently involved with municipal policing, however a number of them would have had past experience of municipal policing.

TABLE 9.1

NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES RECEIVED FROM POLICE DEPARTMENTS

Police Department	n	%
Vancouver	33	23%
New Westminster	1	1%
Delta	9	6%
Matsqui	2	1%
Victoria	4	3%
Saanich	2	1%
Port Moody	2	1%
West Vancouver	3	2%
RCMP Municipal	32	22%
RCMP Rural	22	15%
RCMP HQ	7	5%
RCMP Other	27	19%
TOTAL	144	(100)

As the police officer sample was small the results presented in this chapter must be treated with some caution. The categorisation of police officers into two groups (independent and RCMP) ignores many important biographical (e.g. age, sex, ethnicity) and organizational (e.g. size of department/detachment, rank, geographical location, structure) factors which undoubtedly influence opinions and beliefs. To reiterate, the police officers survey serves as a vehicle in which to contrast the views of police leaders, enhance the interpretation of organizational culture and change and illustrate areas for further study.

To ground the information received from the survey of police officers within a theoretical framework and to retain consistency in analysis, this chapter again draws upon the

content themes of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture. This data is then contrasted with that presented in the two previous chapters. As with the previous chapter, the aim of this chapter is not to offer an in depth analysis of the results of the police officers survey but to present the findings of the survey and to provide some preliminary analysis. The following chapter is dedicated to a full analysis and interpretation of the results. Initially it is necessary to detail the biographical data from the sample.

Biographical Data

Seventy-five percent of the sample were male with 118 respondents (82%) being at the rank of constable, a further 19 (13%) were corporals. Table 9.2 shows the length of time they had been in the police and illustrates that 55% of the independent municipal police officers had between one and two years' experience compared to 2% of RCMP members. This difference can be explained by the fact that the survey was administered to recruits in training at the Justice Institute. Recruits within the RCMP receive training in Regina, not Fairmont Academy which is responsible for the ongoing training of police officers in E Division.

Over 56% of all respondents had less than 5 years' policing experience, while 27% of RCMP officers had over 10 years. RCMP officers in the sample therefore tended to be older

with more experience than their counterparts in independent police departments.

Table 9.2
LENGTH OF POLICE SERVICE

Length of Service	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1 - 2 years	31	55%	2	2%	33	23%
2 - 5 years	14	24%	34	39%	48	33%
5 - 10 years	5	9%	16	18%	21	15%
over 10 years	5	9%	34	39%	39	27%
no response	1	2%	2	2%	3	2%
TOTAL	56	100%	88	100%	144	100%

Seventy-six percent of respondents were under the age of 35, 33% of independent police officers compared to 11% of RCMP officers were under 25. Only 4% of the sample was in the 45-55 age range. At the time of completing the survey 112 (78%) respondents were employed as general duty/patrol officers, an additional 4% were in traffic and highway patrol sections while the remaining 18% were spread over a variety of other functions (e.g., property crime, airport, commercial crime, fraud, drugs).

Content Theme: Community Policing

The definitions derived from the analysis of the community policing literature in chapter four were again applied to the definitions advanced by police officers in the survey. To reiterate these definitions developed from the literature saw community policing as either: 1. A meaningless rhetorical term including every and any initiative. 2. A philosophy focusing on the police and community working together to influence the management and delivery of police services. 3. A particular crime prevention program. 4. A form of increased social control. 5. An imprecise notion, impossible to define. Table 4.1 presented a summary of this analysis and provides the theoretical framework to analyse the responses given by police officers when they were asked to define community policing.

One hundred and nine (76%) of respondents provided a definition which accords with the philosophy category. Like police leaders, a number mentioned the word partnership in defining their answers but did not stress organizational change preferring to see it as a philosophy which enhances and promotes a relationship between the police and the community. These findings are slightly more optimistic than those of the recent Commission of Inquiry of Policing in BC (Oppal, 1994) which found both RCMP and independent municipal officers were unfamiliar with the basic principles

of community policing¹. Nonetheless 11 (8%) defined community policing as a program or crime prevention initiative: a factor which has been identified in similar research (Murphy, 1994). In addition, 16 (11%) saw community policing as just a 'fad' and gave more cynical views when asked to provide a definition, views which could be placed in the first category recognising community policing as a rhetorical meaningless notion, but which also has elements of the last category which sees community policing as an imprecise theory. Examples of these rhetorical/imprecise definitions are as follows:

Getting back to the public - useless!!!

More paperwork.

More work and not getting credit for the job you're doing.

Spend more time with contributing, non offending segments of society to improve their poor perceptions of police. This will then decrease crime???

Absolutely nothing (what is it?)

Waste of time! We should concentrate on keeping the rats off the streets with all available members. Blockwatch can be done with a handout!

1. Comparative analysis needs to be conducted with caution as both studies could have been sampling using differing sampling frames. The actual methodology undertaken by the Oppal report is not available in the report itself. Upon reading the background research paper (Murphy, 1994) it is found that interviews conducted with 63 independent municipal police officers informed the findings.

During the course of the survey and in replying to other questions respondents expressed concern that they did not know and had not been informed what community policing is:

I'm unsure since I always hear the term but nobody is able to say exactly what it means.

Involving the community in taking responsibility for crime and participating in preventing crime. Not sure of the program.

I could better answer this question if I was aware of the system proposed.

NOTE. This survey seems to assume that I know something about community policing. I DO NOT.

Tell me the philosophy of it and what my expected role will be and maybe I'll be in a position to answer.

As per usual we are in 'the dark' without proper information. We know a change is forthcoming but what it is who knows!

These responses are particularly surprising as many RCMP officers must walk past these declarations daily as all RCMP detachments display the mission statement of the RCMP endorsing community policing in their reception areas. In addition the Vancouver police, whose officers made up 23% of the sample, also have a mission statement and corporate plan defining and outlining their commitment to community policing, while other police departments have corporate planning documents describing how the philosophy will be introduced. It would appear that there exists a breakdown in communication within the police agencies.

Some responses questioned the distinctiveness of the community policing philosophy and saw it as being 'old wine in new bottles':

I feel generally that we will be doing the same things.

Again it sounds reactionary to say one is against community based policing. The reality is however that everything we do is somehow based on the needs/wants of the community. I find it insulting that this current emphasis on community based policing somehow insinuates that our traditional methods ignored the community.

It means doing our job. Community policing is just a term which someone has made a big issue over. It has not affected me in my job. I still have a generally good positive contact with the public on a day to day basis.

The survey went on to ask whether the police officer supported the movement towards community policing and asked for justification of the responses. Table 9.3 lists the replies received and illustrates that 63% of independent police officers compared to 47% of RCMP members supported the change. Further analysis indicates no difference in the age of the respondents and the view held.

The figures presented in the table below must be treated with care. As mentioned above, the sample was small so the corresponding categorisation of responses results in low numbers within the response cells. This makes definitive statements about the relationship between variables dangerous. A larger sample may have produced different statistical results. Despite these limitations the results

do provide an indication of what may be occurring and grounds for continued research.

TABLE 9.3

DO YOU SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS COMMUNITY POLICING?

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	35	63%	41	47%	76	53%
no	1	2%	7	6%	8	6%
to a certain extent	20	36%	33	39%	53	39%
missing	0	0%	7	9%	7	5%
TOTAL	56	(100)	88	(100)	144	(100)

($\chi^2 = 31.06, p < .01, \chi^2 = 13.44, p < .01$)

When asked to justify these responses most supporters felt community policing was the better way to supply police services:

It's about time. We are too far removed practically and emotionally from the community - its needs - too much reactive - we need each other we are losing track of what we are really here for. It should reduce frustration on both sides.

As stated we MUST REDEFINE our role and response to an ever changing society. Our traditional role has led to nothing but frustration and feelings of alienation. Our bottom line may remain, but our philosophy and response must change.

Those that expressed limited support were concerned that resources would be deflected from traditional policing practices:

Members feel that less money will go to more members and equipment and more money go to something that sounds good when you say it.

The term community based policing is becoming a motherhood one. While it is touted as a panacea for all policing problems I really believe we already interact with the community to a great extent. Increased community based policing is going to have to draw resources from already overburdened sections.

Nothing. The IDEA is nice but impossible without money which = more men (which is needed for community policing). Sounds very good on paper but is a joke. We're way too busy.

Too much time is going into it and the general duty members are having to do a heavy workload to do the job that people doing community policing are now not doing.

Community based policing is the direction every police force would take if they had enough manpower. It would be a natural progression. The reason we are responsive as opposed to community based is because we only have enough manpower to respond to crime as it happens.

These views reflect a concern expressed by police leaders who were also cognisant of the problems of introducing new methods and initiating change when the existing workload was significant and has been recognised by others (Murphy, 1994). This was not the only similarity between the two groups as police officers also recognised the need for gradual incremental change, an issue identified by police leaders.

If it is implemented gradually in conjunction with education that involves explanation and supporting data. One cannot expect members to support a policy that is 'thrown' down upon the members by management saying "it works do it".

I believe it's forced on too fast. The transition period should take more time. You're asking 20 year veterans with only High School education to believe in something very nebulous!

As noted in the previous chapter, the lack of resources to undertake community policing and the need for incremental change were both issues identified by the police leaders in their discussions of the topic. Therefore the concerns expressed by police officers over the introduction of community policing accorded with those of police leaders.

The police officers survey went on to ask a question which had been posed to the chiefs/OIC's on whether there was a conflict of interest between traditional and community policing. Table 9.4 demonstrates their replies and illustrates little difference between the views of RCMP members and those of independent police organizations. There was also only a slight difference when these opinions were analysed against the age of the respondent, illustrating that age did not influence the police officers' views.

TABLE 9.4

PERCEPTIONS OF A CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN THE
TRADITIONAL CRIME CONTROL ROLE OF THE POLICE AND THE CURRENT
EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY POLICING

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	13	23%	21	24%	34	24%
No	25	45%	36	41%	61	42%
To a certain extent	11	20%	26	30%	37	26%
missing	7	13%	5	6%	12	8%
TOTAL	56	100%	88	100%	144	100%

These findings are again not dissimilar to those received from the Chiefs/OIC's (see Table 8.5) where 23% found there to be a conflict and 52% thought there was no conflict.

In justifying their responses, police officers expressed similar views to their managers (and the management and police subculture literature) in recognising the resistance to change from their own colleagues, especially the older ones:

I think there is always resistance to change, especially in a police department. I feel conflict could arise from this.

Younger members must tactfully have initiative to educate or set examples for traditional members.

Resistance to change by certain police members and community members.

I think the problem may be with police officers who have been brought up with the crime control model and are now being told to be community based officers. Although most police officers are flexible and practice community policing in some form or another.

Table 9.5 illustrates the answers received to the question which asked respondents to describe the police officers in their departments/detachments. It shows that members of the RCMP were slightly more likely to see their colleagues as traditional police officers as opposed to community police officers, however both groups did not see their colleagues to be community police officers. A more explicit interpretation would have been available if the sample had been larger. The results presented here provide an indication of views and highlight areas for further research.

Table 9.5

DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL POLICE OFFICERS

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Community police	2	4%	3	4%	5	4%
Traditional police	19	34%	35	40%	54	38%
A mixture	35	63%	49	56%	84	58%
Missing	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
TOTAL	56	100%	88	100%	144	100%

(Independent police officers = $(X^2 = 29.27, p < .01)$,
RCMP officers = $(X^2 = 38.34, p < .01)$).

Table 8.6 in the previous chapter details the police leaders response to this question. They too felt their police officers were not community police officers, however 74% of OIC's stated their subordinates were traditional operational police officers whereas 40% of RCMP members saw their colleagues as such. Police officers in general were more prone to see their colleagues as displaying a mixture of community and traditional policing methods than was the leadership.

The final question on community policing sought evidence of tangible community policing initiatives that police officers had witnessed in their own departments and detachments.

Table 9.6 details the findings and demonstrates that with the exception of consultative forums, which 58% of RCMP

officers compared to 55% of independent police officers stated were evident in their organizations, the independent police officers consistently illustrated more community policing initiatives than did their counterparts in the RCMP. The reasons for this are complex and may have to do with the size and structural characteristics of the RCMP and the fact that a number of respondents were not currently working in municipal policing. Independent police officers on the other hand, are in smaller organizations where the lines of communication are easier and therefore knowledge of current and ongoing initiatives easier to obtain.

TABLE 9.6

EVIDENCE OF COMMUNITY POLICING INITIATIVES

Evidence of	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Store front office	34	41%	26	30%	60	42%
Bike cops	50	89%	61	70%	111	77%
Consultative forums	31	55%	51	58%	82	57%
Mission statements	39	70%	17	19%	56	39%
Area deployment	27	48%	16	18%	43	30%
Promotional changes	13	26%	11	13%	24	17%
Appraisal schemes	15	27%	13	16%	28	19%
Officer in put in decision making	5	9%	9	10%	14	10%
Other	2	4%	3	4%	5	4%
None	2	4%	8	9%	10	7%
TOTAL	56		88		144	

The Vancouver police comprise 58% of the total number of independent police officers working in the province (Attorney General, 1993) and made up 59% of the total sample of independent police officers. Twenty-eight (72%) of the 39 police officers who mentioned mission statements were Vancouver police officers. This was the only community policing criteria that the Vancouver respondents were more familiar with compared to the independent police officers of other forces. In all other examples the extent of familiarity between independent police officers was similar.

As mentioned above, all RCMP detachments display a large sign confirming the RCMP's commitment to community policing. In 1990 the RCMP developed a Strategic Action Plan for the implementation of community policing and advocated the establishment of consultative forums that now exist or are under consideration in virtually all detachments. However, only 58% were aware of consultative committees while only 19% of RCMP officers surveyed were acquainted with the mission statement, even though they may have to walk by these signs every day. These findings would suggest that there are communication problems within the organization itself as many police officers seem unaware of the community policing initiatives that are being attempted in their organizations. Although communication problems have long been identified in rigid hierarchical bureaucratic structures (Morgan, 1986), they need to be addressed if one of the goals of the organization is to implement change. As noted by Murphy (1994):

There is no evidence to suggest that resistance to the concept of community policing is widespread: rather officers, particularly those at the line level, have not been given sufficient information about community policing or their role in a community policing approach (p.69).

The findings presented here can be supplemented by those of the recent Commission of Inquiry on Policing in BC (Oppal, 1994) which found through a survey that only 13% of independent police officers thought community policing

efforts were recognised in performance appraisals and only 5% thought such efforts supported through promotions. A similar study on the RCMP (cited by Oppal) showed only 21% of RCMP officers believed community policing efforts were given the same weight in performance appraisal as conventional policing activities. It would appear that many police officers remain unaware of the community policing initiatives in their organizations and when they are aware of them are reluctant to get involved in activities which they see as offering little benefit to their careers.

Content Theme: Management and Administration

The community policing philosophy advocates an opening up of the police organization, to allow for greater police officer input in the policies and practices of their department and greater autonomy. In discussing changes within their organization police leaders made frequent reference to participatory management and police officer input in the decision making process, which they believed had improved over the recent past. Police officers were asked whether they felt as if they had any input in the policy decisions of their departments/detachments. Table 9.7 outlines the findings to this question and illustrates how the RCMP were slightly more likely to feel as if they did have some input. This may be explained by the fact these officers were older. A breakdown of the age data reveals that 82% (23) of respondents in the 19-25 age category thought they had no

input compared to 51% (41) in the 25-35 age range and 34% (10) in the 35-45 age range. Overall 54% of police officers stated that they had no influence in the decision making process of their departments/detachments.

TABLE 9.7

INPUT INTO THE POLICY DECISIONS THAT AFFECT THE DEPARTMENT

Response	Independent		RCMP		All	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	5	9%	15	17%	20	14%
No	33	59%	44	50%	77	54%
To a certain extent	18	32%	28	32%	46	32%
Missing	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
TOTAL	56	100%	88	100%	144	100%

Independent police officers = ($\chi^2 = 21.10, p < .01$)
 RCMP officer = ($\chi^2 = 14.45, p < .01$).

Again these views must be treated only as an *indication* of police officers beliefs: the sample size resulting in low cell numbers prevents the articulation of definitive results but highlights areas for further study. The opinions presented here have probably been influenced by a variety of biographical and organizational variables which this study has chosen to ignore. It is these variables that need to be explored in order to obtain a greater understanding of the results.

Those respondents that believed they had no input cited the autocratic management policies of their police organizations to detail their opinions and expressed views which ironically accorded with those articulated by the chiefs/OIC's when they described their past experiences in their own organizations. However, in contrast to their subordinates, police leaders thought their police officers today did have a certain amount of influence in policy decisions. This was not the opinion of those included in this survey:

Too much upper level management for my views to have any effect.

Staff sergeant in charge allows little input in operation of 'his' detachment.

Traditional quasi-military control is difficult to depart from, it's hard to allow constable more input.

Our boss is the BOSS - we only respond or make adjustments to his decisions.

Decisions are made then you're aware of them, you discuss them and still they go with original decisions. It's the 'I'm right, I'm in charge, it's my decision, but we can still discuss attitude.

The only time we would is if we screwed up and they use our mistake to change the policy(ies).

Policy is set down by divisional HQ and Ottawa. Little is known of new policies until they are decided.

Decisions are made by management without consultation and implemented.

Administration within the force is still very much a pyramid style - para-military - allows little input from lower level employees.

Most decisions are made for you. You are "told" not asked.

Because no matter what suggestions I make the brass does what is best for themselves.

In adding justification to their lack of input, the division that exists between the operational police officer and management was cited by those who saw management as divorced from the activities of the operational police officers. This view has been found in other research on police officers in two Lower Mainland police departments where police officers stated that management preached participatory management but dictated bureaucratic (Shetzer, 1994). Again this point was mentioned by OIC's who saw Ottawa as a place where policy was made by individuals unacquainted with current police practices:

Decisions tend to be made at the top management levels. Many would benefit from a larger amount of input from patrol (ie officers on the street). Would result in higher morale among members.

Upper management makes all decisions and don't interact with members on the road to see what decisions are really needed.

Detachment level is reasonable. Most other policy is made by persons that are not operational and are out of touch with street level policing.

Too large a detachment and upper management has no clue as to what happens on the street.

Believe management has no faith in front line officers opinion. Conversely I have little faith in management and their ability to implement any

policy change that could be in the best interests of the front line officer.

Upper management are very far removed/seperated from patrol.

Management is out of touch with reality. Management for a large part has never done any real policing. Management is primarily concerned with budget.

Some police officers expressed cynicism and felt that management was only paying lip service to the idea of police officer input in decision making, an issue identified elsewhere (Oppal, 1994; Shetzer, 1994):

Our views may be listened to, or we may be asked for our opinions but I believe they are only going through the motions.

Ideas may be put forward but the senior members appear to be hesitant to change or adopt new methods.

Though the department pretends to or makes symbolic gestures seeking input, it doesn't seem to make any difference.

Input requested in writing causing members more time. Opportunities not always advertised well or solicited. Rarely ask members to attend meetings. Usually asked more for input on equipment.

Police constable is low man on the ladder. Management makes decisions for political reasons, not benefit of everyone. Regardless of input, you might be overridden by senior officers.

Recent departmental policy re sexual harassment recently instituted. Females (usual victims, especially officers) NOT canvassed or asked for input or experiences.

Others argued they did have an input, one sergeant felt this was only because of his position:

I do now because of my position. Constables in this organization do not. The people who routinely deal with 'real' policing problems are rarely included in policy development. They're not usually considered to be qualified to participate. Also policy development is a 'power' thing, not to be shared.

Some illustrated the form of input they had:

My department has an open forum annually which enables everyone to partake in policy changes/new ideas.

Despite the dichotomy of views between police officers and police leaders over input in decision making, agreement was however found when police officers were asked to describe their three biggest challenges in undertaking their duties. Sixty-nine percent included the criminal justice system in their list, 62% the courts, 43% mentioned workload and 41% included lack of resources. Nine percent mentioned the transition to community policing as one of their three biggest challenges. These findings accord with the responses received from the chiefs/OIC's when they were asked to detail the biggest challenges facing their police officers as the most frequent criteria they mentioned was the courts and criminal justice system. This was cited by 45% of police leaders. Therefore while police leaders may be out of touch when it comes to recognising the amount of input police officers now have in policy,² they are acquainted with the

2. This is a conclusion based upon the acceptance of the police officers' views. A more in depth analysis of decision making within police organizations is required in order to provide a definitive answer to the question of police officer input.

key concerns operational police officers face. These concerns are external to the organization and as such can not be changed by management.

Content Theme: The Change Process

The chiefs/OIC's had been asked how they would like to see policing develop in the 1990's (see Table 8.5). Sixty-five percent argued that it should develop along community policing lines. When police officers were asked the same question 19 (10%) stated a same response. In contrast to the police leaders the rank and file argued firstly for more police officers: 27% saw this to be the top priority, 19% cited the need for increased technology, 18% for increased funding and 12% for improved education and training. Seven police officers (5% of the sample) stated regionalization. These finding represent a stark contrast, with police leaders offering support for the community policing philosophy mirrored by only 10% of the lower echelons.

The police leaders were asked to reflect on the organizational changes they felt were called for when they were working as a lower ranking officer. The police officer survey also asked respondents to list the organizational changes they felt should take place in their agencies.

Table 9.8 provides a comparative ranking of the two groups³:

3. While police officers did document more than one change only the first change priority is listed here.

TABLE 9.8

RANKING OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Change	Chiefs/OIC's	Police Officer
More education/training	2	4
More technology/equipment*	-	1
Unit level budgeting	6	5
Increased responsibility for police officers	4	6
Improved management skills	4	2
Improved working conditions	1	3
None	2	7

(*in the chiefs/OIC's survey technology and equipment was included with education and training).

Table 9.8 demonstrates that while the first priority for many police leaders was to improve their working conditions, for today's police officers the onus is on technology and equipment. However, the second priority for police officers is for improved managerial skills. This finding reconfirms some of the qualitative responses that were recorded on the questionnaire which showed police officers' frustration with management:

Due to budget restraints and dinosaurial upper management policing in the 1990's in the RCMP will

get worse before it gets better. Frustrations are too high with the courts and management.

With increased workload and questionable morale, it's difficult for everyone to work together. I find that the members are constantly "let down" by management by unfulfilled promises etc and are weary to trust management.

Department is too large. Morale is low. Constables all treated poorly by upper level echelons.

Policing is changing so fast and upper management and the courts are not changing to update current needs.

The police leaders and particularly the OIC's stated that one of their biggest challenges in undertaking their role was personnel issues. The views of police officers concerning inadequate management confirm the opinion of police leaders and illustrate the need for personnel management skills. The issue may not however be a clear one of human resource management. The organizational size and structure, as mentioned previously, affects the management and administration of police agencies. While the views of police officers illustrate their frustrations with management, further study is needed to provide definitive answers on how these frustrations develop, manifest themselves and the consequences for organizational change.

Content Theme: The RCMP Subculture

The sample size and the data received from the police officers' survey does not award information on the content theme of the RCMP subculture. As mentioned above this

content theme, unlike the others (community policing, management and administration and the change process), evolved from an analysis of the police leaders' data and was not developed *a priori*. As this survey developed before the indepth analysis of the police leaders' data the content theme of the RCMP subculture had not been recognised.

As illustrated by the organizational culture literature identifying culture or subculture is difficult when only quantitative analysis is employed. The data collected in this survey illustrates overall consistency in the views of RCMP and independent police officers, but as the sample size is small and derived from one source, the RCMP Fairmont Training Academy, any findings must be treated with caution.

While RCMP members were less likely to support the movement to community policing and believed they had slightly more input into the decision making process than independent police officers both these findings could be attributed to the fact they were older police officers with more experience. The only other distinction between the two groups was found when they were asked to detail evidence of the community policing initiatives in their departments/detachments. Independent police officers provided more recognition of such developments. These distinctions are however tenuous but do point to issues which require further exploration, in particular how age,

rank and the organizational structure and size influence the opinions of operational police officers.

Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated the key findings from the survey of police officers and contrasted these responses to those received from police leaders. Comparisons between the data must be made cautiously because of the different methodological survey instruments employed and the relatively small sample size of police officers taken from the two training academies. However, with these limitations in mind certain commonalities and differences are discernible and may represent a broader pattern of differences.

Content Theme: Community Policing

1. Sixty five percent of police leaders wanted the future of policing to develop along the community policing lines, but only 10% of police officers expressed a similar view.

Instead police officers argued for more members, funding and technology.

2. Both the police officers and the police leaders articulated similar definitions of community policing by seeing it as a philosophy and by mentioning the establishment of a partnership between the police and the community. However 24% of police officers did not hold this view and saw it as either a program or expressed a cynicism

towards the community policing philosophy. Moreover a number stated that they had problems understanding what community policing is. This is obviously a worrying finding as the community policing rhetoric has been evident within police organizations for at least the last three years: it is clearly not successfully being conveyed to all elements of the rank and file.

3. Only 19% of RCMP members stated that they knew of the mission statement endorsing community policing in their organization.

4. Fifty percent of police officers supported the movement towards community policing, although like their leaders displayed concern over the lack of resources, the conflicts which exist with the traditional policing philosophy and the resistance to change evident in police organizations.

Content Theme: Management and Administration

5. The rank and file police officers felt that they had little input into the policy making process of their organizations. The qualitative statements expressed an 'us and them' type division reflecting a hierarchy in which communication and the exchange of ideas was not a two-way process. This reflects the findings of other police studies (e.g. Shetzer, 1994; Reussi-Ianni, 1983).

6. The frustration with managerial practices was confirmed as police officers cited it as the second most important

area for change (after improved technology and equipment) in their organizations.

Content Theme: The Change Process

7. The findings of the police officers survey suggests that while many police officers expressed cautious support for the movement towards community policing many are cynical and do not know and have not been informed of what it entails.

8. While the community policing philosophy may advocate an opening up of the police organization in order to facilitate input from lower ranking police officers, the findings of this exploratory study suggest this is not the case. Despite the rhetoric of police leaders who endorse incremental change, police organizations in the eyes of operational police officers remain too autocratic, hierarchical and structured to encourage input from police officers.

Comparative Analysis Summary - Police Leaders and Police Officers.

The limited sample size means the findings of the police officer study should be treated with caution. Nonetheless a number of similarities and differences are evident between the sample of police officers and police leaders. These can be summarised as follows:

TABLE 9.9.

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF THE POLICE LEADERS AND POLICE OFFICERS RESPONSES TO THE CONTENT THEMES

CONTENT THEME	POLICE OFFICERS	POLICE LEADERS
Community Policing		
Definition	76% = philosophy 8% = program 11% = rhetoric	100% = philosophy
Change	Incremental	Incremental
Impediments	Existing workload Police officers	Existing workload Police officers
Conflict of interest with traditional policing	Yes 24% No 42%	Yes 23% No 52%
Definition of police officers	community = 4% traditional = 38% mixture = 58%	community = 13% traditional = 55% mixture = 16% other = 15%
Management and Administration		
Input in decision making	No input	No input when younger officer. Police officers have input now.
Change Process		
Changes needed	More police	Community policing

To be able to theoretically understand and assess the change process within the police and make sense of the different subcultures of police leadership and the rank and file, it

is necessary to draw the debate back to the criminological subculture literature and the organizational cultural change literature. However before this a summary review of the findings of the last three chapters will be undertaken.

Comparative Analysis Summary - Police Leaders, Police Officers and Policy Documents.

Comparative analysis of the police leaders, police officers and policy documents data shows that organizational change is most forcefully endorsed by the strategic planning documents of the larger police departments and government agencies. This support is then diluted somewhat by police leaders who while enthusiastic are cognisant of the impediments to change. It is then watered down by police officers who see little by way of change in their organizations.

Table 9.10 summarises these findings and compares them to the results obtained from the police leaders and police officers' survey.

TABLE 9.10

SUMMARY OF CONTENT THEMES FOUND IN POLICY DOCUMENTS,
POLICE LEADERS VIEWS AND POLICE OFFICERS VIEWS

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	CONTENT THEMES			
	Community Policing	Management and Admin'	The Change Process	RCMP Sub'
Small police policy papers	-	Local pragmatic concerns	-	-
Governmental/ Large police policy papers	Full support	Stressed Leadership Strategic Planning.	Transformational. Few impediments	Oppal recognised problems.
Police Leaders	Strong support	Personnel problems Mentioned Leadership.	Incremental change. Recognised Impediments.	O.I.C recognised problems.
Police Officers	Limited support	No input in decisions. Mentioned poor management skills.	Incremental change. Recognised Impediments. Other priorities for change	

This chapter, together with the preceding two has provided information on the content themes of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture. The task of the final chapter is to relate these findings back to the organizational change and culture literature and the police subcultural literature, to illustrate the applicability of utilising the theories and constructs from two academic disciplines to understand organizational culture and change in municipal police agencies in BC.

CHAPTER 10

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

As stated at the outset, the aim of this thesis is to merge aspects of two academic disciplines, criminology and organizational cultural change theory, in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the potential for organizational change in municipal police departments and detachments in British Columbia.

Chapter two reviewed the organizational change and development literature, to illustrate the way in which organizational theorists have recently focused upon the culture of an organization as an important element (in addition to others) in the change process. Discussion centered around the aspects of organizational cultural change that organizational theorists have identified as key to the change process: the size, depth and pervasiveness of change, the role of leadership, reinforcing agents and incremental vs transformational change. These elements form the framework in which to analyse and interpret organizational change in police agencies.

Chapter three showed that criminological research on police organizations can be categorised as either normative or empirical. The normative theories, which include community

policing, are prescriptive stressing how police work should be done, while the empirical theories examine how the work is actually undertaken. The review of police organizational literature when contrasted with organizational culture research identified a number of unexplored issues that subsequently influenced the research aims of this dissertation. To reiterate these aims are:

1. To make a contribution to the organizational change and development literature, by applying these theories and constructs to the relatively unresearched organizational domain of law enforcement.
2. Provide an alternative analysis of police culture to that advanced by the dominant criminological literature on policing.
3. Describe the level of commitment that both police leaders and police officers in the RCMP and independent municipal police agencies in British Columbia have towards community policing. In determining how these individuals are interpreting and enacting community policing, tentative predictions of the extent to which community policing may become the dominant policing paradigm in Canadian policing can be made.

4. Provide valuable, previously unavailable, critical comparative analysis on police leaders who influence policing in BC and those police officers who are responsible for performing day-to-day policing duties.

5. Identify the opinions of both independent chief constables and RCMP OIC's towards a variety of policing issues and make meaning of these comparisons.

6. Enhance the Canadian policing literature by making a original, unique contribution to it.

Chapter four gave information about the movement towards the community policing philosophy. Discussion of the various definitions that had been employed were reviewed furnishing the study with a structure in which to analyse the definitions subsequently given by police leaders and police officers. In addition, a description of the obstacles identified as problematic to its development were reviewed: one of these was the police subculture.

Chapter five provided details of the context of policing in BC and discussed the various police organizational structures that exist in the province.

Chapter six again drew on organizational change literature and provided details on how research on cultural change in

municipal police agencies in BC was conducted. The research methodology and analysis was developed to inform the theoretical framework of this dissertation. The four content themes of community policing, management and administration, the change process and the RCMP subculture were developed as a framework in which to analyse the four key elements of the size, depth and pervasiveness of change, the role of leadership, reinforcing agents and transformational vs incremental change, which were identified as instrumental to the analysis and understanding of organizational culture change.

It is now the task of this final chapter to link the theoretical underpinnings as outlined in chapters two, three and four with the findings presented in chapters seven, eight and nine in order to address the main research aims. This chapter presents a summary of the main findings established throughout the research then relates these findings back to the theoretical discussions presented in the early chapters.

Summary of Findings - Policy Documents

The review of policy documents from federal and provincial government agencies and from police departments illustrated that it was the government bodies and larger police forces who were endorsing community policing and organizational change. In contrast to the cautious opinions expressed by

police leaders these documents endorsed large scale transformational change and paid only scant regard to the limitations of the process. A number of these documents also drew on private sector management principles.

Summary of Findings - Police Leaders

The chief constables and OIC's in this study were shown to be a relatively homogeneous group of white males between the ages of 42 and 61 who had demonstrated an early commitment to policing as a career. These findings reflected the results of Reiner's (1990) comparable study of police leaders in England and Wales. While the BC study did not aim to assess critically the position of chief/OIC, it did seek to examine the views of this group and as such presented the opinions of a group of men who were similar in education, career background, aspirations and experience. The fact that 23 (74%) of the sample were RCMP officers or had been RCMP members for over twenty years during the course of their careers no doubt shaped the opinions advanced in the study.

Robert Peel's original premise that police officers should reflect the population they serve is not supported by the sample of municipal police leaders in BC, nor was it mirrored by the police officer sample which did not collect data on ethnic origin, but illustrated a gender bias well recognised in policing where 75% of the sample was male. Data from this study confirms what has been found before:

senior policing exists as a male occupation and illustrates that those who influence the decisions and direct policing in the province without exception are white, middle aged men. Establishing evidence that this may be changing was not a goal of this thesis, but the fact that in the largest independent police department in the province, only one woman has attained the rank of inspector would suggest that movement towards gender equity in what has traditionally been a "macho" male dominated profession will occur slowly. The dominance of one gender and ethnic group in positions of power and leadership influences the opinions and actions taken by that organization. When one ethnic and cultural group dominates the top level of an organization they are likely to hire and promote others who have the same values (Martin, 1992). Although attempts have been made through positive discrimination in policing to prevent this occurring and to encourage the recruitment of women and minorities this study confirmed that the culture of policing, especially at the higher levels, remains a male culture.

Views on Community Policing

All chiefs/OIC's in the study defined community policing philosophically, not as a program, but provided a narrower definition to that advanced in the literature stressing increased ties with the public, not organizational change. When asked how they would like to see policing develop in

the 1990's 65% argued that community policing philosophies needed to be adopted. This view contrasted sharply with that expressed by police officers. When asked the same question only 10% of the rank and file stated community policing. Both OIC's and chief constables expressed commitment to the philosophy but when asked to describe their police officers the RCMP members more readily acknowledged them to be traditional response to call officers and articulated a conflict of interest between the traditional and community policing philosophy. Moreover, OIC's discussed the difficulty in implementing change within the organizational boundaries of the RCMP.

As detailed in chapter five, Burnaby RCMP have been given the mandate to implement community policing and to effect organizational change. There may therefore exist 'pockets' within the RCMP and other police agencies that are experimenting with change. Analysis of such initiatives requires research techniques akin to ethnographies to adequately examine their potential.

Management and Administration

Data collected from the chiefs/OIC's concerning the management and administration practices of their departments and detachments illustrated that the issue causing most concern was personnel. Motivation, the questionable support given by middle management levels to new initiatives and

those who were recognised as 'non-performers' were all identified as problematic for the police leader. However, while both groups recognised this problem the OIC's espoused greater concern over personnel issues. Chief constables also cited the financial constraints under which they were working.

In discussing the similarities and differences in managing a police organization to managing any other organization three issues were identified as unique to policing: accountability, workload and performance/productivity measurement. OIC's also cited the paramilitary structure of their organizations. While describing their role, the chiefs/OIC's frequently cited their management and leadership skills and did not mention the policing function.

The Change Process

All the police leaders argued that the management of police organizations had relaxed over the last twenty years and cited increased education, the decline of the military structure and participatory management as reasons why it had changed, with symbols like the decline of the salute and a relaxation in the marriage rules as firm evidence of this development. When asked if their agency should become more relaxed, it was the chief constables who were more prone to endorse an opening up of their bureaucracies and the OIC's who were reluctant to sanction this development. In

discussing the limitations to the changes each chief/OIC had made or attempted to make, OIC's identified personnel matters while chief constables cited resources, thus mirroring earlier findings to questions relating to community policing.

The RCMP Subculture

In addition to attitudinal differences identified in relation to other content themes three other characteristics were shown to be unique to the OIC's in the study: pride for the organization, the policy of transfers and the hierarchical bureaucratic nature of the force.

Table 10.1 illustrates the main differences in the opinions given by the chiefs and OIC's.

TABLE 10.1

MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHIEF CONSTABLES AND OIC'S

Question/Issue	Chief Constables	O.I.C
Conflict of interest between traditional and community policing	Yes (8%)	Yes (26%)
	No (58%)	No (47%)
Definition of police officers	Community (33%)	Community (0%)
	Traditional (25%)	Traditional (74%)
	Mixture (25%)	Mixture (11%)
Main management/administrative problem	Resources (33%)	Resources (11%)
	Personnel (50%)	Personnel (65%)
Should management become more relaxed	Yes (66%)	Yes (26%)
	No (17%)	No (47%)
Main limitations to change initiatives	Resources (33%)	Resources (16%)
	Personnel (25%)	Personnel (52%)

Table 10.1 demonstrates that the chief constables were more prone to see their police officers as community police officers and less likely to acknowledge a conflict of interest between the community policing philosophy and traditional policing than their colleagues in the RCMP. In addition they recognised fiscal and financial constraints more frequently as their main management and administrative problem and as a barrier to change than did the OIC's who identified personnel.

Summary of Findings - Police Officers

While the police officers in the study expressed similar views and definitions of community policing as their leaders, 11% documented a cynical opinion and considered community policing as a fad. Moreover, despite lengthy discussion in the academic literature and in police agencies themselves over the development of community policing, during the course of the survey a number of police officers said they were unsure what community policing entailed. When asked whether they supported the movement towards community policing 63% of independent compared to 47% of RCMP officers stated that they did. Evidence of community policing initiatives taking place was more forthcoming from independent police officers who recorded familiarity with these developments occurring in their organizations.

Over 50% of respondents felt that they had no input into the decision making processes of their departments/detachments, an issue that was confirmed by the qualitative statements recorded on the survey. Managerial practices were cited as the second most important area for change (after improved technology and equipment) in their organizations.

Applying Organizational Culture Change Theory to Police
Organizations

Community Policing As a Symbolic Development

The police have been referred to as a symbolic bureaucracy presenting a hierarchical facade which in point of fact hides the unbureaucratic reality (Manning, 1988). Jermier et al. (1991) use the term 'mock bureaucracy' to describe an organization with a counterfeit front "deceitfully designed to impress key stakeholders with appropriate principles and well ordered practices while hiding internal fragmentation and ad hoc operations" (p.189). This is a somewhat cynical view which frequently finds credibility with the political left. The findings of this study suggest that even if community policing is a symbolic development it is a rhetoric strongly evident within the municipal policing hierarchy in the province, as shown by the policy documents and views of police leaders. The strata in which it is absent is lower down the organization¹.

Some police agencies have claimed to have changed many of their practices to reflect the needs of the community, this has led to the introduction of community policing philosophies and practices and, as demonstrated in this thesis, can be evidenced in the strategic planning documents

1. This view must be treated with caution as the sample size of police officers was small.

of these forces. In the organizational change literature policy documents of this nature have been described as "changing the root metaphor" (Berg, 1985, p.291).

Changes in corporate logos, slogans, policy statements and redefinitions of mission statements are all examples of how an organization alters its symbolic field in an attempt to interpret reality differently (Berg, 1989). As illustrated police agencies have changed their names (frequently from police *department* to police *service*), issued mission statements endorsing community policing and erected posters confirming their commitment in an attempt to alter the root metaphor.

The kind of change that is obtainable is nevertheless dependent upon the extent to which the organization desires to change and the degree to which it is ready to change. Pressure to change may occur internally or be the result of externally induced crisis. Dyer (1990) has shown how organizational change is often influenced by an environmental shock such as a major recession or depression. The movement towards community policing can be linked to the economic constraints which have been inflicted on policing budgets throughout the 1980's and to the recognition that 'traditional' policing approaches were not curbing the increase in crime.

As illustrated in chapter four, the community policing philosophy has been endorsed through the discreditation of the traditional model and by fiscal constraints that governments have enforced on police agencies. These resource limitations were identified by police leaders and police officers as one of the reasons for supporting community policing. Police leaders acknowledged that the finances available for policing are limited and consequently supported the movement to community policing. They were also supportive of the philosophy because of its symbolic value. The OIC's were acutely aware of the credibility given to the philosophy by the RCMP hierarchy and Ottawa and were cognisant that their career development within the RCMP was in part dependent upon them supporting the direction given by Ottawa.

Data collected throughout this dissertation suggests community policing is currently a symbolic development within many BC police organizations. The mission statements and corporate plans, many of which endorse community policing and which are distributed to police managers and local councils are not widely known by the police officers themselves. If the aim of the corporate plan is to change the nature of the organization, the question remains as to whether police officers simply do not receive copies or alternatively receive but do not read them. The fact that the community policing mission statement appears in every

RCMP detachment wall and yet was only known by 19% of the RCMP members surveyed illustrates the gap that exists between the symbolic image that is being attempted and the actual extent of recognised change within the organization.

Jermier et al.'s (1991) term 'mock bureaucracy' is applicable to an organization with a counterfeit front which is designed to impress stakeholders and yet hides internal fragmentation. The mission statements, corporate plans, logos and name changes are all superficial symbolic gestures of the movement towards community policing. Comments from some police leaders over the input in the decision making process from subordinates and internal reforms stating that police organizations should not adopt a more relaxed stance, illustrate that traditional philosophies and reinforcing agents of the traditional culture still exist. The fact that police leaders argue for firm direction of subordinates and are cautious of relaxing their organizations are examples of the continuing existence of a hierarchical rule dominated traditional structure which owes a debt to Classical management theory.

There are however advantages in changing only the symbolic field or root metaphor, if these superficial changes lead to an improved relationship between the police and the public. There may be more merit to community policing in its symbolic (or political) nature than in its actual effect

which at this point in time is questionable. The War on Poverty had a symbolic impact which extended beyond and was more important than the actual results it achieved (Pfeffer, 1981).

Martin and Meyerson (1988) have drawn a distinction between the content themes which organizational members espouse internally and those that they release to the general public. "Such externally espoused content themes often represent an attempt to influence what has been called an organizations 'aura' or 'reputation': they may bear little relationship to what is actually espoused or enacted within the organization" (Martin and Meyerson, 1988, p.97). This issue has been noted by others (Goffman, 1961). The differences shown to exist between the externally espoused content themes of policy documents and the views of the police officers and police leaders suggest that community policing is currently a symbolic movement occurring in policy documents but being watered down as it descends the organizational hierarchy. Community policing appears to be more the externally espoused philosophy but not the internally sanctioned practice.

While the actual results of community policing in reducing crime, fear of crime and improving relations between the police and the community in Canada may be impossible to determine, the fact that police agencies may have managed to

create a change in the way members of the community perceive them and have altered their organizations reputation is an important symbolic and political development. This raises the question do individual citizens realise that police agencies are indeed trying to change their organizational culture and alter their delivery of service? If the changes are seen in a cynical light and as merely symbolic by police officers, some of whom remain unaware and unfamiliar with the philosophy, how are they viewed by members of the community who, for the most part, do not have day to day contact with the police? It could also be advanced that these symbolic gestures, rather than successfully creating a change in the reputation of the organization are leading to 'symbolic inconsistency' (Martin, 1992) where the public and police officers are left confused as to the dominant philosophy and aims of the police agency. Although the sample was small and further study on this issue is required, preliminary findings from the police officer survey would imply that this confusion may be occurring.

Symbolic change represent the initial stages in the organizational change process. The organizational culture literature suggests that while symbols illustrate the most superficial level of change they can be the forerunner to more substantial developments occurring. However, while certain organizational symbols may be changing others such as rank insignia (white shirts for executives) and

managerial prerogatives (offices located 'upstairs') still exist and are reinforced in very concrete and visible ways (Shetzer, 1994). Changes in some symbolic gestures may lead to the introduction of new policies, that in turn lead to operational changes that are finally adopted and endorsed by all members of the organization. Symbolic artifacts provide an initial indication of the direction the organization wishes to take and illustrate the desired ambitions of the organization. As such they may be interpreted as the first in a series of events which eventually lead to organizational change. As will be illustrated below, police agencies in BC are only at the initial stage of the change process, currently experiencing only an incremental rate of change².

Community policing is currently existing as a symbolic development in police agencies in BC. While it is externally espoused by police leaders, advanced within policy documents, endorsed by the Solicitor General of Canada (1994) and evidenced in some programmes it has not developed to be the dominant policing paradigm evident in municipal police agencies in the province.

2. As discussed in chapter five, Burnaby Detachment is attempting to implement organizational change but is only at the very initial stage of this process. It is too early to determine whether major effective change will occur.

Size, Depth and Pervasiveness of Change

The data collected from the police leaders implies that it is the independent police chiefs who are expressing more commitment to the community policing philosophy and less resistance to change within their own organizations. Some of these chief constables are responsible for quite small departments and all are locally accountable not having the massive bureaucratic structure that the OIC's deal with. As illustrated by the literature, the size of the organization will affect the change process as larger organizations are more problematic to change (Ledford et al., 1989). The difference in organizational structure is probably best illustrated by the responses received to the question 'what limitations, if any were there to the changes you introduced?' where chief constables cited fiscal and resource constraints and the OIC's cited personnel issues.

Policing priorities and practices not only depend upon the size and socioeconomic composition of the community being policed, they are also guided by the organizational structure of the agency tasked with the policing mandate. The fact that the OIC of a detachment has no influence on what member is transferred to his detachment is in stark contrast to chief constables who recruit their own staff. Likewise, the bureaucratic nature of the RCMP and the labyrinth of policy and procedure manuals which exist in every detachment, irrespective of size, is not matched in

independent police departments. Although the delivery of service to the public may be the same, - itself a point of conjecture as there has only been one Canadian study which looked at this (Murphy, 1987), - the management of these departments and detachments is distinctive and therefore the subcultures of these agencies unique unto themselves. Criminologists in the past have failed to recognise this.

Burnes (1992) has illustrated two components to management: the rational science based activities such as design and operation of manufacturing systems, and the less rational intuitive activities which concern managing and motivating people. The extent to which a manager is involved in these activities will depend on the kind of organizational structure in which he/she is working and his/her position within the organizational hierarchy. Burnes extends his arguments by drawing on the work of others to illustrate three main hierarchical levels of management: (i) top management who are responsible for the overall direction of the department; (ii) middle management who are responsible for the execution and interpretation of policies and for the successful operation of divisions and departments; and (iii) first level supervisory management responsible to the middle management group for ensuring the execution of policies by subordinates. In many respects the chief constables fall into the first category of top managers while the OIC's are middle managers within the RCMP as a whole. This finding

draws attention again to the differences between managers. The role of a manager and their relative importance within the organization is dependent upon the relative importance of the role within the organizational (Mintzberg, 1975).

In BC the chief constable is accountable to the police board and develops policies and initiatives which have to receive the support of the board, on the other hand the OIC, although retaining what would appear to be ever improving contacts with council, is primarily accountable to the RCMP hierarchy. The municipal council chooses a new chief constable through the police board, but OIC's are assigned municipal detachments without major input of the municipality. As recently noted:

When a detachment commander is changed, the matter is almost solely determined by the RCMP. The views of the local authority are only considered peripherally. This hinders good relations between the police and the community they serve. (Oppal, 1994 p.J19).

A chief constable consults with the local board on policies and initiatives but the OIC to a certain extent has policies thrust upon him. For example, the policy of establishing community consultative groups was mandated to all detachment commanders so all OIC's have had to establish these groups. Independent police departments in contrast can review a number of different community policing options and decide upon the one most appropriate for their jurisdiction. The

OIC also has this option but should go through his subdivisional commander (and considerable paperwork) for approval of such initiatives. The information collected on the RCMP subculture illustrate the organizational boundaries which influence the municipal detachments ability to change.

The stage of development of the organization can influence the change process. An organization may be designed with a single precise function but grows and develops and diversifies to adopt different roles so requires a decentralized change strategy (Ledford et al., 1989). The RCMPs' initial mandate was to conduct rural policing in the rapidly expanding new country. Its primary influences were military and political. During the passage of time it has moved towards municipal policing so that in British Columbia there are more RCMP officers tasked with municipal policing than there are independent police officers. The historical development of the force resulted in a highly structured centrally controlled bureaucratic police force with a labyrinth of centrally administered policies and procedures. This situation remains today and contrasts sharply to the locally controlled independent police agency.

Little attention has been awarded to analysing the similarities and differences between an organization and its subunits (Ledford et al., 1989). The RCMP exists as a huge bureaucracy with central command from Ottawa, regional

command from the province and then subdivisional command over-seeing individual detachments. The extent to which a RCMP detachment is limited in its ability to affect change by the restrictions imposed by the hierarchy is considerable. The literature suggests that subunits are far more constrained than the organization as a whole, as they do not have autonomy with respect to resource acquisition and performance goals. On the other hand, some subunits may have the autonomy to change their character even if the organization itself does not, which may lead to grass roots change.

Ledford et al. (1989) suggest that highly constrained subunits (such as RCMP detachments) are only likely to initiate change after encouragement and 'prodding' from above. They argue that their lack of autonomy and their culture of stability makes them resistant to change, consequently large scale organizational change often begins at the top, but to be successful must involve alterations in all subunits. The policy changes and directives originating from Ottawa are endorsing community policing but with a few notable exceptions (Burnaby) are not providing a free hand to the OIC's to implement it as they deem appropriate in the communities they serve.

Pervasive change refers to the proportion of an organization's elements and subsystems that are changed and

must involve cooperation between subgroups to be successfully completed. The size and organizational structure of the RCMP inherently restricts the movement towards community policing and is evidenced by the views expressed by the OIC's in this study. Pervasive change is not occurring in the RCMP, as noted in this study and by others:

Full acceptance of community policing requires a significant organizational and philosophical shift on the part of the RCMP (Oppal, 1994).

The police officers' survey illustrated that independent police officers were more likely to support the movement to community policing than members of the RCMP. This could be because they were more familiar with it, having the experience of smaller organizations where communication is easier. The data as summarised in Table 10.1 together with that taken from the police officer survey suggests that of the two groups, it will be the independent police departments who will be able to facilitate the movement towards community policing practices, as they do not have the huge bureaucratic structure of the RCMP and are only locally accountable. In addition, their history and development, administrative structures and philosophies will be easier to change. In short, the subculture of independent police agencies is more likely to change and adopt community policing than is the subculture of the RCMP.

The Role of Leadership

The literature on organizational change makes one of two assumptions: that it can be achieved by top management behaviors or that it is a more general socialization process that occurs across the whole organization (Sackman, 1991; Schein 1985; Trice and Beyer, 1990). An understanding of whether the police in BC are changing their organization must focus on one, or the other, or both of these criteria.

The beliefs and opinions espoused by the police leaders show that they are supportive of the community policing philosophy and are making efforts, albeit cautiously, to implement it within their organizations. In this regard the symbolic evidence of organizational change detailed above has been supplemented by the support of the police leaders. According to the organizational change theorists this could mean that change will occur as the philosophy begins to 'trickle down' the hierarchy of the police department/detachment. However, during the course of the interview process the chiefs/OIC's were keen to illustrate that the change process is only in its very initial stages and that this process, if it is to succeed, needs to be adopted in a slow incremental way in order to allow police officers to 'buy into it'. It is not possible to simply state that because police leaders are supportive of community policing then change will occur, nonetheless it is an important first step.

Dyer (1990) argues that the most important decisions in cultural change concerns the selection of a new leader, as these people "do indeed appear to be the creators and transmitters of culture" (p.223). According to Dyer's theory an understanding of policing in BC should therefore involve an understanding of the leadership, however he cautions that succession does not necessarily produce change as leaders are often selected on the basis of the beliefs they exhibit and espouse. The RCMP, whose OIC's are appointed by the hierarchy of the organization, are more likely to espouse the established beliefs of the organization than the chief constables of the independent forces who may exhibit more diverse views as they are appointed by the local council where political complexion changes over time. The OIC's in the study articulated more cautious support for community policing than did chief constables.

Leaders play a key role in cultural continuity and persistence as well as cultural change (Trice and Beyer, 1991). As an organization ages and passes through different periods of organizational life cycles they require cultural leadership that responds to these periods. For example during the period from the 1930's -1960's police agencies became more centralized, establishing standardisation in behaviour and adopted the latest developments in science and technology (Roberg and Kuyendall, 1993), representing a

distinct organizational life cycle in policing. A new 'type' of police leader who is supportive of community policing would appear to have been appointed or encouraged in the RCMP and independent police agencies, however the commitment to community policing, which is linked to the ease in which it can be introduced, was stronger in independent police agencies who are not burdened with a massive hierarchical organizational structure.

This last point illustrates the way that the study identifies two cultures of municipal police leadership in BC: that of the independent chief constable and that of the RCMP OIC. The organizational structures in which these leaders are working clearly influenced their opinions with regard to organizational change. The chief constables, although accountable to the Police Board, are generally leaders of relatively small organizations and have a fair degree of autonomy. In contrast the OIC's, while responsible for their detachments, have a labyrinth of organizational structure above them and with few exceptions³ do not have the autonomy to implement change. In addition the rate of change is influenced by the size and structure of the different organizations. Change in the massive RCMP is more difficult (and is recognised as such) than change within an independent police department.

3. As illustrated in chapter five, Burnaby Detachment represents an exception.

While committed to the community policing philosophy, when questioned on issues of management and administration, many police leaders recognised the need to retain the paramilitary structure and traditional police practices therefore illustrating only guarded endorsement. In a similar way their definitions of community policing focused upon the police and community forging closer ties, not internal organizational change. Although stating commitment to the philosophy they were not willing (or in the case of the OIC's not able) to sanction large scale organizational change⁴. This point reiterates the findings from one of the submissions to the Oppal Inquiry (1994) which found that police leaders were attempting to change their departments and used the rhetoric of participatory management, empowerment and bottom-up decision making but that these words were not consistent with changes in behaviour (Shetzer, 1994).

The chief constables and OIC's defined themselves as leaders and managers, not police officers and as such could recognise similarities with CEO's of other bureaucracies. Their primary concerns were personnel issues, not policing ones, perhaps illustrating their long term experience of handling policing issues and shorter experience in dealing

4. Burnaby needed approval from Ottawa to implement change.

with personnel ones. As police leaders begin to adopt a more managerial as distinct from a police officer role and look increasingly to the private sector for ideas and direction, their ability to promote change as opposed to retaining the status quo may improve. The OIC's in the study were conscious of their position within the RCMP hierarchy and the policies and procedures which prevent them from initiating change. The chief constables could act as a catalyst to change as they operate within a more malleable organizational structure. However, even given a freer hand chief constables still recommended only cautious change, although overall were more supportive and recognised fewer limitations to it.

Data collected from the police officers survey suggested that while over 50% of police officers supported community policing skepticism still exists. This skepticism, while concerning to those who want to implement change, confirms one of Reiner's (1992) core characteristics of the police subculture. Interestingly some of the barriers to change recognised by police leaders (lack of resources, conflicts with traditional policing and resistance to change by police officers) were also mentioned by police officers illustrating the similar concerns expressed by both groups towards the new philosophy and a consistency in organizational culture. As almost half of the sample of police officers were more reserved in their commitment

arguing that they supported community policing 'to a certain extent' it would seem that if change in police organizations is to occur, it is this group that needs to be addressed.

This point illustrates the need to understand job position and function and change. Police leaders have a broad managerial, administrative and political role and can identify the long term benefits of community policing. The rank and file, who are charged with the day to day calls for service see community policing as yet another task they must incorporate in addition to all their existing functions. It is not just the structure of the organization which influences a member's commitment to change but the positioning of that individual within that structure.

Organizational change occurring across all levels of the organization as a general socialization process is not supported by the data collected here. However change, even if it may only be rhetorical is occurring with police leaders and by symbolic gestures.

This study has illustrated the differences between two groups of police leaders who function within two very different organizational structures, while addressing the same mandate. These differences have been identified using quite crude (survey) research instruments: there is potential for far more. All cultural researchers face a

dilemma: is it preferable to conduct a deeper more thorough understanding of organizational culture with a smaller less systematic sample (frequently characterised by ethnographic research on one organization that facilitates access) or, as this study has done, undertake a more superficial analysis on a larger sample (Martin, 1992). Assessing the possibility of cultural change in independent and RCMP municipal police agencies and the specific role of leadership in the process demands a more detailed approach akin to ethnographic research. One of the barometers of organizational change may be given when academics are invited into police agencies to conduct qualitative research on senior management, to the same extent as organizational theorists are invited into corporations and businesses to advise senior managers⁵.

Incremental or Transformational Change

The police leaders in this study felt that they were at the initial stages of the change process. As illustrated, organizational theorists have drawn a distinction between large scale, transformational or fundamental change and shallow, first order or incremental change. Police agencies

5. This point illustrates a limitation of the study and of the conclusions. In choosing to interview police leaders and supplement this information with a review of policy documents and a small survey of police officers this study has gained superficial information on the culture of municipal policing in BC. Had ethnographic research been undertaken a fuller understanding of the organizational culture of one or two police agencies would have been gained.

in British Columbia are clearly not experiencing, nor do they want to experience large scale transformational change. Ledford et al. (1989) have suggested that for large scale change to occur members must alter their basic beliefs and values of the way that they understand the organization. The negative responses received from the police officers when asked if they had any input into the decision making process of their organizations is an example that fundamental change may not be occurring. Likewise the police leaders, while supporting the movement to community policing did not want a radical transition, arguing that the development must occur slowly and will take time. The trend towards community policing is therefore a processional one: police organizations are in the initial stages of this movement and while external policy documents and organizational symbols endorse the philosophy the police leaders offer guarded commitment. The extent to which it is to continue or falter is yet to be determined. However, as with previous attempts at change it is in no small part dependent upon the commitment of all layers within the police organization, external pressures and the financial resources that are given or redirected towards it.

The organizational literature states that change is most difficult where a strong organizational culture exists. It has been postulated that the strength, clarity and degree of integration in a culture or subculture is directly

proportional to the membership of the group, the length of time they have been together and the intensity of the collective learning that has occurred (Schien, 1990). Others have shown how older organizations that have been successful for long periods of time define an accepted set of norms and criteria for doing things so limit innovative approaches (Ledford et al, 1989), change in more mature organizations will only occur in incremental stages unless a concerted change effort is applied (Thompson and Luthens, 1990).

The police in Canada have had a long history of relative success over their traditional mandate and role. They have certain assumptions about their functions and the environment and are unlikely to want to question or reexamine these beliefs. Members may want to retain them as a source of pride, however they also act as filters making it difficult for alternative strategies for renewal to be accepted. In this way, although alternative philosophies may be eloquently conveyed and fully understood they may not be adopted if existing traditional assumptions can still be justified. Resistance to change may have more to do with wanting to preserve the existing routines, traditions and loyalties than with the merit of the new idea. History plays a heavy role in the present and future operation of most organizations (Pettigrew, 1990), to adequately understand the change process there is a need to locate it and understand it in relation to the past and future.

This study identified that OIC's exhibited a considerable pride and commitment to the organization. This pride has been engendered and encouraged during the course of their careers and mitigates against the change process. The RCMP subculture has all the characteristics of a strong culture and therefore the organizational change literature implies would be the most difficult to change.

The RCMP are one of the oldest organizations in Canada, with a strong paramilitary history, therefore it should come as little surprise that the change process, if occurring at all, is occurring in an incremental way and in comparison to independent police departments is occurring at a slower pace. Policing is a conservative profession with a long history and numerous traditions. The OIC's expressed more caution than the chief constables confirming the belief in the literature that change is more difficult in older and larger organizations. The opinions expressed by police leaders confirmed that the introduction of the new philosophy should be gradual. While the leaders in the study were supportive of change they were committed only to incremental, first order change. The introduction, if it is to occur at all, of the community policing philosophy will therefore take time.

Reinforcing Agents

Canadian police are currently at the very initial stages in a period of transition, from traditional to community based policing. The ability to successfully complete this metamorphose may be determined by the symbolic changes and rhetoric being supported by reinforcing agents such as policies which emphasis crime prevention programs and community liaison at the expense of, say, drug enforcement and other specialist units. Alternatively, although perhaps idealistically, it may be achieved by the successful integration of community and traditional policing practices.

Certain organizational structures such as reward systems sustain the culture of an organization and reflect the assumptions of that agency (Dyer, 1990; Kilmann, 1985), therefore, in order that management's desires for change remain credible and believable they must be consistent with actions (Thompson and Luthans, 1990). Reward systems must be in harmony with the new organizational culture to reinforce it and invigorate it, if they are not then the culture will be undermined.

It is not however only reward systems that need to reflect the philosophy of the agency, all structural components need to accord. Existing policies within the RCMP were cited as being at odds to the community policing philosophy. For

example, the transfer policy of the RCMP was cited by the OIC's as a structural limitation that prevents organizational change by limiting community ties. In addition the mandated programs of the RCMP which obligate each detachment to undertake certain initiatives irrespective of the needs of the specific community in which they work, provide another example of how the organizational structure as it currently exists inhibits change towards community policing.

Currently the broad ideology of policing favors law enforcement over community service. Probationer officers soon learn the importance to the organization of producing crime figures and statistics (McConville and Shepherd, 1992). Schein (1985) has argued that in studying organizational culture it is important to understand reward systems because they reveal fairly quickly some of the important rules and underlying assumptions in that culture. He notes that once an identification of the behavior classed as 'heroic' and that defined as 'sinful' is made, inferences can be made about the beliefs and assumptions that lie behind these evaluations. At the moment there is little published evidence that the police are altering their reward systems to reflect the community policing philosophy, yet the organizational change literature stresses the importance of "...political language and symbolic action (which) serves

to legitimate and rationalise organizational decisions and policies" (Pfeffer, 1981, p.1).

While the community policing rhetoric has been evidenced in the views and opinions expressed by police leaders in the interviews there was inconclusive evidence that it is being supported by policies and actions in their own individual departments and detachments. When asked to describe what initiatives/policies they had introduced when they became chief/OIC, 35% stated mainly administrative changes with few community policing initiatives, 32% mainly community policing changes and few administrative, and 32% illustrated a mixture of both. The police leaders cited policies and programs they introduced oriented towards the new philosophy, but these tended to be 'add-on' programs that did not alter the organizational structure. They also acknowledged that police officers still want to be police officers in the traditional sense and are not as keen to work in areas such as crime prevention and community liaison, a point which has been identified in the policing literature (Reiss, 1971; Reiner, 1978). The organizational change literature stresses the need to alter reward systems to reflect the new culture. Currently the reward systems within policing support the traditional crime control model of enforcement over community service and therefore prohibits change.

The findings of this study reiterate those of the recent Commission of Inquiry on Policing in BC (Oppal, 1994) which showed that police agencies have chosen to adopt a conservative interpretation of community policing. The background research reports upon which Oppal based his recommendations found community policing to be equated with crime prevention:

No mention is made of organizational and operational changes in the manner in which resources are allocated and deployed. No consideration is given, for example, to the extent to which recruitment, training, performance evaluation and promotional guidelines have been altered to reflect a shift to a community policing model (Murphy, 1994. p.109).

As such both independent municipal police departments and the RCMP have made few changes in their operational and organizational structures.

Goldstein (1987) argues that community policing, if it is to produce the desired results, must be the operating philosophy of the whole department. In this respect it introduces a set of management principles such as strategic planning, participatory management, flexible organizational structure and decentralisation of authority to an organization which has been traditionally hierarchical, bureaucratic and conservative. The Canadian police leaders have been receiving training courses and workshops on the importance of adopting community policing philosophies and

practices. In the RCMP formal directives from headquarters in Ottawa have been sent to all OIC's who have, in turn, 'bought into' the concept. This point has been confirmed by the opinions expressed by police leaders who realise that even if only for political and career reasons, need to support the development. The rank and file, however, have not received the same reinforcement.

Internal loose coupling can restrict the flow of information within an organization so that subcultures on the periphery may not share the same information as other subcultures within the organization (Martin, 1992). This has clearly happened in BC when only one subculture of the organization (the leadership subculture) has received sufficient information and reinforcement to support community policing, while the rank and file subculture appears to have not. This may be due to the fact that the current position reached in the long term process of organizational change is only the initial one. The police in BC are only in the preliminary stages of the change process, if, as the organizational change literature states, change is occurring from the top down, then it may be just a period of time before the rank and file learn and support this movement.

Organizational change will not be achieved when managers 'go off' and return with new ideas to an organization that is essentially still the same (Thompson and Luthans, 1990).

Likewise, although top management may be able to obtain verbal commitment for a new policy from individual subordinates when that individual moves back to their own subculture that policy could be opposed or subverted. Assessing the extent of the commitment is vital. The data collected from the police officers survey purports that while police officers are demonstrating support for community policing they are skeptical about its implementation and development, illustrating the need for more in depth study on the views and concerns of police officers to the philosophy.

One of the most potent ways that a culture perpetuates itself is by the initial selection and recruitment of new members (Schein, 1985). Although there is conflicting evidence over whether the police attract certain 'types' of personalities two relatively recent studies conducted in the United States showed recruits demonstrated a high degree of consensus for choosing the police as a career (Meagher and Yentes, 1986; Slater and Reiser, 1988), while there is the belief in the organizational literature that certain individuals are more attracted to certain professions (O'Reilly et al., 1991). It is proposed that individuals are attracted to organizations that have similar views to their own, and that these values are reinforced within the organizational content. In selecting and recruiting certain individuals a culture manages to maintain itself and is

therefore hard to change. If the mechanisms by which a police department recruits, trains and rewards its police officers and sets up goals and objectives is not properly geared to the community policing philosophy then structural limitations will be magnified and hinder any chances of change (Friedmann, 1992).

The police subculture is distinctive, over the last one hundred years it has provided a framework in which members could interpret the world. As an organizational culture it could be categorized as a powerful one difficult to change (Wilkins and Patterson, 1990). Kilmann et al. (1990) have posed a question which is pertinent to the police: "If an established firm has continually selected and trained its members to abide by its long standing conservative practices...what will inspire these members suddenly to become risk takers and innovators"? The extent to which the training and recruitment of police officers has been modified to encourage community policing philosophies has yet to be determined.

Data from the police officer survey illustrated that police officers have little input into the decision making processes of their organizations, despite the belief by many police leaders that police officers have an input and the fact that the community policing philosophy advocates this progression. As mentioned above, police leaders stressed the

need for direction and leadership when responding to the question 'do you think police organizations should become more relaxed?'. While articulating support for community policing many leaders were keen to preserve a number of existing traditional philosophies. Likewise, in defining community policing the focus was upon working with the community not internal organizational change.

Police leaders, although supporting the introduction of community policing, still want to retain elements of the system that has been good to them: they still endorse traditional policing values. This is dangerous as it could lead to two philosophies of policing being directed at police officers who as a result are left confused over their direction and mandate. The problem of defining the mandate and role of the police with the dual (sometimes opposing) functions of law enforcement and service orientation has existed as an ongoing debate within the policing literature (see Bittner, 1967). Similar misunderstandings were found to be the case when information from the police officers was analysed. Frequently reference was made to either not knowing what community policing is and how they were expected to perform community policing tasks with the existing workload. This again relates back to the fact that despite being discussed since 1985 in Canada, community policing in BC is only in its infancy.

With little training and education given to police officers it should not be a surprise that their commitment and understanding of the community policing philosophy is weak. Police leaders have received formal training in community policing, the rank and file have not.

At the moment cultural change is only occurring at one level of the organization - the higher level and even then the extent of change is limited. There exists little evidence that the reinforcing agents within the police culture have altered to accommodate community policing and therefore community policing exists as a rhetoric not supported by internal organizational structures, policies or procedures but only evidenced by specific programs and symbolic gestures. 'Action inconsistency' occurs when an espoused content theme is inconsistent with actual practices (Martin, 1992). Many of the existing practices of police organizations in BC are inconsistent with the espoused content theme of community policing.

Reinforcing Agents - Subcultures

The criminological literature suggests that attempts at training and education to introduce new ideas are frequently overwhelmed by the policing subculture itself (Mastrofski, 1986). There is a considerable volume of criminological literature which has shown the traditionally conservative police subculture to be resistant to change (Goldstein,

1987; Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1987; Holdaway, 1984; Schaffer, 1980). There also exists literature in organizational theory literature that reiterates this view (Jermier et al., 1991). Commitment from the police organization to this new philosophy has been identified as a problem for community policing (Clairmont, 1991; Mastrofski, 1988; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988).

When the goals of an organization are not shared by the people responsible for carrying out the functioning of that organization, and if those individuals feel they have had no part in shaping these goals, then their commitment may not be forthcoming. Related to this is the concept of socialization. Schein (1985) has shown how 'over-socialization' into a subculture, in the sense that every detail of the subculture is learned, results in over conformity, which in turn limits the organization's ability for innovation and change. He goes on to argue that 'optimal socialization' is only learning those parts of the subculture that are essential to the organization's survival and continued functioning. The criminological subculture literature would suggest that many police officers are over-socialized into the policing culture and so inhibit change. If this is the case then community policing may never move beyond the symbolic gestures and receive support other than from those in senior management.

It may not be the entire police culture that is resistant to change but rather certain 'layers' of it. The multiple levels of a subculture which exist within an organization has been commented upon by a number of organizational theorists (Jermier et al, 1991; Pettigrew, 1990; Trice and Beyer, 1990) but with the notable exception of Reussi-Ianni (1983) few criminologists. It is important to question whether an organization has one set of norms and assumptions or whether multiple subcultures exist. While the single homogeneous culture may be evident in one police department or detachment it is questionable whether this same culture is reflected across all police agencies. There may well be certain layers of police subculture that exist both vertically and horizontally in the organization that are more resistant to change than others. This is a crucial factor and one of the issues explored in this study.

Previous research has illustrated how first line supervisors and middle managers can be threatened by new forms of work design. Efforts to facilitate employee involvement and influence can take away responsibility from managers at the middle rank. In discussing the problems of middle management Deal and Kennedy (1982) have shown that it is often a focal point for much of the dissatisfaction in organizational life.

Frequently efforts to introduce change die at the corporate middle management level, the 'heart of the beast' (Kilmann et al, 1990; Snider, 1988) a point that has also been acknowledged in the literature on policing (Holdaway, 1984) and illustrated with experiments with 'team policing' in the United States in the 1970's which received hostility from middle management who felt their interests were ignored (Shearing et al, 1973). Without the personnel in middle management positions enthusiastic to support and facilitate change, change will not occur (Reichers and Roberg, 1990). This drawback has led organizational theorists to suggest the old guard be purged rather than socialized into a new set of beliefs (Dyer, 1989). Police agencies are unwilling to undertake this task. A number of respondents in this study voiced their annoyance over non-performers who 'should be doing something else' but who they were powerless to remove from their department/detachment. Adoption of the community policing philosophy is unlikely if police leaders are not able to manage with a free hand and remove influences detrimental to change.

While it has been identified in much of the criminological literature that the middle management positions exhibit the most resistance to change, there have been few examples of police executives explicitly stating this. This thesis helps fill this void by illustrating how personnel issues are the primary managerial concern for police leaders in BC. In

discussing the implementation of community policing initiatives resistance from police officers and specifically mid-line management was recognised as a key barrier to change. As stated previously, the organizational change literature suggests that different 'layers' of subculture are more or less susceptible to change and have argued that 'counter-cultures' (Martin, 1992) exist as pockets of resistance to the views advanced by management. Police leaders recognised mid-level managers to be the most resistant counter culture. Likewise police officers also cited resistance amongst their older colleagues as a barrier to change. If police agencies are serious about introducing community policing it is this middle strata of resistance which needs to be addressed.

The data collected illustrates that police leaders support community policing, in addition it is fully supported by over 50% of the police officers surveyed, while 36% of police officers supported it 'to a certain extent'. The barriers to its smooth implementation seem to be with the older police officers and those who occupy mid-management positions and who have been in their organizations a long period of time and do not want to alter. The culture of policing may be gradually changing at the top and to a more limited extent at the bottom but the middle remains resistant. This finding is not new, however just as there has to date been little research on police leadership so

there has been scant study on mid-level management. An understanding of those individuals who occupy mid-level management positions is required if police organizations are serious about successfully implementing community policing philosophies and addressing barriers to change.

Although the findings from this study illustrated that police leaders felt middle managers were effectively resisting change, another study which focused on two Lower Mainland departments (Shetzer, 1994) showed that middle managers were *not* collectively resisting change. Instead these individuals felt they had not been included in the decision making process, nor received education, training and direction on how to implement policies. The need to determine the nature and role of middle management in Canadian policing is long overdue.

Different degrees of resistance to change may not only be evident within one police agency but also between different departments and detachments. There are many different levels of municipal policing in BC from large independent forces to small RCMP detachments. Which, if any, will be more susceptible to change and why is therefore an interesting point of conjecture.

While the primary data source for this study were municipal police leaders in the province, clear distinctions between

independent and RCMP leaders was found to exist as summarised in Table 10.1 above. These findings imply a number of subcultures existing between municipal police agencies. Just as it is possible to recognise horizontal layers of subculture between the rank and file, middle management and police leaders of one police agency so it is possible to identify subcultures between the RCMP and independent police departments. This may not be a revolutionary finding to the organizational theorists who would argue that each firm or business generates its own culture, nonetheless a lot of the criminological literature, (as reviewed in chapter three), has tended to treat police subculture as a relatively homogeneous entity, the core characteristics of which are evidenced across every operational level of the police agency irrespective of size and geographical location. The implications of this study suggest that this is not the case. When municipal policing in BC is placed within the wider parent culture of Canadian policing at least eleven subcultures can be identified:

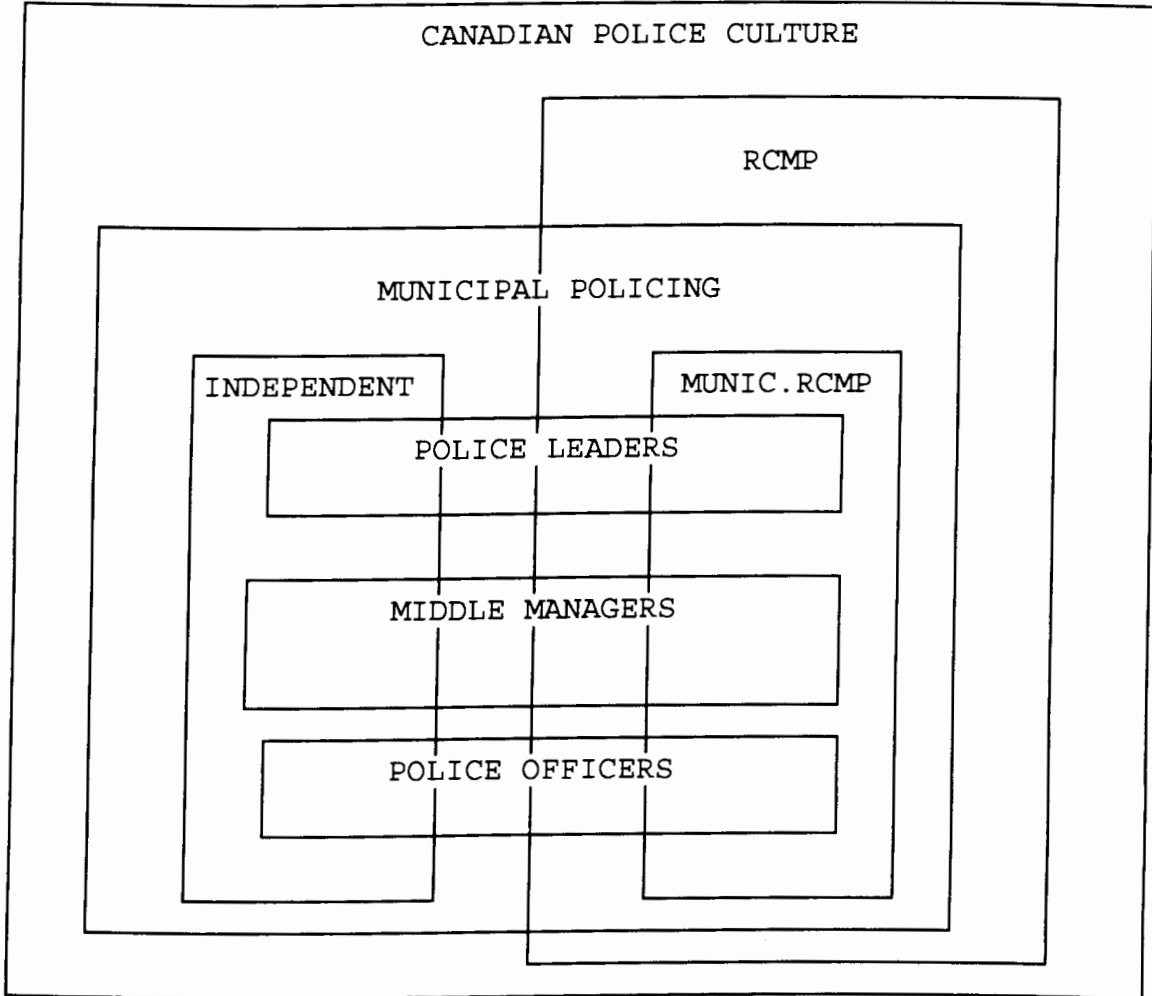
1. The RCMP organizational subculture.
2. The municipal police subculture in BC (RCMP and Independent).
3. The RCMP municipal police subculture, consisting of the nineteen municipal detachments (as distinct from the federal, rural or specialist departments of the organization).
4. The independent municipal police department subculture.

5. The municipal police leaders subculture (OIC's and chief constables).
6. The middle management subculture.
7. The rank and file subculture.
8. The chief constable subculture.
9. The OIC subculture.
10. The RCMP middle management subculture.
11. The RCMP rank and file subculture.
10. The Independent police department middle management subculture.
11. The Independent police department rank and file subculture.

Figure 10.1 graphically illustrates the way that these subcultures exist within the wider context of Canadian police culture.

FIGURE 10.1.

DIAGRAM OF THE VARIOUS POLICE SUBCULTURES PLACED WITHIN THE WIDER CULTURE OF CANADIAN POLICING.



In addition, larger police departments and detachments develop subcultures based on specific tasks, for example the subculture of the Criminal Investigation Section or the Drug Enforcement Unit subculture. The benefits of understanding these subcultures may be limited to that specific organization, this is not however the case for the 11

subcultures identified above. There currently exists considerable data on the rank and file subculture, but not on the others. Information and understanding of these subcultures is applicable to police agencies across Canada and can greatly assist in the analysis of organizational change.

Conclusions

Research on Canadian policing has to date been limited, leading to a reliance on literature from the United States and Britain. The preliminary findings of this exploratory study highlight the need not only to be cognisant of the various subcultural distinctions within and between municipal police agencies but between rural and metropolitan policing, provincial and contract policing and especially between police agencies in different countries operating under different social, economic and cultural constraints. The application of research findings from other countries should be treated with caution, while research on the unique aspects of Canadian policing encouraged.

Preliminary discussion centered around the aspects of organizational cultural change that organizational theorists have identified as key to the change process: the size, depth and pervasiveness of change, the role of leadership, reinforcing agents and incremental vs transformational change. This concluding chapter has applied this framework

to present and discuss the main findings. A summary of the findings of this dissertation can be placed under these headings and the additional one of symbolic:

Symbolic

The evidence suggests that community policing is currently a symbolic development existing in the policy documents of government agencies and larger police departments but not within police agencies themselves.

Size, Depth and Pervasiveness of Change

The 'ideal' philosophical definition of community policing implies a transformational change occurring across every level of the organization. This kind of organizational change is endorsed by the larger policy documents but not evidenced in police organizations. The depth of change, as shown by the opinions of police officers and police leaders, is superficial. As well the size of the RCMP and some independent departments limits the modification of every subsystem and prohibits pervasive change.

Leadership

While police leaders are endorsing the community policing philosophy their support is cautious. Chief constables are more supportive and organizationally have less constraints upon them in which to introduce change than their counterparts in the RCMP.

Transformational vs Incremental Change

Although the policy documents of government agencies and large police agencies support transformational change the chief constables and OIC's stressed the need for incremental change, a view reflected to a more limited extent by police officers. Large scale organizational change implies a change in the character of the organization that significantly alters performance and is maintained over time (Ledford et al., 1989). This has not occurred. If change within municipal police agencies in British Columbia is to occur it will be gradual and incremental.

Reinforcing Agents

There were few examples of changes to reinforcing agents within the police organization to support the community policing philosophy. Internal changes allowing police officers more discretion and an input into the decision making process did not seem to be taking place. Community policing programs were not widely known. In addition many examples of the traditional policing philosophy were evident to suggest that the new philosophy is not being consistently supported by deed or action. This study also identified a number of different subcultures with differing views on community policing and policing in general. The subcultures of chief constables and RCMP OIC's illustrated pronounced distinctions. The subcultures of police leaders differed to

that of the rank and file. The mid management subculture was recognised as a significant barrier to change.

Key Findings

The primary findings of this thesis can be summarised as follows:

1. A void exists between the current structure of police organizations and the 'ideal' community policing structure. The traditional organizational culture with its long history of autocratic rule, hierarchical decision making and paramilitary structure remains evident in police agencies in BC.
2. Organizational change can be evidenced in symbolic gestures: in the externally espoused content themes of government agencies and police departments and to a more limited extent by the views espoused by the leaders. This change is currently superficial.
3. Organizational change will only occur in a slow incremental way. Transformational change is neither possible nor desirable. Police agencies are still in the very preliminary stages of the change process and may remain there.
4. Organizational change will occur more easily in independent police agencies than in the more bureaucratic RCMP. Independent police agencies are easier to change.
5. The existing interpretation of the police subculture is simplistic. Many overlapping and inter-related subcultures

exist between and within police organizations. This study extends the work of Reussi-Ianni (1983) by illustrating the 'us and them' attitude held by many police officers towards management and by showing the difference in subcultures between and within police organizations. In accounting for organizational culture and change the organizational structures of the agencies under analysis must be fully explored.

6. Middle managers are identified as a key obstacle in the change process.

7. Police leaders identified the management of personnel as their main problem in undertaking their role as an executive officer.

8. Theories and constructs from the organizational culture and change school provide enhanced interpretations of change within police agencies than if this analysis had been kept within the criminological literature.

9. By undertaking a cross disciplinary analysis the research has provided an original contribution to the policing literature and has illustrated the theoretical advantages of merging two academic fields.

10. There is potential for the theoretical inter-disciplinary approach advocated in this thesis to be applied to the exploration of organizational change in other criminal justice agencies.

Predictions

The findings of this study make it possible to advance tentative predictions about policing in BC:

1. Community policing is more likely to occur in independent police departments than in RCMP detachments.
2. Transformational change, or even continued incremental change will not occur while police leaders acknowledge a resistance to change by middle management and fail to fundamentally address many of the reinforcing agents which support the traditional model of policing.
3. Private sector management principles will continue to be adopted by police agencies in an attempt to professionalise their service.
4. The community policing philosophy can and will coexist with the traditional law enforcement philosophy for the foreseeable future and may lead to two operational cultures of policing.

Further Research Questions

As with all studies this research while answering the research aims detailed at the outset has succeeded in generating issues for further study. Specifically these issues can be summarised in point form:

1. The extent of public awareness that police agencies are attempting to change their philosophies to adopt community policing philosophies.

2. The extent to which the delivery of policing services differs between RCMP and Independent police agencies.
3. The role and nature of middle management in police organizations.
4. Comparative ethnographic study of police agencies in Canada in order to facilitate a greater understanding of subcultures at every level of the organization.
5. Canadian research on police culture and subculture.
6. The use of organizational culture theory in understanding other criminal justice agencies.
7. An indepth analysis of views of police officers towards community policing.

Summary

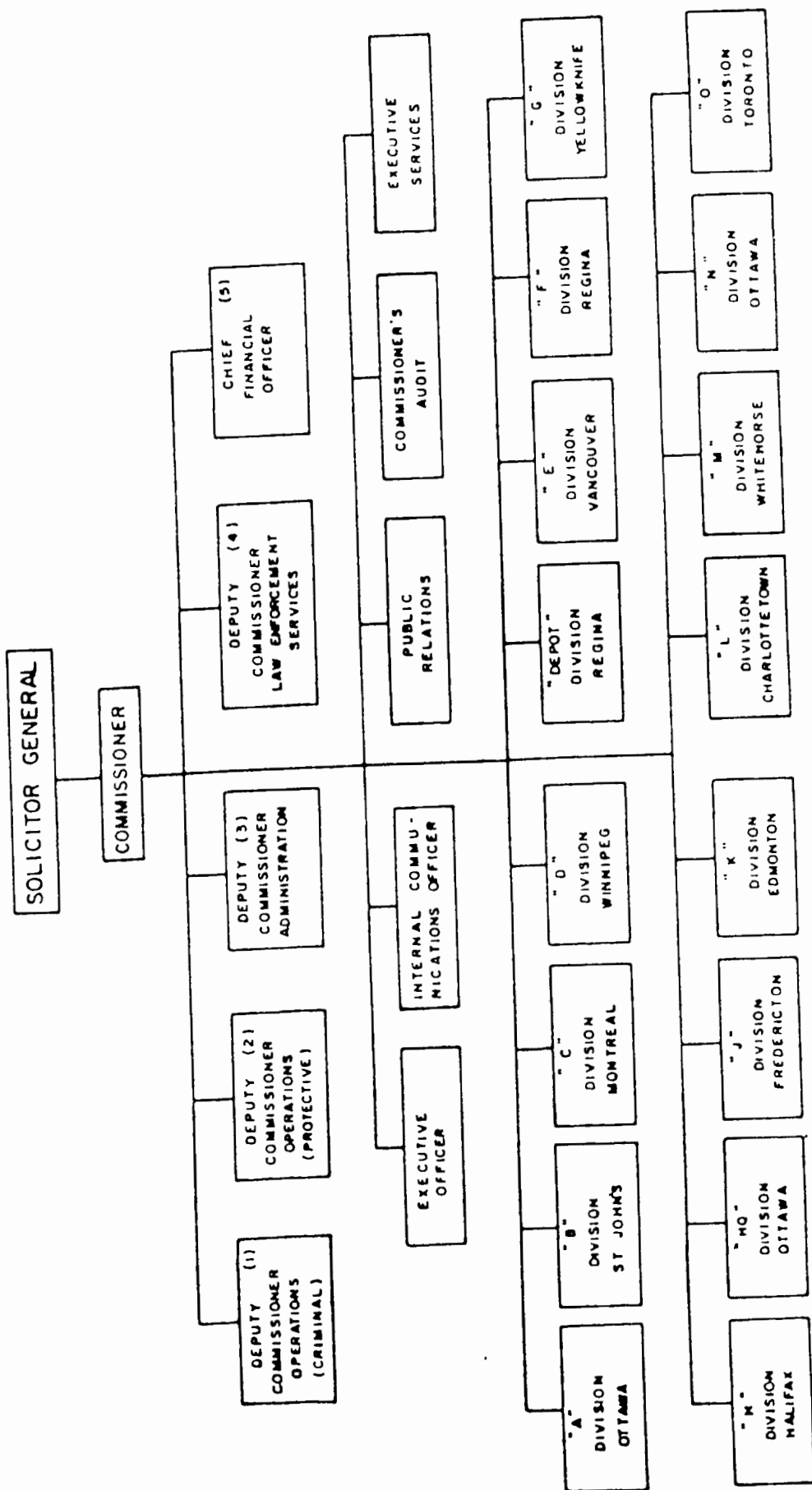
This study only addressed municipal policing in BC. As it aimed to gather data on *all* municipal police agencies the depth of the analysis is not as significant than if ethnographic research methodologies had been utilised. Despite these limitations it provides the first study of police leadership in Canada. It is one of only two comparative studies on police organizational structures in Canada. It is also the first time that organizational culture theory has been applied to a number of police organizations.

The thesis demonstrates the theoretical strength gained in merging two academic disciplines and in so doing makes an important, original contribution to the policing literature. Community policing acted as the example in which to assess the potential for organizational change in one component of the criminal justice system. The cross disciplinary direction taken by this study illustrated the theoretical benefits gained and provides criminologists with an alternative mechanism in which to ground their research interests. There is tremendous potential for the approach advocated in this dissertation to be adopted in exploring organizational change in other criminal justice agencies.

APPENDIX I

ORGANIZATION OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE



APPENDIX II
ORGANIZATION OF RCMP 'E' DIVISION HEADQUARTERS.

APPENDIX III
POLICE LEADERS QUESTIONNAIRE

POLICE CHIEF/OIC INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

There can be little doubt that the Chief of Police/OIC occupies a key position in the system of law enforcement in Canada today. You are responsible for policy, operational direction and control of policing in this Municipality. Over the recent past your role has expanded enormously to cope with the complexities of law and order in a diverse, heterogeneous society. I would like to learn more about the role you undertake to gain a greater insight on policing in BC.

A. Work history.

1. Which year did you join the police?
2. Why did you join/what attracted you?
3. What year were you appointed to your current post?
4. Was it an internal appointment?
5. What post were you immediately prior?
6. In which specialist departments have you worked within the RCMP/Municipality?
7. Have you attended any management training courses?
8. Which ones, when and where?
9. Did you ever think you would become Chief/OIC when you joined?
10. Can you describe to me the area for which you have responsibility (size, population, rural/urban).

B. Police Function.

11. What is the biggest problem/challenge facing your police officers today?
12. What do you feel your biggest problem/challenge is in undertaking your duties as Chief/OIC?
13. What do you think are the main strengths of your department/detachment?

C. Community Policing.

14. There are lots of different ways to interpret 'community policing' What, does the term mean to you?
15. Do you think there may be a conflict of interests between the crime control role of the police and the current stress on community policing?
16. Would you say that all your police officers are primarily community police officers? Why do you say this?
17. What unique problems do you face, if any in your Municipality/locality?
18. How would you like to see policing develop in the 1990s?

D. Internal Management.

19. The style of management and discipline in police organizations has said to have relaxed in recent years, do you agree?
20. Do you think that management and discipline within the police service should become more relaxed? What management problems would this pose? Are there any benefits?
21. What is the main management/administrative problem you face as Chief/OIC?
22. In what ways do you think managing a police agency is unique and in what ways is it similar to managing any other bureaucracy?
23. To what extent do the following bodies influence you, and in what way, in deciding on police innovations, strategy, or other important decisions; Which of these bodies produce limitations and which opportunities?
 - Neighbouring police departments
 - BC Association of Chiefs of Police
 - Attorney General - Police Services Branch
 - Local Police Board/Mayor
 - Municipal Authorities
 - BC Police Commission
 - Legislation, e.g The Young Offenders Act/liquour control.
 - Decisions of the courts
 - Media

- Justice Institute
- (Municipal) - Unions (Do you have regular meetings with union?)
- (RCMP) 'E' Division Training Academy
- (RCMP) HQ Ottawa
- (RCMP) 'E' Division Headquarters.

24. How are formal directives (eg new legislation, working arrangements) conveyed within your organization?
25. What changes/initiatives did you introduce when you became Chief? Why?
26. Have you any plans of what you may do in the future in your role as Chief/OIC?
27. How many sworn officers do you have? How many civilians?

E. Personal Background.

28. What year were you born?
29. Are you married?
30. Did you ever have time to go to University?
31. What subject is your degree?
32. (RCMP) Do you speak French?
33. Overall are you satisfied with your career in the police service?
34. If you had to give a brief definition of the role of Chief/OIC what would it be?
35. Are there any comments you would like to make about this interview?

APPENDIX IV
POLICE LEADERS' CODING SCHEDULE

**CODING FRAME FOR THE INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH MEMBERS OF
THE BC ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE IN 1992**

(Questions in brackets denote questions which were not part of the formal interview but for which information was collected during the majority of interviews).

1. Year joined the police.

- 1 1951-55
- 2 1956-60
- 3 1961-65
- 4 1966-70

2. Force joined.

- 1 This municipal force
- 2 Other municipal
- 3 RCMP

3. Why joined.

- 1 Always wanted to be a police officer
- 2 Needed a job
- 3 Type of work that appealed
- 4 Friends/relatives influence
- 5 Other

4. (Relatives in the police).

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 Information not collected

5. (Where living when applied).

- 1 BC
- 2 Ontario
- 3 Prairies
- 4 Other
- 9 Information not collected

6. Previously employed outside the police.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

7. (How long).

- 1 Less than 1 year
- 2 1 - 3 years
- 3 More than 3 years
- 4 Information not collected

8. Year appointed to current post.

- 1 1970-75
- 2 1976-80
- 3 1981-85
- 4 1986-90
- 5 1991-

9. Internal appointment/strictly internal competition.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 N/A

10. Post immediately prior.

- 1 Second in Command/Deputy
- 2 OIC elsewhere
- 3 Staff sergeant
- 4 Inspector
- 5 Superintendent
- 6 Private Industry
- 7. Other police dept/RCMP

11. Promotional move in rank.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

12. Specialist departments worked.

- 1 Everything
- 2 Less than 3 (excluding Ottawa)
- 3 Less than 3 (including Ottawa)
- 4 4 - 6 (excluding Ottawa)
- 5 4 - 6 (including Ottawa)

13. Management training courses.

- 1 SPAC
- 2 SPAC and O IDC
- 3 SPAC, O IDC and EDC
- 4 O IDC and others
- 5 SPAC and EDC
- 6 EDC and others

14. (University college courses).

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 Information not collected

15. (RCMP - Force sponsored).

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 Information not collected

16. Organizational changes called for when lower ranking officer.

- 1 More education/training/equipment
- 2 Increased responsibility
- 3 Improvement of managements skills
- 4 Working conditions
- 5 Other
- 6 None

17. Ambitions to become Chief/OIC when joined.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

18. (Catalyst to gaining promotion).

- 1 Quick promotions
- 2 Certain individuals encouragement
- 3 Period in Ottawa
- 4 Personal ego/competitive nature
- 5 Nothing
- 6 Information not collected
- 7 Other

19. Area responsible for.

- 1 Small affluent urban
- 2 Small mixed urban
- 3 Large affluent urban
- 4 Large mixed urban
- 5 Rural/urban mixed
- 6 Rapid growth
- 7 Core city
- 8 Lower class urban
- 10 Lower class mixed
- 11 Other

20. (RCMP - desirable posting).

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 Information not collected

21. Sworn officers.

- 1 under 20
- 2 21 - 40
- 3 41 - 60
- 4 61 - 100
- 5 101 - 200
- 6 over 201

22. Civilians.

- 1 under 10
- 2 11 - 20
- 3 21 - 40
- 4 41- 60
- 5 61 - 100
- 6 over 100
- 9 Information not collected

23. (Length of time in current building).

- 1 Less than 5 years
- 2 Over 5 years
- 3 Moving within next five years
- 9 Information not collected

24. Biggest problem/challenge facing police officers today.

- 1 C.J.S/courts/legislation
- 2 Social problems/nature of society
- 3 Keeping busy
- 4 Understanding Community policing and resources
- 5 Repetition of work
- 6 Lack of resources
- 7 Increase in serious crime and Charter
- 8 Transition to community policing
- 10 Drugs
- 11 Lack of resources and lack of respect for authority
- 12 Property crime and drug abuse

25. Biggest problem/challenge in undertaking duties as Chief/OIC.

- 1 Motivation/moral/personnel
- 2 Pressure from business community
- 3 Making internal changes
- 4 Directing and leading the organization
- 5 Motivation of staff/RCMP hierarchy
- 6 Introducing community policing
- 7 Personnel and budget
- 8 Managing resources
- 10 Political pressures
- 11 Other

26. Main strengths of department/detachment.

- 1 Personal service/communication with community
- 2 High calibre of staff/personnel
- 3 Members are part of community
- 4 Independence
- 5 Size of organization
- 6 Leadership and NCOs
- 7 Good council
- 8 Other
- 9 Information not collected

27. Meaning of the term 'community policing'

- 1 Rhetorical
- 2 Philosophy
- 3 Program
- 4 Social control
- 5 Imprecise/meaningless
- 6 Other

28. Conflict of interests between the crime control role of the police and the current emphasis on community policing.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 To some degree

29. Are line level police officers primarily community police officers.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Not as much as I'd like them to be
- 4 They are but won't admit it
- 5 Have a mixture/ moving that way
- 6 They're both

30. Why.

- 1 Officers resistant to change
- 2 Nature of community
- 3 Police officers always community police officers
- 4 In transition stage
- 5 Middle managers resist change
- 6 Can do both
- 7 Some good at some things, others better at others
- 8 Other
- 9 Information not collected

31. Unique problems in Municipality/locality

- 1 Nothing
- 2 Tourism
- 3 Lower socioeconomic area.
- 4 Young people
- 5 Gangs
- 6 One specific crime more prevalent
- 7 Growth
- 8 Other

32. Hopes for policing in the 1990s.

- 1 Regionalization and Community policing
- 2 Move towards Community Based Policing
- 3 More technology/training
- 4 Increase problem solving - wider role
- 5 More police officers
- 6 Increased funding
- 7 Increase ties to local council
- 8 Improved CJS
- 10 Regionalization

33. Style of management in police organizations has relaxed.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

34. (Start of change)

- 1 1970s
- 2 1980s
- 3 With unions and association
- 4 Always changing
- 9 Information not collected

35. Management should become more relaxed.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Depends
- 4 To a degree
- 5 Don't know

36. Management problems relaxed style creates.

- 1 None
- 2 Fewer promotions
- 3 Discipline/control of staff
- 4 Management becomes more vulnerable
- 5 Inability to make decisions
- 6 Other
- 9 Information not collected

37. Management benefits relaxed style creates.

- 1 Motivation/moral improved
- 2 More support and cooperation
- 3 Use experience of members
- 4 Freedom to manage
- 5 Can't have c.p without it
- 9 Information not collected

38. Main management/administrative problem.

- 1 Fiscal constraints/lack of resources
- 2 Management of personnel
- 3 Unions
- 4 Resources and long term sick leave
- 5 Political pressures
- 6 Public complaints
- 7 Paperwork/admin

39. Ways managing a police agency is similar to other bureaucracy.

- 1 Management and administration
- 2 Personnel problems
- 3 Deal with customers/supply service
- 4 Personnel most important commodity
- 5 No similarities
- 6 Many similarities
- 9 Information not collected

40. Ways managing a police agency is different to managing other bureaucracy.

- 1 More accountable
- 2 Not profit driven/performance
- 3 Difficult to measure
- 4 Staff more difficult to manage
- 5 No control over what you deal with
- 6 More discipline/paramilitary structure
- 7 No difference
- 9 Information not collected

41. Influence of neighbouring police departments/detachments.

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 No influence

42. Influence of BC Association of Chiefs of Police.

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 No influence

43. Influence of Attorney General - Police Services.

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 No influence
- 4 Confusion over what their role is
- 5 Should be changed

44. Influence of local Police Board

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 No influence
- 4 Depends on the board
- 9 Information not collected

45. Influence of Municipal Authorities/Mayor

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 Positive and negative influence
- 4 Business relationship

46. (Regular meetings with mayor)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 When required
- 4 Dislike mayor
- 9 Information not collected

47. Influence of BC Police Commission

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 No influence
- 4 No members of police at Commission
- 5 Not addressing right issues
- 6 Not adhering to original mandate
- 7 Influence via audit only

48. Influence of legislation.

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 No influence

49. Influence of court decisions.

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 No influence
- 9 Information not collected

50. Influence of the media.

- 1 Good relationship
- 2 Improving relationship
- 3 Bad relationship
- 4 Depends on the reporters

51. (Press releases).

- 1 Daily
- 2 Weekly
- 3 When required
- 9 Information not collected

52. Influence of the Justice Institute.

- 1 Do provide training that's needed
- 2 Fluctuating budget courses problems
- 3 Training on community policing needed
- 4 Management/leadership courses needed
- 5 Little/no use of JI
- 9 Information not collected

53. Influence of unions.

- 1 Good relationship
- 2 Occasional problems
- 3 Bad relationship
- 4 Depends on executive
- 9 Information not collected

54. (Regular meetings with union).

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 When required
- 9 Information not collected

55. Influence of RCMP 'E' Division Training.

- 1 Provide the training needed
- 2 Occasional problems
- 9 Information not collected

56. Influence of RCMP HQ Ottawa.

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 Little/no influence
- 4 No contact
- 9 Information not collected

57. Influence of RCMP 'E' Division Headquarters.

- 1 Positive influence
- 2 Negative influence
- 3 Little/no influence
- 4 Deal with subdivision
- 9 Information not collected

58. How directives are conveyed.

- 1 In writing
- 2 Verbally and in writing
- 3 In writing and occasionally verbally

59. Changes/initiatives introduced.

- 1 Organizational/administrative
- 2 Community policing programs/policies
- 3 Mixture of organizational and cp
- 4 Mainly organizational, few cp
- 5 Mainly cp, few organizational

60. Why.

- 1 To catch up/it was what was needed
- 2 Cut down paperwork
- 3 Introduce change
- 4 To provide more variety of work
- 5 Respond to request from community
- 6 Other
- 9 Information not collected

61. Degree of success.

- 1 Very successful
- 2 Relatively successful
- 3 Not to the extent desired
- 4 Some have some haven't
- 9 Information not collected

62. Limitations.

- 1 Resources
- 2 Middle management/watch commanders
- 3 Effort/resistance by staff
- 4 None
- 5 Other
- 9 Information not collected

63. Plans for future.

- 1 Organizational/administrative
- 2 Community policing programs/policies
- 3 Mixture of organizational and cp
- 4 Mainly organizational, few cp
- 5 Mainly cp, few organizational
- 6 Nothing
- 7 Retiring/transferring

64. Year born.

- 1 1931-35
- 2 1936-40
- 3 1941-45
- 4 1946-50

65. Married.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

66. University.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

66. Subject of degree.

- 1 Law
- 2 Social science
- 3 Business/admin
- 9 Information not collected

67. French.

- 1 Yes
- 2 Little
- 3 No
- 9 Information not collected

68. Satisfied with career.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

69. Advice for a police officer who has ambitions of becoming a Chief/OIC.

- 1 More education
- 2 Be a generalist/don't specialise
- 3 Degree and diversify/bilingual/energy/work at Ottawa
- 4 Degree and move to larger dept
- 5 Develop social skills/sensitivity
- 6 Go as far as you can but not chief
- 7 Think of new ways to do things

70. Definition of the role of Chief/OIC.

- 1 Management and policing mentioned
- 2 Leader and policing mentioned
- 3 Leader and management mentioned only
- 4 Leadership mentioned only
- 5 Other

71. Comments about this interview.

- 1 Relating to questionnaire/research
- 2 Talked enough/worn out/exhausted
- 3 Police related
- 4 No

APPENDIX V
POLICE OFFICERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

POLICE OFFICER QUESTIONNAIRE

This survey forms part of a larger study of policing in BC currently being undertaken at Simon Fraser University. As an operational police officer your views on police work are important. Please would you spend a few minutes completing this questionnaire. The information you provide will not be conveyed to your department/detachment. All findings will be analysed and presented in group form. Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

1.Length of time as a police officer?

under 2 years.
more than 2 years, less than 5 years.
more than 5 years, less than 10 years.
more than 10 years.

2.Department/Detachment?

3.Rank?

4.Current section?

5.Previous two sections?

6.Age?

19-25 26-35 36-45 45-55 over 55

7.Sex?

Male Female

8. What, if any organizational changes do you think should take place in your department/detachment (tick one)?

More education/training.
More technology/equipment.
Unit level budgeting.
Increased responsibilities for general duty constables.
Improved management skills.
Improved working conditions.
None.
Other (please specify)

9. What do you think are the biggest three challenges you face in undertaking your duties as a police officer (please list 1,2,3)?

Criminal Justice System.
Courts.
Social problems.
Lack of resources.
Increases in crime.
Transition to community policing.
Legislation (please specify)
Other (please specify).

10. How would you like to see policing develop in the 1990s (tick one)?

Regionalization.
More police officers.
Towards community based policing.
Improved technology/equipment.
Improved training/education.
Increased funding.
Other (please specify)

11. Do you feel that you have an input into the policy decisions that affect your department/detachment?

yes. no. to a certain extent.

Please give reasons for your answer.

12. There are many different ways to interpret the term 'community policing', what, if anything does the term mean to you?

13. Do you support the movement towards community based policing?

yes. no. to a certain extent.

Please give reasons for your answer.

14. Do you think there is a conflict of interest between the traditional crime control role of the police and the current emphasis on community policing?

yes. no. to a certain extent.

15. Would you say that the operational police officers in your department/detachment are primarily;

community police officer.
traditional response to call police officers.
a mixture of both.

16. What, if any evidence have you seen in your department/detachment of community policing philosophies (tick all that apply)?

store front/mini police stations.
bike cops/foot patrols.
community forums/consultative groups.
mission statements/corporate policy.
greater police officer input in decision making.
other (please specify).
none (can you give reasons for this?).

17. Many different solutions have been proposed as a means of reducing crime. Listed below are a number of these solutions. In your opinion how would you rank them in order of their effectiveness. Assign a scale of 1 to 6, number 1 being the most effective and number 6 being the least effective.

Crime Prevention (eg. Blockwatch).

Community liaison/involvement (eg. Consultative Committees).

Strong positive policing.

Stricter laws and fines.

A more friendly, caring approach by the police.

Arrest and prosecution of offenders.

18. Police officers are asked to do a lot of different jobs. With limited resources it is not possible to cover everything. Using the list below show how important you think each task is.

Very
important

Fairly
important

Not very
important

Respond immediately
to emergencies

Investigate
crime.

Control and supervise
road traffic.

Give advice on crime
prevention to public.

Patrol on foot/bike.

Patrol in cars.

Provide help and
advice for victims.

Detect and arrest
offenders.

Work closely
with schools.

Get to know
local people.

Set up squads
for serious crime.

Work with other agencies
to plan crime prevention.

Thank you for your cooperation. If you have any questions or comments relating to this survey please contact Jayne Seagrave, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, V5A 1S6 (Tel 291 4040).

APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM SUPERVISOR TO BC ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS
SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: (604) 291-3213

8th May 1992

Dear Superintendent Beaudreau

Jayne Seagrave is a doctoral candidate in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University. She has been awarded a Commonwealth Scholarship to enable her to undertake research on the police. The aim of her research is to gain an understanding of the varying strategies adopted by police organisations in British Columbia and to assess how policing is developing in the 1990s. Details of this project, for which I am the Senior Supervisor, are attached.

Jayne is an accomplished researcher who has had extensive experience working with the police in England. She previously held a Rotary Foundation Scholarship and subsequently worked for the Home Office. More recently she was employed by the Greater Manchester Police as a research officer.

She would like to talk to all BC Police Chiefs and O.I.C.s in order to gain an understanding about policing in the Province. These interviews would last about an hour and would be based on a standard set of questions. The results would be analysed and reported entirely anonymously with no views being attributed to individuals in an identifiable way.

I hope that you would be able to support this study and would be willing to take it forward to the next meeting of the B.C. Association of Chiefs of Police for consideration.

P.L. Brantingham. Ph.D.
Professor of Criminology

APPENDIX VII

**LETTER FROM BC ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE SUPPORTING
THE RESEARCH**



Royal Gendarmerie
Canadian royale
Mounted du
Police Canada

Security Classification / Designation
Classification / Désignation Sécuritaire

Your file Votre référence

P.L. Brantingham, Ph.D.
Professor of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C.
V5A 1S6

Our file Notre référence

BBY 148-3

1992 June 09

Dear Dr. Brantingham:

Your letter dated May 8, 1992, introducing Jayne Seagrave and her proposed research on B.C. Chiefs of Police is acknowledged.

Your letter and Ms. Seagrave's outline of her proposed research was distributed and discussed at the June 5th meeting of the B.C. Association of Chiefs of Police in Whitehorse.

While the decision to cooperate will remain the responsibility of each individual Chief/OIC, I suggest Ms. Seagrave will be welcomed and accommodated wherever possible.

Yours truly,

B.A. Beaudreau, Superintendent
Officer in Charge
Burnaby Detachment

6355 Deer Lake Avenue,
Burnaby, B.C. V5G 2J2

BAB/ml

APPENDIX VIII
ETHICAL APPROVAL

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

VICE-PRESIDENT, RESEARCH



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: (604) 291-4152
FAX: (604) 291-4860

September 1, 1992

Ms. J. Seagrave
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C.

Dear Ms. Seagrave:

**Re: Policing B.C. in the Future: Will the
Organizational Philosophy Change**

The above referenced project has been approved on behalf of the University
Research Ethics Review Committee.

Sincerely,

William Leiss, Chair
University Ethics Review
Committee

cc: P.L. Brantingham
M. A. Jackson

APPENDIX IX

LETTER TO CHIEF/OIC CONFIRMING APPOINTMENT

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS
SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: (604) 291-3213

2nd September 1992

Dear

Further to our telephone conversation earlier this month, I am writing to confirm our appointment for on . If for any reason you find you are unable to keep this appointment I would be grateful if you would contact me on 737-9029.

For your information I attach a brief summary of the aims of the research. The interview will last between one and one and a half hours and will be based on a standard set of questions. I hope these questions will lead to a stimulating discussion.

Thank you once again for agreeing to talk to me. I look forward to meeting you later this month.

Yours sincerely

Jayne Seagrave.

Doctoral Research on B.C Chiefs of Police/O.I.C.s.

There can be little doubt that the Chief of Police/O.I.C. occupies a key position in the system of law enforcement in Canada today. He is responsible for policy, operational direction and control of policing in his municipality. Over the recent past his role has expanded enormously to cope with the complexities of law and order in a diverse, heterogeneous society. New technology, increased sophistication and the operational methods employed have made the police manager's task, especially that of Chief/O.I.C, unprecedentedly arduous and demanding.

Although studies have been undertaken to obtain an understanding of the nature of the work of the rank and file police officer, little is known about the role of the Chief/O.I.C. I would like to address this imbalance by talking to all Police Chiefs/O.I.C.s in order to discover how their role has changed over the recent past and how they anticipate policing to develop in the Province in the 1990s. I would hope to gain from these discussions information on each Chief/O.I.C.'s operational background, on strategies developed for crime control and on details of the varying services his organisation provides to the public. I would also hope that each Chief/O.I.C. would give a personal interpretation on how he views contemporary policing. This research will provide the foundations on which to build a larger study on a selected number of police organisations in the Province.

Jayne Seagrave.

APPENDIX X

LETTER OF THANKS TO THE BC ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS
SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: (604) 291-3213
Fax: (604) 291-4140

13th November 1992

Dear Superintendent Beaudreau

Yesterday I completed the final interview in relation to my research on Municipal Policing in British Columbia. Over the course of the last three months, as you know, I have spoken to the members of the B.C. Association of Chiefs of Police and without exception have been made to feel very welcome. I have gained a lot more information than I had anticipated as all gentlemen were extremely willing to cooperate and articulate their views and philosophies of policing. Consequently I have about forty five hours of taped interviews to transcribe, as the shortest interview lasted just under an hour and the longest was over two hours.

As I mentioned to all participants, I will provide the B.C. Association of Chiefs of Police with a summary of the questions I asked and the responses received when this is available, probably in March or April next year.

Thank you once again for your support.

Yours sincerely

Jayne Seagrave

APPENDIX XI

**LETTER FROM THE JUSTICE INSTITUTE OF BC SUPPORTING THE
RESEARCH**

Police Academy

4180 West 4th Avenue
Vancouver, B.C. V6R 4J5
Telephone (604) 228-9771
Fax (604) 660-1875

July 16, 1993

Jayne Seagrave
Faculty of Arts
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C.
V5A 1S6

Dear Jayne:

With respect to your request to conduct a survey of contemporary Canadian policing, I am pleased to advise that when this topic was discussed at a recent Training Officers Advisory Committee meeting it received the full support not only of Municipal police representatives but also R.C.M.P. Fairmont Academy staff.

If you wish to liaise with Bob Hull, Deputy Director i/c Recruit Training and Bob Kowan, Program Director, Advanced Programs, they will make arrangements for you to conduct your survey here at the Academy this Fall.

When a new Inspector in charge of Training is appointed at the Fairmont Academy, I will bring this topic to his attention.

Yours sincerely,

Phil Crosby-Jones
Director

PCJ/sh

cc: Bob Hull
Bob Kowan

Providing justice and
public safety training
programs and services
through:
Corrections Academy
Courts Academy
Educational Services
and Interdisciplinary
Studies Division
Paramedic Academy
Fire Academy
Police Academy
Provincial Emergency
Program Academy

APPENDIX XII

LETTER TO CHIEF CONSTABLES REQUESTING POLICY DOCUMENTS

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS
SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: (604) 291-3213

29th March 1994

Dear Chief Constable

You may recall that during the Fall of 1992 I came to talk to you about policing in British Columbia, to gather information for my Ph.D research.

This research has received considerable interest with some of the initial findings being published in the **RCMP Gazette** in an article entitled 'Advice for Those Who Want to be Boss' and in May **The Police Chief** will publish an article called 'Predictions For Policing in the 1990s' which discusses how members of the B.C. Association of Chiefs of Police anticipated policing will develop in the 1990s.

During the course of my fieldwork I was given corporate planning documents from the RCMP and from Vancouver Police Department and was wondering whether Police Department has produced any documents of a similar nature. If such a strategic planning or policy document has been written by your department in the last three years would it be possible to obtain a copy? I am interested in determining whether it is only the larger police organizations who produce such documents and if not, in seeing the differences and similarities between these policy papers.

Thank you for your attention, I look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Yours sincerely

Jayne Seagrave

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